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THE WORLD'S HISTORY

THE WORLD'S HISTORY

A SURVEY OF MAN'S RECORD

EDITED BY

DR. H. F. HELMOLT

V 28

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY BY THE

RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

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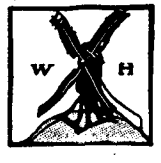
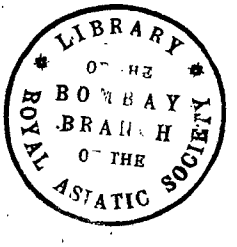
VOLUME IV

THE MEDITERRANEAN NATIONS

WITH PLATES AND MAPS





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THE MEDITERRANEAN NATIONS

I

THE INNER HISTORICAL CONNECTION OF THE NATIONS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN

By EDWARD COUNT WILCZEK

Revised by DR. HANS F. HELMOLT

1. A CONCEPTION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN RACE DERIVED FROM A SURVEY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN NATIONS

A. The Significance of the Mediterranean in the History of Mankind

THE external form of the earth's surface is marked by a division into solid and liquid, land and water: and both are enclosed by a layer of fluid mass, the atmosphere. However greatly dependent the vast majority of earthly organisms are on the solid land and on the immediate influence of the atmosphere, they are equally indebted for their existence to that substance which above all others changes its aggregate condition most easily and most frequently—water. Its uninterrupted transition from the particles to mass, and back again, its measured flow between the two great reservoirs, ocean and atmosphere (evaporation and condensation), form the germ, the primal basis and support of all organic life and being.

Everything lives by water. In small things as well as in great, water forms the life-giving element, the first condition as well as the final consummation of all organic existence. For the historian, the surface of the earth composes the sum total of the world, the universe, the only and exclusive scene of fact. Of the paths of knowledge that strive to reach the goal of truth it is those of the natural sciences and of history that are chiefly trodden by the thinker. Both renounce, consciously and voluntarily, the realm of the supernatural situated outside of space and time. The historian especially chooses for himself a field of activity limited by space and time, the study of man. The individual and his organism belong to the sphere of the natural philosopher. History, on the contrary, examines the elements of a unity of a higher order, which proceeds by various gradations through the family, tribe, people, nation and race until it culminates in the conception of mankind. To study man as an inhabitant of the earth living in intercourse with his fellows, to trace the changes—physiological and ethnological, and to a greater extent, intellectual and social—which he undergoes throughout the various stages of society we have mentioned, to investigate, in short, the manysided and ceaseless evolution of our race, is the peculiar province of history.

Goethe, in the second part of "Faust," makes the wise Thales greet the sea with splendid phrase:

> From water sprang all things, and all
> Are by water upheld or must fall.
> Then, Ocean, grant thou for our aiding
> Thine influence ever pervading.
>
> (Trans. Theodore Martin.)

Not merely the poet and artist, the friend of beauty, but also the historian, the friend of truth, may well greet with reverence the Ocean as the giver and the supporter of life.

Water is necessary for the production and support of all organisms—plants, animals, and men; and just as water is important to the individual man, so is the general mass of water, the sea, important to the general mass of human organisms—the nations, collective humanity. Its importance is not limited to the purely corporeal side of human nature. It appears in a far higher degree on the intellectual side. It influences strongly and favourably the intelligence in the individual, the social spirit in the community, and civilisation among peoples and nations. The closer the union between the habitable land and the navigated sea, the more clearly will this influence be revealed. This is particularly true of the Mediterranean, which even a Thales must have considered the epitome of the ocean. But since universal history has the task of following the origin and development of thought and civilisation, and of clearly depicting their close connection with the natural conditions of earthly events, since it must shed light on all that forms the common element in mankind, apart from diversity in bodily structure, colour of skin, language, belief, customs and feelings—since history therefore sees this to be one of her chief tasks, and not the chronological arrangement of occurrences, a historical survey of the inhabited borderlands of the Mediterranean, and of its coasts and islands, is not only especially valuable but is absolutely indispensable to the framework of our History of the World.

The importance of the Mediterranean in the history of the world rests, in the first place, on its geographical position. Although of comparatively limited extent it is enclosed by three parts of the earth which differ completely in their physical, geographical, and ethnographical character. If we picture to ourselves the "Pillars of Hercules," through which the Atlantic Ocean penetrates deep into the heart of the various countries, as closed, and the whole basin of the Mediterranean, together with its extensions (the Sea of Marmora, the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azov), as dried up, then the continent of the Old World would appear a connected whole. Without any visible division the lands would blend and form a terrestrial unit, which in consequence of its enormous expanse would exhibit as unfavourable climatic and meteorological conditions as Central Asia. But owing to this inflowing of the ocean, certain sharply defined parts have been formed, each of which is in itself large enough to constitute a clearly marked continent.

The contours of Europe, Asia, and Africa are therefore really formed and individualised by the Mediterranean, though the sharpness of the demarcation is accentuated by an arm of the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea. The eastern boundary between Europe and Asia alone remains undefined, since it lies beyond the formative and modifying influence of the Mediterranean. As a result of the sharp separation between the three continents, these physical peculiarities, together with the whole attendant train of local phenomena, come far more prominently forward than could have been the case had there only been a gradual transition from land to land without the severing expanse of sea. The eastern border of Europe offers another striking proof of this. The Mediterranean determines not merely the external outline of the continents at their points of contact, but preserves for them in a most remarkable manner the peculiar stamp of their characteristics.

The effect, however, of this expanse of water is not only to separate and distinguish, but also to unify and assimilate. Above all else it extends the meteorological and climatic benefits of the ocean to the very heart of the land and gives it a share in those blessings which are denied to entirely enclosed continental tracts. Owing to the Mediterranean, the south of Europe and the west of Asia enjoy a climate as favourable both for the development of useful forms of organic life and the conditions of human existence, as is scarcely to be found in any other spot on the earth's surface, even though the present state of the north coast of Africa seems a contradiction. The present sterility of the coast of the Syrtes, or even of Syria, does not alter the fact that the Mediterranean basin shows all gradations of the typical peculiarities of the temperate zone, which is the most suitable and most beneficial to the nature of man. Notwithstanding the extraordinary difference of its separate branches, the Mediterranean basin must be regarded as a geographical whole. A sharply defined sea necessarily establishes an intimate geographical connection between the coasts it washes. Every organism is most deeply influenced by the soil from which it sprang or into which it was transplanted, and from which it derives all the essential elements of its existence. There can be no doubt that where natural conditions are favourable the effect on the physical manifestations of life, on corporeal beings that is, will also be favourable, and *vice versâ*. This favourable influence has, in point of fact, been found in the basin of the Mediterranean from the earliest times. The result is that this basin appears not merely as a geographical but more as a historical whole, as a focus in which are concentrated the common efforts, conscious and unconscious, of a considerable fraction of mankind. Thus the Mediterranean supplies an excellent argument in favour of the fellowship of the entire human race.

B. The Peopling of the Coast and Border Lands

When the first rays of Clio's torch began to illuminate the Mediterranean countries, nations were already to be found differing in external appearance, mode of life, and social customs: the race character was clearly stamped on the separate groups. The coasts of the Mediterranean were, as we find in quite early times, inhabited by three distinct races, the Indo-Germanic, the Semitic, and the Berber. Roughly speaking these three groups of peoples coincide with the three continents, since the European coasts were mostly inhabited by Indo-Germans (Iberians, Celts, Pelasgians, Etrurians, Oscans, Thracians, etc.), the Asiatic coasts by Semites mostly (Israelites, Phœnicians, and Arabs), and the African coasts mostly by Berbers. There were, however, exceptions. In Asia Minor, for example, there was an Aryan and a Pre-Aryan * (Hethitic) population, and Egypt was inhabited by a people, possibly a mixed people, which cannot with certainty be assigned to one of the three ethnological groups.

The oldest credible or, more strictly speaking, chronologically determinable, records—such as buildings or inscriptions—belong to the basin of the Mediterranean—that is, to Egypt; and we thus include in this basin all the countries whose rivers flow into the Mediterranean. It is not our task to solve the question whether the earliest buildings of Egypt are actually older than those of Mesopotamia, India, and the civilised countries of eastern Asia: in any case they present the oldest admissible evidence for the time of their origin; they date

* Hittites.

back to the twenty-sixth century before Christ (the Pyramids of Dahschur and Gizeh). The chronological statements of the Theban priest Manetho go still farther back. While, for example, the authentic sources of Chinese history can be traced back to the ninth century before Christ, those of Jewish history to the tenth, and even the oldest Indian Vedas scarcely to the fifteenth century, the royal registers of Manetho, confirmed by recent discoveries, go back to far more distant periods. Even if we make the necessary allowance for the fact that, in consequence of the country being divided, some of the dynasties reigned at the same time, we reach, according to the lowest computation, a period three thousand years before Christ. If we consider the fact that buildings like the great pyramid of Chufu presuppose a considerable earlier civilisation, we cannot reject the possibility of still more remote dates. In any case it is certain that, among the border countries of the Mediterranean, Egypt is the first state and Memphis the first town which history names—history, risen from the twilight of legendary gods and heroes and shedding light on facts. Egypt at the same time appears as the first country on the Mediterranean coasts whose population shows permanence of settlement and that degree of social organisation which in the life of a people marks a high advance in civilisation, namely, the capacity for state organisation, the conscious subordination of the individual to one will, which represents the community in opposition to him. It matters little whether this collective will is expressed by an individual or by a class (caste) or a universally recognised principle crystallised into a law. The most important point is the existence of the collective will and its ability to move the will of others, with full consciousness of the object, towards its own ends. In the Egyptian monarchical system this will is strongly expressed, and in combination with a strict caste system forces the people into narrow grooves of life. The appearance of a firmly organised state on the coasts of the Mediterranean at so early a date throws a strong light on the important part this sea is destined to play in the development of the whole human race. It is only remarkable that Egypt, of all countries, has little share in this development.

At a time, however, when the Egyptians had already attained a high stage of civilisation, the other nations of the Mediterranean countries were still wrapped in darkness. It is difficult to determine the exact moment when they appear on the stage of history. There are scarcely any traces left of the nomad Berbers who inhabited the northern coasts of Africa before the Phœnician immigration, for we cannot assume that under the name of the "blameless Ethiopians" of the Greek, Chaldaic, and Egyptian legends, the Berbers are meant. It is not until Punic times, when a state organisation was introduced among the Berber tribes also, that they begin to make their power felt.

The Semites appear first in history among the nomad tribes, called by the Egyptians Hyksos, on the Syrian coasts of Asia. Thence (about 1800 B.C.) they invaded the adjacent parts of Egypt, partially conquered them and established themselves there for a long period. Obviously in close connection with this is the immigration of *Abraham*, a nomad Semitic prince, from Chaldæa to Canaan (about 2000 B.C.), and the subsequent immigration of the Israelites to Egypt, whither they had been called by *Joseph*. The fact that precisely at that time the Hyksos, a kindred tribe, had seized the power in Lower Egypt, was favourable to the immigration of the Hebrews, who in a sojourn of several hundred years grew into a numerous

people and became accustomed to a settled life and agriculture. But after a national rising of the Egyptians had driven the ruling Hyksos from the land (about 1550 B.C.) the Israelites came to be considered troublesome foreigners and were cruelly oppressed, so that they at last left the land under the command of their great legislator, Moses, returned to Asia, and, after the conquest of Palestine, founded a kingdom of their own there. A kindred tribe, the Canaanites, had prepared the way for this kingdom (they had founded the town of Jebus, the later Jerusalem), but the consciousness of any kinship had been lost, and was succeeded by a feeling of hostility which led, after long wars, to the expulsion and partial extermination of the Canaanites. The inhabitants of the coast, however, the Philistines, remained for a long time a danger to the Israelites. The Phœnicians, who came into notice on the Syrian coast, form an earlier group in the migration that led the Israelites into Canaan. Realising the advantages of a seaboard and of a coast rich in timber and ore, the Phœnicians immediately betook themselves to shipbuilding, navigation, and trade, and so soon attained a supremacy in these occupations that their first appearance in history shows them bold seamen and enterprising merchants. They founded numerous cities, not merely on their own coasts, but also in Cyprus and in the islands of the Ægean Sea, and continually extended their power westward.

By far the most difficult date to fix is that of the first appearance of the Indo-Germanic tribes, who inhabit the northern border of the Mediterranean basin, i.e. South Europe, the countries on the Black Sea, and Asia Minor. They have as rich a store of legendary gods and heroes as the inhabitants of India, originating probably in events which have impressed themselves ineffaceably on the memory of later generations; yet these legends can only seldom be traced to facts and are still more seldom reconcilable with chronology. At the dawn of history the Indo-Germans of the Mediterranean appear as already having attained a comparatively high degree of civilisation: they have become settled peoples, dwelling in towns and carrying on agriculture. To some extent they already possess art and the skilled trades; the metal-working of the Etruscans (Tuscans) in Upper Italy seems very old. The Pelasgians are the first to be named; yet this name does not designate a distinct people so much as the earliest epoch of civilisation in that Indo-Germanic stock, which afterwards divided into Italic and Hellene, and, besides that, left minor branches in the Thracians and Illyrians, which, like detached boulders of ethnography, are still distinguishable (Albanians). The Pelasgians had fixed abodes from the earliest known times. Remains of their buildings are preserved in the Cyclopean walls in the district of Argolis (Tiryns and Mycenæ); they founded many towns, among which the name Larissa frequently recurs. Some slight aid to chronology is given by the mythical founding of a state on the island of Crete by Minos (circa 1400 B.C.?). With the name of Minos is connected a series of wise laws and institutions of public utility which marks the island of Crete as one of the oldest seats of a higher civilisation. Sarpedon, the brother of Minos, founded, so the legend runs, on the southern coast of Asia Minor the kingdom of the Lycians, who early distinguished themselves by their works of art (the Temple of Apollo at Patara). To the west of these lay the pirate-state of the Carians (see below, pp. 50, 66). About the same time Teucer is said to have founded the kingdom of the Dardani on the west coast of Asia Minor, whose capital became the famous

Ilium (Troy). The heroic legends of the Greeks have great historical value when stripped of their poetical dress; thus in the legend of Jason's voyage to Colchis, the expedition of the Argonauts, the record is preserved of the first naval undertakings of Greek tribes, and the exploits of Hercules, Theseus, Perseus and other heroes point to the effective work of powerful rulers in the cause of civilisation.

The western shores of the Mediterranean remained the longest shrouded in darkness. The dates at which the half-mythical aborigines, after long wars, blended with the Celts, who had immigrated in prehistoric times, and formed new nations, Celtiberians, Aquitanians, Armoricans and Gauls, cannot be approximately determined. The first historical light is thrown on the subject by the oldest settlements of the seafaring Phœnicians on the Spanish coasts (the founding of Gades or Cadiz, circa 1100 B.C.). About the same time the Phœnicians founded the colony of Utica on the north coast of Africa and thereby first reveal the southern coasts of the Mediterranean. The subsequent founding of Carthage (circa 814 B.C.) makes known incidentally the first step towards civilisation made by the autochthonous Berber states (King Iarbas of Numidia). Eventually Carthage shook herself free from the Phœnician mother country and became the centre of a powerful state. The seafaring Phœnicians were followed by seafaring Greeks of various stocks, who also planted settlements first in South Italy and Sicily, then, continually pressing further westward, in Spain (Saguntum), in Africa (Cyrene 631 B.C.), in Aquitania (Massilia or Marseilles 600 B.C.). These in turn became the centres of flourishing colonies and in combination with the Phœnician settlements played an important part in the establishment of numerous points of contact between the three chief stocks of the basin of the Mediterranean, namely, the Indo-Germanic, the Semitic, and the Berber, and furthered their fusion into a Mediterranean race. This Mediterranean race played a predominant part in the history of civilisation and influenced decisively the development of the human race. This is one result of the influence of the Mediterranean.

We find the inhabitants of most of the countries on the Mediterranean (with the exception of the Egyptians) in a state of movement which extended both over the mainland and over the wide sea. When and from what centre the impulse was given which set nation after nation into motion and kept them in motion for thousands of years and what the impelling cause of it was—these are questions which only the primitive history of the nations can, and will some day, answer. It is enough for us to know that the stream of nations kept on moving throughout prehistoric times, and to notice how the waves rolled unceasingly from East to West, and only now and again took a backward course, usually of small extent and short duration. We recognise further in the universal advance of the tide of nations from east to west that, as soon as it reaches the Mediterranean and splits into a northern and southern current, Indo-Germans are predominant in the former and Semites in the latter, while over the surface of the sea itself both press on side by side. On the northern coasts of the Mediterranean the trace of ancient migration is shown as if in geological layers; whence we can see that the intervals between the changes in the ownership of the soil were long enough for separate layers to be deposited. Over the Iberians, Armoricans and Aquitanians is imposed a stratum of Celts, and later, in consequence of their assimilation, one of Celtiberians and Gauls. Over the Pelasgians are superimposed strata of Italians and Hellenes, and

over the old peoples of the Black Sea, Scythians and Sarmatians, a stratum of Armenians, etc. Already there loom up in the distance, continually pressing forward from the East, the indistinct outlines of new families of the great Indo-Germanic race, i.e. the Germans and the Slavs, destined to play so important a part in transforming the world. We have already noticed on the southern coast of the Mediterranean Semitic peoples pushing towards the West, and at the same time recognised in the return of the Hyksos and of the Israelites to Asia an example of a returning national movement. The importance of these movements fades into the background in comparison with the immigration of the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians to the very easterly end of the Mediterranean: after them press onward the Aryan Bactrians, Medes and Persians. In consequence of these events, which culminated in the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, Aryan life finally found a home on the eastern and southern coasts of the Mediterranean. The Semitic race, continually pressing westward, attains fresh vigour among the Carthaginians, and by conquest of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Spain encroaches on Europe itself.

C. The Effects of the Migrations on General History

However varied may be the character of the various national movements as typified in these separate instances, one common feature marked them all. They always reached their goal on the Mediterranean. This singular fact can be quite naturally explained. The van of the great migrations which continued for thousands of years from East to West was bound to strike the Atlantic, which forbade all further advance. Since, however, the pressure of the rear guard never ceased, the vanguard, not to be driven into the ocean, had to give way laterally and in part reached the shores of the Mediterranean. Here all further progress was barred and with what result? It was impossible to force the way back against the stream of onward-pressing nations, and the knowledge of their original home had meanwhile sunk into partial or complete oblivion. They had no alternative but to establish themselves permanently and to resist as far as possible those who still pressed on. The determination to do this was strengthened by the smiling blue skies, which arch the basin of the Mediterranean, by the pleasant climate, by the natural beauty of the sea-framed landscape, its luxuriant *flora*, its rich *fauna*, its bountiful store of every necessity of life. All these combined to make the shores of the Mediterranean, especially the European shores, appear to the newcomer a desirable home for the perpetual possession of which it was worth while to fight. Besides this, the unexampled irregularity of the coast-line in the northern and eastern parts with its great number of neighbouring and easily accessible islands offered sufficient space in the future for expansion and the foundation of cities: and the sea itself afforded in its wide limits the never failing assurance of an easy livelihood. It is surprising what mighty strides forwards in civilisation are made by almost every people after the shores of the Mediterranean become its home.

Civilisation is in itself admittedly no special product of the Mediterranean alone. It had famous homes of vast antiquity in the far East, in Chaldæa, in the Highlands of Iran, in India and China; and certainly germs of Chaldaic and Iranic civilisation accompanied the Semitic and Aryan stocks on their wanderings and were not developed until they reached the Mediterranean shores. But even the development of these germs of civilisation assumes, under the local

influences of the Mediterranean (again excluding Egypt) a quite different form from that which they have in their eastern homes. In this typical peculiarity of intellectual development lies the bond of union which encircles the groups of nations in the basin of the Mediterranean and brings them into a firm and close connection, which is best expressed by designating them all as the "Mediterranean Race." We must emphasise the fact that this designation is to be understood in the historical and not in the ethnographical sense. The settlement in close succession of variously divergent but kindred peoples allows them to be easily amalgamated, and by repeated accessions promotes within these groups a more frequent change of language and of nationality. If we take Italy as an example, we perceive in the course of centuries a gradual transformation of the inhabitants, without their complete expulsion or extermination. Without any violence the original settlers became differentiated into the numerous peoples of the Italian peninsula; these were united to the Romans, and from these eventually, by mixture with Lombards, Goths, Franks, Greeks, Normans and Arabs, were formed the Italians. Similar changes occurred in Spain and France, and still greater variations in the East of the Mediterranean. This readiness to transmute their nationality forms a striking contrast to the stiff and almost unalterable customs of the East-Asiatic peoples, whose development is cramped by the spirit of narrow exclusiveness, in this sense forming but barren offshoots of the universal life of civilisation. The Mediterranean nations are on the other hand in constant transformation: ceaseless contact sharpens and rouses every side of their physical and intellectual activity, and keeps it in an unbroken ferment, which leads sometimes to progress, sometimes to retrogression, but always to the active expression of powerful vitality.

Of great importance to the nations on the Mediterranean was the fact that, on their long journey from their primitive home to the shores which became their new abodes, they had gradually freed themselves of the caste system, a burden which weighs heavily on the development of primitive nations. Caste is a primitive institution peculiar to no especial race: it is found in a pure form among the Aryans of India and the Semitic-Berber Egyptians. Even among the Redskins of America caste was traceable. Wherever this institution has appeared, it has always crippled the development of a people, checked its national expansion, stunted its political growth; and while it has restricted knowledge, education, prosperity and power, and even the promotion of art and trade to privileged classes, it has proved itself a clog on the intellect and an obstacle to civilisation. Thus it was a fortunate dispensation for the Aryan and Semitic stocks, from which eventually the Mediterranean nations sprang, that during the prehistoric period of their wandering they had been forced to abandon all vestiges of any caste system they may have possessed. They appear as masses which are socially united, though severed as nations. Despite their universal barbarism they had the great advantage that their innate capacity for civilisation was not hampered by the internal check of a caste system. Every discovery, every invention, every higher intellectual intuition, perception, or innovation could redound to the benefit of the whole people, could penetrate all strata, and be discussed, judged, weighed, accepted or rejected by all. Nourished by a many sided and fruitful mental activity, by comparison, imitation or contradiction, the existing seeds of civilisation yield a fuller development.

The peculiarity of the Mediterranean civilisation is contrasted with other civilisations and the secret of its superiority stands out most sharply in its capacity for progress under favourable circumstances; and though Mediterranean civilisation has experienced fluctuations and periods of gloom, it has always emerged with inexhaustible vitality, more vigorous than before. For manifestly it is dominated by one ideal, which is wanting to all other nations, the ideal of humanity. This consciousness of the inner unity and of the common goal of universal mankind did not indeed arise all at once on the Mediterranean. But the separate steps in this weary path may be recognised with tolerable distinctness, and they lead by the shores of the Mediterranean. Here we come across the first ideals of national feeling, out of which the conception of humanity is gradually evolved. First of all comes the dependence of the individual on the minute band of those who speak the same language and inhabit the same country as he. This relation of dependence declares the existence of an important altruistic feeling; it is the foundation of Patriotism. Patriotism is a sentiment foreign to the great nations of the East, for these had no social feeling outside that of membership in the tribe and the family: and the peculiar conditions of civilisation in the Orient (caste, tribal poems, etc.) have prevented the evolution of this sentiment into the higher one of membership in a nation, that is, into Patriotism. The small number of individuals in the peoples of the Mediterranean nations, with their countless subdivisions, and their almost universally hostile relations, furthered the impulse towards combination, since it made the individual a valuable member of the whole.

A second point is the conception, which is equally peculiar to the Mediterranean races, of the existence of personal rights, which marks out for the individual a wider sphere of action within this community: and a further result of this is the legal establishment of the social and political system. This idea is also more or less foreign to the great peoples of the East; while fostering all other forms of intellectual culture, the old oriental despotism has not allowed a distinct conception of rights to be formed, but lays down the will of the lord as the highest and only Law to which the good of the individual must be absolutely subordinated. The passive and even fatalistic character of most oriental peoples has at all times been reconciled to absolute government and the identification of the state with the person of the prince or with a ruling class. The Mediterranean nations, on the contrary, if they ever possessed this characteristic, shed it during the era of migration. And although among them, too, a despotism is no rare phenomenon, yet it has assumed a stamp quite different from the oriental form: it is no longer a natural thing, unalterable and inflexible. On the contrary we often notice among the Mediterranean nations, at an early period, an effort to extend the right of free activity from the individual to the community, to expand personal liberty into political freedom. In the striving after liberty we recognise one of the most striking characteristics of the growth of civilisation on the Mediterranean, such as is nowhere else to be found as a primordial element. National feeling, Patriotism, the conception of Rights, and the existence of political liberty were the foundations on which Humanity found it possible to rise.

2. THE PART PLAYED BY THE VARIOUS NATIONS IN THE CREATION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SPIRIT

A. The Egyptians

In order to show the nations of the Mediterranean to be a connected group, a Mediterranean race confined within an intellectual border, nothing is more suitable than to glance at the individual parts, and to take a few instances of the common experiences of kindred nations in the basin of the Mediterranean. If, in so doing, we consider not only the common but also the distinguishing characteristics, it can cause no surprise that the oldest division of the whole group of nations, the Egyptians, takes up a distinct position, that becomes more and more sharply differentiated as time advances. The Egyptians form the conservative branch of the race. In their ancient, indigenous civilisation, their despotic government, and their strictly organised caste system, they are the counterpart of the old civilised nations of Eastern Asia. Like them, the Egyptians cut themselves off as far as possible from the outer world and sank into a lethargic condition, from which even the fierce energy of mighty rulers, and their repeated recourse to great military operations and commercial undertakings, could rouse them only temporarily. The advantages of their geographical position on two seas were to a great extent neglected by the Egyptians, for the nation felt a dislike for the sea, which was fostered by religious teaching, and could not reconcile themselves to a seafaring life. Enlightened kings, who recognised the high importance of navigation for influence and prosperity, had to employ foreigners, Phœnicians and Greeks: and at the death of such rulers the fruit of their work was lost. The people, whom the caste system kept in a political and national torpor, gradually lost their vitality, notwithstanding their great numbers, until they became the thralls of foreign conquerors. The Persians, it is true, had great difficulties in suppressing the frequent risings, occasioned by religious and national antipathy; yet the political independence of Egypt was destroyed. After the Persian supremacy the land fell into the power of Macedonia (332 B.C.) and became a part of the world-empire of Alexander the Great. After the destruction of that empire Egypt attained under the Macedonian Ptolemies (323-30 B.C.) political but not national independence, and the important part which it played at that time is entirely attributable to its Greek and Oriental inhabitants. Later times brought no national or political revival to the country. The successive rule of the Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Mamelukes and Turks, testifies to an almost unbroken process of decay, especially in civilisation. And thus Egypt, abiding in strictest isolation, exhibits a course of development absolutely opposite to that of most other countries. From one of the highest stages of civilisation in remote antiquity it sinks gradually down to the barbarism of the present. Owing to this, Egypt has exercised comparatively little influence on the rise of civilisation in the Mediterranean: only during the time of the Ptolemies, a foreign dynasty, was this influence conspicuously felt. The national civilisation of the Egyptians stands then in opposition to that of the Mediterranean peoples.

B. The Israelites

Just as sharply distinctive as the Egyptians, but distinctive in a different way appears the people of Israel — if we may trust the picture which later Judaism drew to image its conception of the early ideals of the race. Here we have the incarnation of a lofty thought, which was destined to have a powerful influence on the spiritual development of mankind: the pure worship of God, the belief in One God, in a supreme almighty eternal Being, who is the Creator, Preserver, and First Cause of all things that are. In order to guard this belief from the polytheism of neighbouring nations, Abraham is said to have migrated with his stock from Chaldæa to Canaan; in order to purify this belief from the taint of Egyptian nature-worship, Moses is supposed to have led back his nation from Egypt to Canaan, and to have given it a code of religion and morality. This code became the only pillar of Israelitic nationality, while it raised an impassable wall between this people and every other people. Proud of the exclusive possession of the belief in the One God, and with the inspiring feeling that they were the chosen people, the Israelites were dominated by a religious and national arrogance, almost unprecedented in history, and by an inexorable intolerance which culminated in remorseless cruelty. All intercourse with men of another creed was shunned as pollution; Jehovah was a jealous God, who hated the worshippers of false gods and willed their destruction. By bloody battles Canaan was wrested from the numerous tribes of kindred but mortally hated Canaanites and a Jewish kingdom established under a priestly sovereignty. The original inhabitants were expelled or exterminated. Poet-priests and seers kept alive the glowing fanaticism of the people, which, beyond its division into twelve tribes, showed no peculiar state organisation and formed a pure theocracy. But the want of a firm organisation gave their enemies once more the upper hand: the Philistines, a Canaanite race, rose against the Israelites and pressed them so hard in long wars that the ruling priesthood was compelled to place the temporal power in the hands of a capable warrior. Thus the national Jewish monarchy was founded, which under the three kings, Saul, David and Solomon, represents the brief period of political prosperity for the nation. Saul and David, brave warriors, freed Israel from their external enemies, Solomon, a great organiser, restored internal peace. Jerusalem, the capital of the kingdom, was adorned with magnificent buildings, and made, by the erection of the Temple, the centre of the national worship. At the same time the discerning statesmanship of the kings had mitigated the existing intolerance and exclusiveness, which thenceforth gave way to more peaceful relations with the outer world. A distinct tide of progress carried the nation onwards under the rule of the kings. But its prosperity is short-lived. After the death of Solomon the kingdom at once split into two parts, Judah and Israel, mutually hostile and harmful. In both of them a jealous priesthood, under the mantle of the prophets, raised a vigorous opposition against the kingly power for its lack of orthodoxy, and produced revolutions which plunged both realms into destruction. The end of the kingdom of Israel was brought about by the Assyrian king (722) who removed the majority of the inhabitants to Mesopotamia. It was not until the year 608 that the kingdom of Judah was conquered by the Egyptians. Soon

afterwards (586) the Babylonian king destroyed Jerusalem and led away the inhabitants to Mesopotamia. While Palestine became, in this manner, a province in turn of the Assyro-Babylonian and Persian empires, the Jews pined in the Babylonian captivity until the Persian king Cyrus gave them permission to return. A part of the nation actually availed itself of the permission; and thus Judæa had once more its own government under the suzerainty of Persia, which permitted the free internal development of the Jewish theocratic institutions under the government of their High Priests.

The captivity had brought the rough exclusive side of the national character once more into the foreground, had sharpened the disinclination towards everything foreign and had quickened their religious fanaticism: the power of the priesthood, checked by no political considerations, promoted this tendency. Since now, through the conquests of Alexander the Great, Syria together with the kingdom of Persia came under Macedonian supremacy and Hellenism was introduced, it was inevitable that Judaism should rise in violent antagonism to the new spirit. The Ptolemies and after them the Syrian Seleucidæ tried to introduce in Palestine the language, manners and worship of the Greeks: the Israelites, henceforth called Jews, resisted to the utmost. Bitterly persecuted, many Jews, some willingly, some under compulsion, emigrated to Asia Minor, Egypt and North Africa. The Greek influence had also split up the Jews, since the Sadducees were less unfavourable to Hellenism, while the Pharisees represented the rigid national policy. The bloody revolt of the Maccabees freed Palestine from the Syrian power, made it once more independent, and actually brought into power a national dynasty, that of the Maccabees or Hasmonæans, who originally ruled as high priests and later as kings. But internal jealousies led to a civil war, during which the contending brothers called in the help of the Romans. The Romans first of all gave a king to the country, but afterwards absorbed it and annexed it to the Roman province of Syria. The Roman dominion became as hateful to the Jews as previously the Græco-Syriac rule had been. Their insurrection was, however, checked by Vespasian and his son Titus with much bloodshed, and the town of Jerusalem together with the temple destroyed (70 A.D.). In this way hundreds of thousands of Jews were carried off into captivity and scattered over the countries of the Mediterranean. A small fraction, remaining behind in their country, made in the year 133 under the leadership of Bar-Kochba a desperate effort to shake off the yoke of Rome, but was utterly crushed. Henceforth the Jews disappear from the list of independent nations. Countless small groups of them led a peculiar existence in their exile. Nowhere assimilating with the population, nowhere playing a political part as a community, always isolated, and holding fast to their creed and customs with unparalleled tenacity, they are usually regarded with disfavour and even hatred, are oppressed and often cruelly persecuted. Nevertheless they take firm root everywhere.

In so far as the Jews of antiquity offered an obstinate resistance to the loftier Hellenic and Roman life, they seem to have been enemies of progress, holding more aloof from the humanities than any other nation. On the other hand, there is evinced in their unshaken adherence to Faith and Law, in the resolution with which they endured every misfortune and disappointment in their cause, a high degree of moral elevation which is lacking in most other

races. The Jews furnish the first instance of a people which suffers persecution for the sake of its belief, that is to say for an ideal, for conscience. The distinctive feature of Judaism as contrasted with the aggressiveness of other monotheistic religions is that out of national arrogance it desired no proselytes; since through the extension of their Faith to other nations the Jews would have lost their advantage as the "chosen people." Thus the national pride of the Jews has become a national disaster. Although they opposed the thought of mankind, and drove in a parting wedge, still they became, unconsciously and unwillingly, once more a connecting link: for their dispersion over all the shores of the Mediterranean filled the countries with homogeneous parts and particles, which always remained in touch with each other and thus promoted the intellectual intercourse of the inhabitants among whom they lived. And the zeal with which the Jews on their dispersion turned to the pursuit of commerce and partly even of science, became of the highest importance for the relations of the nations within the basin of the Mediterranean, and showed itself in the result to be often a strong bond of union. Finally, Christianity which sprang from the soil of Judaism, and whose birth nearly coincides with the dispersion of the Jews, found precisely in this dispersion a powerful and rapidly efficient aid towards expansion.

C. The Phœnicians

Of the other Semitic nations the Arabs do not in antiquity appear in the history of the Mediterranean countries. Broken up into numerous tribes they led for the most part a restless nomad life within their own peninsula: and the commercial operations, which a few towns conducted, extended by sea and land eastward to Persia and India. On the other hand the Phœnicians appear as one of the most important links in the chain of the Mediterranean nations. They form, in contrast with those nations we have already discussed, the first historical bond fully conscious of their aim and end. The creative, enterprising, progressive spirit of the Mediterranean is alive in the Phœnicians. Equally remote from the contemplative calm of the Egyptians and from the national and religious exclusiveness of the Israelites, they devote themselves from the very outset to the care of the material side of human existence. Moral views are comparatively indifferent to the Phœnicians; but on the other hand they are not burdened with prejudices. They do not attain a national organisation, or the unity of a state, and have therefore in some sense no political history.

A very narrow strip of territory, of small extent, on the Syrian coast forms their home. Despite of this, or directly in consequence of this, they become the pathfinders of the world's history, and the first pioneers of world-trade. The conception of world-trade, which first dawned on the Phœnicians, marks a very important step on the way to the conception of Humanity. The Phœnician towns on the Syrian coast denote so many independent communities, yet in their aggregate they may be regarded as a unit. These towns were under kings, who pursued no political or warlike aims, but were rich and powerful commercial lords. The kings retained their dignity and titles even after the Phœnician towns had become dependencies of Assyria, Babylonia and Persia — an event which occurred early in their history. They retained therefore their Phœnician

individuality; the industry, the enterprising spirit, and the efficient seamanship of the Phœnicians were indispensable to their new suzerains, who, dwelling inland, knew nothing of seafaring. But besides that, they thoroughly understood how to make the most of the natural wealth of their home and its vicinity, to transform it into manufactures, and to discover in distant lands the products which they themselves lacked. Their native Lebanon furnished them with splendid materials for ship-building in its cedar and oak-forests: in fact, they early attained the mastery of the art of ship-building. Lebanon contained also iron-ore, and the adjoining island of Cyprus, and the mountain ranges of Asia Minor and Thrace possessed rich copper-mines: the Phœnicians immediately began systematically to work them. From the purple shell-fish found on the beach they manufactured a dye, renowned for its splendid colour, for which there was a great demand throughout the ancient world; at an early era the Phœnician purple and bright-coloured materials enjoyed a great reputation. They produced excellent glass from sandy quartz. Thus the high technical skill and diligence of the nation developed a many-sided industry, which secured a profitable return. It was an inevitable consequence of the small size of their country that many of its natural products were exhausted owing to the increasing consumption. In particular there was soon a scarcity of purple shell-fish and of amber. The opening up of new sources of supply led to the expansion of their shipping and of their colonisation, which was ever pressing westward. The islands of the Greek archipelago, South Italy, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, the coasts of Africa and Spain, even the shores of the Atlantic were covered with Phœnician settlements. They went especially in search of metals, amber, wool and skins: in addition to the precious metals they went in quest of tin, which was indispensable for the manufacture of bronze, still frequently used, and was not to be found on the east coast of the Mediterranean, and would have become too costly if obtained from India. They first discovered tin in Spain, and as the amount of ore there was insufficient, they found rich supplies of tin and lead ore in Britain (*insulæ Cassiterides*, Scilly Isles). Next they came on a rich store of a valuable amber on the North Sea and the Baltic. The quantities obtained there, partly also land-borne, placed the Phœnicians in a position not only amply to supply their home manufactories with raw materials, but to establish a profitable overland trade with the interior of Asia by means of caravans. They facilitated the introduction of Babylonian civilisation to the nations of the Mediterranean, and extended the carrying trade of Arabia with India. While their own metal-work (ornaments of gold and silver, vessels, implements and weapons of bronze) was a flourishing industry, they exported gold, silver, copper and tin to Egypt, the countries on the Euphrates, and Southern Arabia, and brought home in exchange the treasures of the East, Indian ivory and spices as well as the products of Babylonian looms, in order to sell these again to western countries. If we consider the great export trade which the Phœnicians carried on in ornaments of gold, silver, ivory and amber, in glass objects, in bright, delicate fabrics and purple stuffs, in spices and perfumes, with Italy, the Mediterranean islands, Spain, Africa and still farther the shores of the Atlantic, we shall recognise that they aroused and satisfied the craving for luxuries among the nations on the Mediterranean and in so doing became the most important agent for the dissemination of material culture. At the same time they

paved a way for the passing of the higher intellectual development of the East to the rude West, especially to the gifted Hellenic and Italian peoples. So that we may venture to find in the Phœnicians the transmitters also of intellectual culture.

Notwithstanding all their merits, the Phœnicians never reached national greatness. Apart from their political disunion and the mutual petty jealousies of their towns, the population was always being weakened and diminished by the constant departure of colonists. The colonies, as soon as they felt themselves sufficiently strong, broke away from the mother country: sometimes they experienced that mixture of races which was so frequent and so prevalent on the Mediterranean; sometimes they united themselves into a new great power (Carthage) which, alike in national and political respects, followed its own path. The native coast of Phœnicia preserved, it is true, under the Assyrian and Babylonian as under the later Persian suzerainty, a certain independence: yet the Persians in particular employed the services of the Phœnicians so extensively for their political and military ends, that the strength of the nation must have been exhausted by these requisitions. Most momentous in the end for the Phœnicians was, however, their contact rendered inevitable by geographical conditions, with that Hellenism, which equal in enterprise and love of the sea, was far superior in morality. Precisely because the Phœnicians were capable of culture and clung closely together, the intimate association with a more intellectual race was bound to have a destructive and disintegrating effect: and this, not through hostile conflict, but by gradual spiritual assimilation. If stubborn Judaism had not been able to escape completely the influence of the Hellenic spirit, the pliant cosmopolitan Phœnicians were still less able. After the conquest of Syria by Alexander the Great, Phœnician culture wanes, to be quickly absorbed by Greek civilisation. At the same time the dominion of the sea and the centre of the world-trade are transferred to Hellenised Egypt: Alexandria takes the place of Tyre and Sidon.

D. The Greeks

The Hellenes or Greeks come before us as the most important nation of antiquity on the Mediterranean and the one which exercises the most powerful influence on the far distant future. But the Hellenes do not appear to us as a compacted national entity. They break up into many separate tribes, and their state system presents a spectacle of disunion which only finds a counterpart in the petty states of mediæval Italy or Germany. Nevertheless Greek life shows such a similarity in all its parts, so active a national consciousness of fellowship prevails, and such community of purpose in their institutions, that the Greeks seem a united nation.

Their appearance into history is like the smiling sunbeam, which at the same time illuminates and warms. Rarely indeed was ever a people more happily or splendidly endowed by nature than the ancient Greeks. Disposed to cheerfulness and the light-hearted enjoyment of life, loving song, the dance, and manly exercises, the Greeks possessed also a keen and clear eye for nature and her manifestations, a lively desire for knowledge, an active spirit, which, far removed from the profound subtleties of the Egyptian or Indian philosophers, set boldly

at the task of investigating things from their appearance; they possessed also a highly developed social impulse, and an unerring delicacy of feeling for the beauty of form. This natural appreciation of beauty, which we have not met with yet in any people, is characteristic of the Greeks and raises them at once to a higher level than any other nation. Grace in outward appearance, beauty of form, symmetry of movement in joy as in grief, melodiousness in utterance, chastened elegance of expression, easy dignity in behaviour—these were the qualities the Greek prized highest: these ideals are expressed in the almost untranslatable καλός κἀγαθός: nothing good without beauty. Even among the Greeks of the Heroic Ages we have already the feeling of being in "good society." This was the ultimate cause of the idealistic tendency of the national mind, of the worship of the Beautiful, which with no other people reached such universal and splendid perfection. This finds its expression in the national cultivation of poetry, music, the plastic arts, and to an equal degree in their religion, philosophy and science. In closest connection with this intellectual tendency stands the hitherto unparalleled degree of freedom and versatility in the development of the individual. Besides all this, the Greeks were physically hardy and strong, brave in battle, cunning and shrewd in commerce, adept in all mechanical crafts. And since they felt themselves drawn towards a seafaring life and navigation, they soon established their complete superiority over all their neighbours.

Hence came their national pride: what was not Greek was barbarous. This boastfulness was not like the dull indifference of the Egyptians, and still less like the bitter religious hatred which the Israelite bore against every stranger, but asserted itself in a sort of good-natured scorn, based on full consciousness of self. The Greek liked, by means of intercourse, example, and instruction, to draw to themselves what was strange, in order to raise themselves: and without hesitation they appropriated whatever strange thing seemed worthy of imitation. Thus they acquired by observation from the Egyptians astronomical and mathematical knowledge, and from the Phœnicians the arts of ship-building and of navigation, of mining and iron-smelting. Hellenism offers the first historical instance of a conquest, which was effected not with weapons or wares, but through intellectual superiority.

Compared with the significance of the Greek race in the history of civilisation, its political history sinks into the background. The universal disorganisation is originally based on the diversity of the tribes, which, it is true, spoke the same language, but established themselves on the Mediterranean at different times, coming from different sides. Whole tribes (Æolians, Dorians, Ionians) always sought out the coasts or their vicinity: the Greeks nowhere, Greece proper excepted, pressed into the heart of the country in large numbers. The only exception to this is presented by the Dorian Lacedæmonians (Spartans) who could never reconcile themselves to maritime life: they also in another respect took up a separate position—they prided themselves not so much on morality as on a somewhat theatrically vainglorious exaltation of bodily strength.

Varied and manifold as the tribes themselves were the communities founded by them and their forms of constitution. The original type, monarchy, came usually to an early end, or was only preserved in name, as at Sparta: yet a form of it persisted in the "Tyranny," which differed from monarchy only in its lack of hereditary title. The "Tyranny" is found in Greece proper as well as on the islands

and in the Greek parts of Asia Minor, Lower Italy and Sicily: but for the most part it is of short duration, since it required a definite conspicuous personality, after whose death it became extinguished. The high standard of universal education, the wide scope conceded to individuals and the small, easily surveyed extent of the separate communities brought about the result that gradually more and more sections of the people desired and won a share in the conduct of public business. Thus was established the extended republican form of constitution, peculiar to the Hellenic race. (See Vol. I., p. 53. It is strange that this thoroughly Greek conception of Republic should have found no Greek expression, while the word democracy signifies for the Greeks merely a party or class government.) According as wider or narrower circles of the people took part in public affairs, that is, in the government, distinction was made between Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. These constitutional forms underwent constant change: a cycle is often observable which goes from Oligarchy through Tyranny to Democracy and then begins afresh. Such frequent internal changes could not obviously proceed without civil dissensions and the conflict of antagonistic views: yet these internal struggles passed away, thanks to the mercurial temperament of the people, without any deep-seated disorders, and far from being a barrier to progress, helped to rouse and stimulate their minds. The mutual relations of the individual states to each other present the same features. They are almost continually at war in order to win the spiritual headship in national affairs, the Hegemony, but without hatred or passion, as if engaged in a knightly exercise; with all this they do not lose the feeling of fellowship, which was always kept alive by the national sanctuaries (Dodona, Eleusis, Delphi, Olympia), the regular Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean games, and the Amphictyonic League, as well as by a warm feeling for oratory, the stage, poetry and art, which showed itself stronger than petty local jealousies. At the same time the Greeks did not neglect the practical side of life. The poverty of Greece proper in productions of the soil made the necessity of ample imports early felt, and natural conditions pointed exclusively to the sea as the way by which these should be brought. The dense population of Hellas depended entirely on foreign countries for corn, wine, fruit, wool, leather and timber, while it possessed valuable articles of export in the products of its mines and technical industries. Thus a flourishing maritime commerce was developed, which in the east of the Mediterranean put even that of the Phœnicians into the background. There was awakened among the Greeks, fostered by the extensive coast-line of Hellas and Asia Minor, and by the great number of densely populated islands, a love and aptitude for sea-life which is almost unequalled. The Phœnicians carried on navigation for commercial ends, the Greeks devoted themselves to it as an amusement. And from privateering, in which they also indulged, they were led to develop their shipping for warlike purposes, and so became the founders of a navy. At sea they showed themselves a match for a numerically superior enemy, as the Persian wars testify, in which the enormous fleets of Darius and Xerxes, mostly composed of Phœnician ships, could not withstand those of the Greeks. The city-states of Athens, Argos, Ægina and Corinth; the Ionian Islands; the islands of Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, Samos, Chios, Paros and Thera; in Asia Minor the towns of Phocæa, Ephesus, and Miletus; the colony of Naucratis in Lower Egypt; in Magna Græcia the towns of Tarentum, Rhegium, Locri, Neapolis, Syracuse,

Messana, Leontini, and Catana; all these were maritime powers — and not less so were the colonies of Miletus on the Black Sea (Sinope and Trapezus); the Corinthian colonies in Illyria (Apollonia, Epidamnus); the Phocæan colonies in the west (Saguntum and Massilia) and the colony in Africa founded from the island of Thera, i.e. Cyrene, which afterwards, under the dynasty of the Battiadæ, and as a republic, developed into a flourishing power. While the Phœnicians from fear of competition were wont to make a secret of their voyages, the Greeks gave publicity to their own. A thirst for learning and a delight in travelling, both innate qualities of the people, induced not merely sailors and merchants, but men of far higher education to take part in these voyages, and their narratives and records widened men's knowledge of the Mediterranean.

The Greeks were the first to concern themselves not only about their own nation, but about foreign nations and lands, and that not exclusively for political and commercial ends, but out of scientific interest. They studied these foreign lands, their natural peculiarities, their products and needs, the life and the history of their inhabitants. Similarly the Greeks were the first who made no national or caste-like secret of the fruits of their explorations, but willingly placed the results at the disposal of the whole world. While they in this way made the knowledge of geography, natural history and past events accessible to wider circles, they became the founders of the exoteric or popular sciences, while the scientific efforts of all other civilised races became less profitable for the masses from their esoteric character. The spread of knowledge enables Hellenism, as much as its æsthetics, which are based on the pleasure felt in beauty and proportion of form, to exercise an educating and ennobling influence on its surroundings, and firmly cements all who are of kindred stock and spirit. The varied and comprehensive unfolding of Greek life, drawing to itself the outside world, is bound up with a surprisingly rapid local expansion.

The formative influence of Greece on the entire Mediterranean region was fully exercised not during a lengthy period of peace, but in the midst of internal and external disturbances. Greece was split up into countless petty states, but experienced at first no danger from the fact, which rather had a beneficial result, since it gave scope to the capabilities of many individuals. We can thus understand the part which was played by Solon, Pisistratus, Pericles and Alcibiades in Athens, by Lycurgus, Pausanias and Lysander in Sparta, by Periander in Corinth, by Epaminondas and Pelopidas in Thebes, by Polycrates in Samos, and by Gelon and Dionysius in Syracuse. Even hostile collisions between the individual states were, at least in earlier times, harmless: the winning and the losing party were alike Greeks. Then a violent storm gathering in the East came down on them. In the middle of the sixth century B.C. the nation of the Persians roused themselves under their king Cyrus and so quickly extended their power in every direction that their newly founded kingdom became at once the first power in the ancient world. The annihilation of the Babylonian kingdom, the subjugation of the Armenians and Caucasian Scythians, and finally the conquest of the Lydian king Crœsus, who ruled over a mixed race, made Cyrus lord of Nearer Asia: even the Greeks of Asia Minor submitted to him, some willingly, some under compulsion, nor did the Greeks in Hellas trouble much about them. When, however, Cyrus' successor, Darius I., began to extend his conquests to the regions of the lower Danube in Europe, they became concerned and supported the

attempted revolt of their tribal kinsmen in Asia Minor under the leadership of Miletus. Thus arose the fifty years' war between Greece and Persia, which ended in the victory of the former, in so far as the Persians were forced to renounce all further attempts at conquest. Much ado has been made of the successful defence of tiny Greece against the enormous Persian realm. Considered more closely the matter is not so astonishing. The heroic deeds of a Miltiades, a Themistocles and an Aristides, of a Leonidas, a Xantippus and a Cimon deserve all honour; but the true reasons for the Persian failure lie deeper. Let us remember how weakened the apparently mighty world-empire of Spain emerged from the eighty years' war against the diminutive Netherlands. Moral superiority, higher intelligence and greater skill in seamanship had secured victory to the Greeks. Yet even they had not gone through the war without internal loss. On the one hand, familiarity with Asiatic luxury, made inevitable by the war, exerted a disastrous influence. On the other hand the rivalry of the states and their internal factions were rendered keener by the political and diplomatic intrigues running parallel with the war. This led to mutual aggression and the infringements of rights and finally to regular war between the two leading states, Athens and Sparta. The Peloponnesian war (431-404), so bitterly waged, undermined the political power of both. Almost all the Greek states, including the islands and Sicily, took part in it. The exhausted victors, however, soon afterwards submitted to the Thebans, who were ambitious of the Hegemony. But they also were too weak to maintain the leadership. The result of the contest for supremacy was the enfeebling of all. At this point begins the political downfall of the Greek petty-state system, but at the same time there came a new and strange increase of the national greatness in another direction, a Renaissance of Hellenism generally. While the smaller states were rending each other, the Hegemony had been transferred to a stock, which had until now been disregarded as comparatively backward in civilisation, but was nevertheless thoroughly vigorous and Greek; that of the Macedonians, who had early founded a kingdom in Thessaly and Thrace, and were ruled by a royal family which prided itself on its descent from Hercules. King Philip II. of Macedon (359-336), in consequence of the internal disorders of Greece, had formed the plan of making himself master of the whole country, and carried it out, partly by force (Chæronea, 338), partly by diplomacy and bribery. While he used his victory with moderation and knew how to pose as the guardian of the rights of the separate states to self-government, he so managed that the league of the Amphictyons nominated him commander of the league in the aggressive war planned against the Persians. During the preparations for the war Philip was murdered, and was succeeded by his son Alexander, then a young man of twenty (336-323). He not only carried out all his father's plans, but went far beyond them.

The gigantic apparition of Alexander the Great at the head of his Macedonian and Greek armies raged like a storm-cloud over Asia and Africa. An unprecedented idea had mastered the royal youth: the conquest of the entire known world, and its union under his sceptre into one single empire, in which Hellenic and oriental culture should be blended. In an unparalleled series of victories Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, Egypt, Cyrene, Media, Babylonia, Parthia, and Persia were conquered: the armies of the Persian king, Darius III., were annihilated in decisive battles: and in the capital, Persepolis,

the enfeebled Persian nation did homage to the conqueror. Then his progress was continued northward against the Scythians and eastward against the Indians. The valiant resistance offered by the ruler of the Punjaub, King Porus, caused Alexander to interrupt his victorious career and to return to Babylon, in order thence to govern the mighty empire which his sword had won. Fate allowed him no time to carry out his great plan: overcome by excesses, Alexander died, and left a shattered and incompletely reconstructed world behind him. The empire, which lacked any internal bond of union, was destined to break up, all the more after his death, since neither the question of succession to the throne nor the organisation of the empire had been settled. In the wars of the "Diadochi" able and great men among the Hellenes fought for the sovereignty of the world. The powerful Antigonus and his son Demetrius, the "Town Destroyer," claimed the title of "Kings of Asia": they found in Europe a counterpoise in Antipater and his son Cassander, who usurped lordship over Macedonia and Greece. Other generals joined one side or the other, and carried off as spoils whole provinces: a truly bewildering confusion. The battle of Ipsus first ended it; Antigonus fell, and with him his proud structure, the kingdom of Asia, crashed to the ground. Meanwhile Hellenism had been playing a predominant part and all the other nations looked on in silence. The conquerors divided among themselves the inheritance of Alexander. Cassander took Macedonia and Greece, Lysimachus Thrace, Seleucus Nicanor the whole of Nearer Asia, and Ptolemy Lagi Egypt. But only the two latter succeeded in founding lasting dynasties. The kingdom of Seleucus was soon absorbed into Syria: Cassander's dominions fell to the descendants of Antigonus, and the Thracian kingdom of Lysimachus sank into ruins. On the other hand new Greek states arose. Some fifty years after the death of Alexander, the divisions of his inheritance, from which the central Asiatic countries were severed, assumed a more lasting form, Mediterranean in character. This was the era of the Hellenistic monarchies. The preponderant influence in the political history and civilisation of Hellenism passes from Hellas proper, which gradually sinks into decay, to the border-lands. As such, appear the kingdom of Macedonia under the descendants of Antigonus, the kingdom of Epirus under the Pyrrhidæ, the kingdom of Syria under the Seleucidæ, the kingdom of Egypt under the Ptolemies, the town of Pergamus in Asia Minor, under the Attalidæ, and the kingdom of Bithynia in Asia Minor, founded by Nicomedes. In a certain sense we may include the later kingdoms of Cappadocia, Pontus, the Greater and Lesser Armenias, former parts of the Syrian empire of the Seleucidæ, since their royal houses had been greatly influenced by the Greek spirit. So, too, many Greek islands regained their political independence: Crete became a dreaded nest of corsairs; Rhodes attained a high civilisation.

Hellas proper, divided into the Achæan and the Ætolian Leagues, sought a return to her former republican greatness, but could not release herself from the Macedonian power, and wasted her remaining strength in fighting against it, as well as in conflicts between the two leagues, so that finally it became an easy prey for the Romans. Hellenism meanwhile unfolded its most beautiful blossoms in the monarchies. Admittedly it lost more and more of its national character and became more markedly cosmopolitan: but to the world at large this tendency was profitable. The houses of the Ptolemies, the Seleucidæ, and

the Attalidæ especially, produced enlightened patrons of science and art. The towns where their courts were, Alexandria, Antioch, and Pergamus, became capitals of vast splendour, size and wealth, centres alike of intellectual culture and world commerce. They were adorned with magnificent buildings, temples and palaces, with academies, museums and libraries, with art-treasures of every kind. They were filled with manufactories, stores of merchandise and warehouses. The ever active and eagerly creative spirit of the Greek people, from whom the weakening and distracting occupation of politics had been withdrawn by the monarchical form of government, threw itself with redoubled energy partly into scientific research and artistic production, partly into the industries, trade and navigation, and in all these branches achieved triumphs which were spread over every coast by the medium of the sea.

The age of the Hellenistic kingdoms, which comprises the last three centuries before the beginning of the new chronology, marks the zenith of Hellenistic culture; it is the period when the greater world, revealed by the conquests of Alexander, was explored by science and its value practically realised. To this period belong the delicate perfection of the Greek language, the rich literary productions in the departments of philosophy, mathematics, physical science, geography and history, and a great assiduity in collecting: all these laid the foundation of real science. Then also trade and navigation were organised, not on the basis of a monopoly, but on that of free competition, and these drew the connecting bond still closer round the nations of the Mediterranean. But above all, this age is that of the admitted supremacy of Greek life, that gentle power which irresistibly draws to itself all that is outside it, and assimilates it; that power which has absorbed the Phœnician, Syrian and Egyptian civilisation, and has not passed over the Jewish without leaving its trace. On the other hand the invasion of many strange peoples (on the Scythians, Illyrians and Gauls see below, pp. 62, 72-81) could not but react ultimately on Hellenism. It lost its homogeneousness and the feeling of nationality, weakened already by independent political events. These causes and the fact that it was the common possession of different states continually at war with each other, eventually made Hellenism the foundation on which the Roman people built up the proud structure of their greatness.

E. Carthage

Before the Romans began to influence powerfully the people on the Mediterranean, the Carthaginian nation, on the western shores of it, had already appeared on the stage of history (see above, p. 17). The Phœnician colony, in which the noblest families of proud Tyre had found a new home, soon broke off connection with the mother country, drew the remaining Phœnician settlements in Africa to itself and formed with them one flourishing state, in which nothing, except their descent and their liking for the sea, reminds us of their original home. Even the nationality of the Carthaginians seems to have shown an independent stamp, owing to the influence of their surroundings, although their language remained Phœnician. The territory of the Carthaginian state, bounded on the east by Numidia, on the west by Mauretania, was soon covered with numerous towns, not only on the coast, but also in the interior, where agriculture

could be carried on profitably. Colonisation spread from the coast towns as far as the Balearic Islands, Spain, the Atlantic coasts of Africa, and to the great Mediterranean islands, Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily. On the last-named island Greek settlements already existed. Hence a long conflict broke out between Carthaginians and Greeks in Sicily for the possession of the island, in the western part of which the former, and in the eastern part the latter maintained their supremacy. The army and fleet of the Carthaginian general Hamilcar were destroyed by the Syracusan leader Gelon at Himera in 480.

Though possessing considerable resources and great wealth, Carthage performed no especial services in the cause of civilisation. The oppressive rule of an aristocratic oligarchy at home, a religion which craved for human sacrifices, and a vein of cruelty peculiar to the whole people, characterised the Carthaginians. A civilising influence on their Berber neighbours can be inferred in so far as these nomads became partially settled, built cities (Iol and Tingis in Mauretania, Hippo and Zama in Numidia), and adopted a regular form of government (the kingdoms of Mauretania and Numidia). The more the power of Carthage extended in the Mediterranean, the more often must she come into conflict with the power of Rome, which advanced at first only towards the West. Each of the two powers saw in the other the chief hindrance to its prosperity, a dangerous rival, with whom it was impossible to live in peace, and who must be annihilated at any cost. In Carthage, as in Rome, the consciousness of the necessity of a struggle for life and death had become an article of the national creed, and served to foster the bitterness between the two nations. The war broke out 264 B.C. Sicily once more was the immediate cause of it. Owing to the tenacity and the military efficiency of both combatants, it lasted with interruptions until 146, after it had been waged in many places, in Sicily, Africa, Spain, Italy and at sea. In the years 218-215 the war, owing to the bold march of the Carthaginian general, Hannibal, through Spain and Southern Gaul over the Alps into Italy, presented a surprisingly favourable prospect for Carthage and brought Rome to the brink of ruin; but after the Romans had found a valuable ally in the Numidian king Masinissa, the war ended definitely with the fall of Carthage. The town itself was destroyed, the country came as a province to Rome. The same fate befell the African kingdoms of Numidia and Mauretania. Julius Cæsar had Carthage rebuilt as a Roman town: as such and as the capital of the Vandal kingdom it played in subsequent years a part in history. The Punic population as such preserved its identity up to the conquest of the Vandals and even to the invasion of the Arabs, and exercised great influence on Christianity through its Fathers of the Church (St. Jerome and others).

F. Rome

The ruins of the Carthaginian power formed the first stepping-stone for the world-empire of the Romans, the people in whom the "Mediterranean spirit" is most clearly seen. The Roman people, or, more correctly speaking, the Roman state, emerged from an obscure beginning through the consistent and successful prosecution of one leading idea. The development of the Romans struck out a path quite different from that of their kinsmen, the Greeks. With regard to

the poetical embellishments of their origin, history has followed the spirit of the times; but this much is clearly established, that a fragment of the old Italic people of the Latins, inhabiting central Italy, founded Rome on the Tiber after their severance from their kinsfolk, and regarded it henceforth as the national centre. The national pride of the Romans, highly developed from the very outset, their military capacities, and their successful wars against their neighbours soon raised the town to prosperity, greatness and power and made it a nucleus to which all the other peoples of Italy either voluntarily or under compulsion in time attached themselves. This pre-eminence of Rome rested on a fundamental moral conception, precisely like the pre-eminence of the Hellenes over the east of the Mediterranean: but the morality of Rome was quite distinct from the Hellenic, and therefore had different effects. Roman life was developed from the idea of the state, the lofty conception and never failing manifestation of the indivisible unity, the majesty and omnipotence of the state in itself. The "Res Publica" was the highest ideal for the Roman. He felt himself not an individual, as the Greek did, but an inseparable element of the state, only thereby entitled to exist, but for that reason, too, of an exalted greatness. The common weal was the first law for him: to this all else — nationality, individuality, civilisation and religion — was subordinated. Not that he would have been intolerant of foreign nationality and civilisation or foreign creeds; those were matters of indifference to him. He only demanded of every man who obtained a share in the state an unqualified submission to the ideas of the state. Much narrower limits were therefore set to the assertion of individuality than among the Greeks. Personality counted for little in public life, in which all was concentrated, all tuned in a single key. In consequence, an unshaken firmness was developed in the fabric of the state, an inexhaustible vitality, which, guided by a many-headed but single-voiced will, was always directed into such paths as led to the deepening and widening of the state-idea. Heterogeneous tendencies and internal struggles doubtless existed even in the Roman state; and there were radical changes of political plans and forms of government, transitions from monarchy to an aristocratic and thence to a democratic republic, and thence to oligarchy and imperialism. Nevertheless one common characteristic belongs to all factions and regimes, namely, the compacted structure of state-unity and state-omnipotence.

The peculiar tendency of Roman life is displayed in an advance in civilisation, which influenced the nations on the Mediterranean and beyond to a no less degree than the Greeks did. The development of the ideal side of civilisation, as well as its material promotion by manufactures and trade, the two paths so successfully trodden by Hellenism, remain somewhat foreign to the Roman nature and are only followed after the example of others. But the Romans turn as pioneers to the social question, which stands in intimate connection with the development of the state. They are the first to make progress in this sphere and in a threefold direction:

(1) The Romans were early inclined to restrict all expression of public and private life to strict forms, and to stereotype these by written laws, and equally to bind all members of the state, without exception, to their observance. By this means the caprice and partiality of the judges were checked, the popular idea of justice was strengthened, and a strong respect for law infused into every section of the people. This feeling was one of the firmest props of the authority

of the state, the knowledge of law and jurisprudence was developed hand in hand with it into a science peculiar to the Romans.

(2) Again, the Romans were the first people to recognise the danger which threatens a state in a large class of pauper citizens. They directed their efforts therefore towards establishing an equal division, as far as possible, of property, especially real property, by a classification of the citizens, by agrarian laws, by gratuitous division of state-lands among the poorer classes, and by a gradually improved adjustment of the conditions of tenure. The entire scheme failed, because of the growth of the state and the increasing complexity of its relations. Still, credit is due to the Romans for having recognised the importance of the question and for having attempted its solution.

(3) The Romans were the first people to assign to woman an honourable position in the family and in society, and that from the very beginning. They recognised in the family the strongest foundation of society, and therefore kept a strict watch over the sanctity of marriage and invested woman with the dignity and privileges of a citizen. Even the Greeks themselves with all their striving after the ideal — to say nothing about the Semitic and oriental peoples — misunderstood the position of woman, whom they treated as an inferior being and kept in slavish dependence: the influence which individual *Hetæræ*, distinguished by beauty and wit, exercised, only marks the low position in which women were intentionally kept. The Romans, on the contrary, strongly insisted on modesty in their women, and they therefore showed them due respect: and though there was no social intercourse between the sexes in the present meaning of the word, women took with them a far higher position, both in public and private life, than with any other people of those times.

While the Romans perfected the most complete constitution which antiquity possessed on the Mediterranean, their state-system, partly through successful wars with the other Italian nations, partly by alliances and voluntary accessions of territory, grew increasingly in extent. Rome began to exercise a charm, from which even the Greeks of Lower Italy could not withdraw themselves, and the Roman citizenship became a greatly prized privilege. And though national differences in Italy did not entirely disappear, the Latin branch maintained a distinct predominance over all others, and Latin became the prevailing language. From South Italy the Romans encroached upon much-coveted Sicily, and in so doing brought about the war with the Carthaginians (p. 24), in consequence of which they were able to create the first province, adding in the following years Sardinia and Corsica. From this point begins the vast and gradually increasing expansion of the Roman empire. Attacks from without furnished the immediate stimulus: the annoying piracy of the Illyrians and the continual unrest caused by the Celts of Cisalpine Gaul compelled interference. The Gauls were then in the course of a backward migration, that is, one from West to East (cf. p. 8). The terrible disaster of the year 390 was not yet forgotten, but a century and a half had not passed over the land in vain; the Roman state was already strong enough not only to repel the attack, but to subdue the country across the Po as far as the Alps. Then their task was to ward off the second and most violent attack of the Carthaginians. This second Punic war, after many vicissitudes, added Spain, wrested from the Carthaginians, to the Roman provinces. Hannibal's plan to unite the Hellenistic monar-

chies of the East against Rome was wrecked by the superior policy of the Romans, who shattered the alliance and conquered its most active member, King Philip III. of Macedon. The war with Macedonia and the Achæan league permitted the Romans to take a firm footing in Greece also, where they already had an ally in the Ætolian league. Rome's lust for conquest only became greater; for the Hellenistic states, dazzled by the good fortune of Rome, were accustomed in all external and internal difficulties to turn to Rome as arbitrator.

The greatest impulse to the irresistible expansion of the Roman power was given when the third Punic war had ended in the incorporation of the Carthaginian state as the Province of Africa (146). The thought of a world-dominion, up till now merely casual, and the natural consequence of favourable events, from this moment confronts us as a political motive clearly realised and carried out with iron resolution through the raising of immense armaments and astounding diplomatic skill. Almost simultaneously with Carthage the completely shattered Macedon was incorporated, and then came a rapid succession of new provinces — Greece (Achaia), Pergamus, left by King Attalus III. as an inheritance to the Romans (*Asia propria*), Transalpine Gaul, Cilicia, Cyrene, Bithynia, bequeathed to the Romans by King Nicomedes III., the island of Crete, the kingdom of Pontus on the Black Sea, wrested from the powerful Mithradates VI.; Syria, snatched from the Seleucidæ; the island of Cyprus, Numidia, Mauretania, Egypt, taken in the year 30 from the Ptolemies, and Galatia. Thus the Roman dominion had completely encircled the entire coast of the Mediterranean and had penetrated deep into the interior of three continents. Then came a series of fresh provinces, some in Europe, some in Asia: only the German races dwelling between the Rhine, Danube and Elbe were able to protect themselves against that iron embrace.

This gigantic frame was held together by one single force — Rome, which administered the bewildering conglomeration of the most heterogeneous nations. The ruling people, the Romans, left to their subjects their language and nationality, religion and worship, manners and customs, trade and industries, unchanged; nothing was required of them but obedience, taxes and soldiers. And the nations obeyed, paid taxes, furnished recruits and were proud to be members of the mighty empire. This result would be incomprehensible, despite all the advantages of Rome, if the influence of the Phœnicians and Greeks had not prepared the way. The Phœnician and Greek nature had shot the varied warp of the national life of the Mediterranean nations and woven a stout fabric, from which the Romans skilfully cut their imperial mantle. The myriad relations which had been formed between the different members by their mediation could not fail to instil, at any rate in the upper strata, a homogeneity in mode of thought, feeling and contemplation, which gradually deepened and revived the consciousness of the original and long since forgotten affinity. The Roman world-sovereignty opened up the glad prospect for the different nations that, without being forced to renounce their national individuality, they might study the promotion of their own prosperity in peaceful contact. The place of the ideas of nationality, home and fatherland, which alone had been predominant until now, was taken by the all-embracing idea of the state, of a state which to some extent embodied mankind and took the welfare of all alike under its sheltering wings. This fabric appeared constructed for eternity. Nothing seemed able to

shatter the solidity of its framework: neither the onslaught of external foes nor internal dissensions, nor finally the change in form of government — republic, dictatorship, triumvirate, empire. The state-idea was never lost from sight, not even in the civil wars with their extermination of the noblest. In the genius of Cæsar, the divine Julius (his surname *Καῖσαρ* has become the title of the highest grade in monarchical rank), is found the most splendid embodiment of the Roman conception of the state. And when his great-nephew Octavianus Augustus succeeded in attaining the highest dignity in the state without infringing the time-honoured system of administration, and in making the office hereditary for some time, the proud edifice seemed to have received its coping-stone.

The Roman empire of that age formed a world-empire in a stricter sense of the word than that of Alexander the Great: it was no mere collection of discordant and divergent entities welded by the sword, but an organic living body, which had Rome for its head. The organising genius of the Romans had created a system whose threads met in one central point. The capital offered, also, with its palaces, temples, theatres, race courses, monuments and baths, with its processions, feasts, gladiatorial shows and a thousand dissipations, an endless series of attractions. For the Romans there was but one city, the "Urbs;" but one limit to the empire, that of the "world." The Roman spirit did not cling to its city: it spread over all provinces, not deeply penetrating and absorbing, like the Greek spirit, but commanding respect by its self-trust, calm earnestness, and systematic order. Thus the Roman ideals are a valuable supplement to the Hellenic civilisation. On every shore of the Mediterranean they come into contact and by mutual interpenetration blend into that distinctive Mediterranean spirit which now begins to awaken to self-consciousness.

G. Christianity

In the new order of things which had been created in the region of the Mediterranean by the enlargement of the Roman empire, the teachings of Christ produced a revolution in the intellectual world such as history has but seldom seen. The effect of this change was neither political nor national, but purely intellectual and social. Since all worldly ambition was wanting in the first adherents of the Christian religion, who were mostly "mean people" from the poorer and more ignorant classes, they exercised at first no immediately sensible influence on a public life unalterably cast into the inflexible forms of imperial Rome. The first attack on them proceeded from Judaism, which was just then being annihilated as a political influence and as a nation: but the dispersion of the Jews contributed largely to the spreading broadcast of the seed of Christianity. It was an equally important point that the Christian teaching at the very first, broke down the narrow barriers of national Jewish thought, filled itself with the Greek spirit through the immense activity of Paul, who had received a Greek education and had been brought up a Pharisee, and was thereby enabled to enter into sympathy with all mankind. An ever-widening power belongs to monotheism: this power, freed from shackles of nationality, was the more effective from the union in the Christian teaching of the belief in one God, with a moral code, which, through its gentleness and its love, embracing all mankind without distinction, spoke to the hearts of all. For the first time the principle appeared

that all men, without distinction, are the "children of God": all of equal spiritual worth, all called to the enjoyment of equal rights.

From the beginning of historical times every social organisation had been based on inequality: and although it was only among the Egyptians that this principle was carried out on the Mediterranean in its strictest form, i.e. "caste," yet in every nation a strict division of classes existed. The idea of a "people" comprised usually only a section of politically privileged citizens, more or less restricted in numbers, while under them a large population, without political rights or personal freedom, existed as slaves. Even Rome herself, steeped in a strict spirit of justice, had maintained slavery as a state institution: her economic life was entirely founded on it. Slaves cultivated the fields; slaves were busied with crafts and trades; slaves rowed the ships of the merchants, while the citizens fulfilled their state obligations by voting in the public assemblies and by military service. Free labour was the exception. Then suddenly the Christians came forward and asserted that there was no distinction between high and low, bond and free, master and servant; that all men were equal and had no other duty than to love and to help each other. The first Christians certainly made no attempt to introduce this doctrine into ordinary life: they emphatically declared that their kingdom was not of this world; and, waiting for the realisation of their hopes in the world to come, willingly adapted themselves to their appointed condition. But when such tenets penetrated the dense masses of ignorant bondmen, was not a mistaken interpretation of the question possible? Would not this part of the population be inclined to seek the promised equality and fraternity in this world rather than in the next? Would not the enormous crowd of slaves, presuming on their natural strength and appealing to the new teaching, refuse all further work and actually demand a share in the property of the owners? Would not thus the traditional order of society be threatened and the very existence of the state be endangered? A war of all against all seemed imminent.

We can estimate from this how the first appearance of Christianity with its unheard-of demands must have unfolded, uncompromising and threatening, the picture of the social question. The followers of Christianity were either to be ridiculed as unpractical enthusiasts or to be hated as dangerous innovators. The ideal core of Christianity, the manifestation of a pure humanity, was superior to the Jewish, Hellenic and Roman nature. Mankind must first be educated to understand it. As long as that was not the case, the Roman state must offer resistance to the new teaching and strive to suppress it by force. Yet it was destined to discover that the power of thought is greater than that of external violence. Notwithstanding all the heat of the conflict, it gradually was made clear that both pursued, although on different roads, the same end, namely, the establishment of the superiority of the universal to the individual. If Rome strove after political sovereignty over the world, Christianity strove after its spiritual union under one faith, one worship, one moral law. The close relationship between these two apparently dissimilar aims must lead finally to a mutual understanding—a compromise was made. The state abandoned all attempts to suppress by force a faith which had already penetrated the higher social strata and had lost its revolutionary appearance. Christianity, on the contrary, renounced its dreams of a millennium and assumed an attitude of toleration towards the calls of earthly life.

In the end both parties recognised that they could make good use of each other: the state recognised in a universal religion which rested on a foundation of morality a firm cement to bind together the loosening fabric of the empire; Christianity learnt to value in Roman life the power of strict organisation, and was busy in turning this power to the good of its own welfare. Then came reconciliation. The state became Christian, i.e. Christianity became the religion of the predominant circles, while its opponents were confined, both in space and social influence, to continuously lessening classes (*pagani*). Christianity organised itself as a church, after the model and in the spirit of the Roman state. In return for the support afforded by it, the Church desired and obtained from the state the unfettered control of souls, that is, over the thoughts and feelings of all members of the state. And so when Christianity, recognised as the Roman state religion, had victoriously spanned all the coasts of the Mediterranean, a new bond of union was drawn, in which the close inner connection of the members was clearly seen. The belief in the One God which originated with the Israelites; the activity of the Phœnicians in distributing material goods; the high flights of thought, the appreciation of the beautiful and the thirst for research that marked the Hellenes; the law-loving nature, the spirit of order and the social science of the Romans; the moral code of Christianity, which rests on the universal love of mankind — all these have a subtle power, and, kept in ceaseless contact and balance through the ease of intercourse afforded by the sea, engender the "Mediterranean spirit," characterised by the strong desire for perfection, for wisdom and prosperity, for a better and more beautiful existence, based on an ever-broadening social foundation.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SPIRIT

A. The Invasion of the Germanic Races

The Roman empire, whose development and extension had placed it in a favourable position to unite no inconsiderable portions of mankind, had long been the hammer: it was now destined to become the anvil. The "great fly-wheel of all history," the migration of nations, had stood comparatively still while the world-empire of Rome was being built; at least the far-off effects of it had been less appreciable on the shores of the Mediterranean. Now the empire received a blow of tremendous violence, dealt by the Germans, under the shock of which the fabric of the world creaked. Many a strange rumbling had preceded the shock. The first signs of the new movement go back to the onslaught of the Cimbrians and Teutons on the Roman power, some hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era, and are repeated at short intervals with increasing strength. The German tribes on the farther side of the Rhine and the Danube become more and more restless; and though the Suevi in Roman Gaul were conquered by Julius Cæsar, all attempts of the Romans to subjugate the German tribes on the other side of the two boundary rivers were in vain. Soon Rome saw herself restricted to the defensive, and even that position became more and more difficult. The Dacians on the lower Danube were only subdued with difficulty and partially Romanised by numerous colonies. At the mouths of

the Danube and on the coasts of the Black Sea the Goths established themselves, after dislodging and subduing the Scythians and Sarmatians, and thence overran in numerous predatory hordes the provinces of Thrace, Asia Minor and Greece: after occupying Dacia, which the Romans had given up, they founded a kingdom which stretched from the Black Sea to the Baltic.

Besides this, in the extreme east of Rome's Asiatic empire the renewed attacks of the Parthians gave cause to suspect that the great reservoirs of population in central Asia were once more about to be poured out. This outbreak occurred in full force at the precise moment when the Roman empire, which had already become rotten to the core, split under the burden of its own weight into two halves, a western and an eastern, with Rome and Constantinople as capitals. The Huns, a numerous nation of horsemen, Mongolian in race, living in central Asia, being hard pressed, began to move and drive everything steadily before them in their march westward. On the Volga the Huns came upon the Alanes, also a nomad nation of horsemen, consisting of a mixture of Germans and Sarmatians, and hurried them on with them. Both together hurled themselves against the new kingdom of the Goths and shattered it. While the eastern portion of this people spread with the Huns and Alanes into the Dacian-Pannonian lowlands, the western Goths threw their whole weight first against the eastern and then the western Roman empire. Athaulf, Alaric's successor, led them out of Italy into Gaul and Spain.

In the meanwhile the impact of the Huns, which had destroyed the Goths, had set all the German tribes westward of the Vistula into motion and had caused their general advance towards the west and south: hence ensued a migration with women and children and all movable possessions, which flooded Europe and did not break up or halt until the Mediterranean shores were reached. But before the equipoise of the nations, which were crowding on each other in storm and stress, could be restored, new masses kept rolling onwards. The Germanic tribes were followed by the Slavonic, who occupied the habitations which the former had left, and gradually began to spread over the broad stretch of land between the Baltic and the Black Seas. Behind these appeared hordes of Tataric and uncertain origin (Bulgarians, Iaziges, Avars, etc.), continually keeping the line moving westward.

The fate of the Roman empire was sealed. It could not withstand such pressure. Even that splendid system went down before the flood of rapacious barbarians. Only in vain did the Romans take troop after troop of these barbarians into their own pay; in vain they conceded to them border state after border state as a bulwark, and when the western Roman government, in order to protect at least their ancestral land, Italy, recalled their own legions from the provinces, these were immediately inundated. Among "the first who knew nothing of the last" the Germans poured over the empire. At the beginning of the fifth century the Franks established themselves in northern, the Burgundians in eastern, Gaul; the Vandals marched to Spain, and driven thence by the West Goths, who were vacating Italy, they crossed over the Straits of Gibraltar into Roman Africa. Meantime the West Goths settled in Spain and Aquitania. But even Italy itself had not drained the cup of misery to the dregs when the bands of Alaric plundered her. Attila, "the scourge of God," dreaming of a world-empire, had led the hordes of horsemen from the kingdom of the Huns, Alanes

and Goths, against western Europe. He encountered in Gaul the Roman commander Aëtius, under whom the Franks, Burgundians, West Goths, Gauls and the remnants of the Romans had united in common defence. Attila, compelled on the plains of Châlons to retreat, swooped down on Upper Italy, where he destroyed the flourishing town of Aquileia. He died, it is true, as early as 453: but Rome found in his place two dangerous enemies. The German Odovacar, who had been intrusted by the Romans with the protection of Italy, deposed the last Roman emperor and, without any opposition, made Italy Germanic. Meantime the Byzantine emperor, Zeno, had shaken the threatening presence of the Pannonian East-Gothic kingdom from off his neck by prompting Theoderic to conquer Italy. That great East Goth succeeded not only in making himself king of Italy in the place of Odovacar, but in transmitting the sovereignty to his descendants. His chief aim was to abolish the national differences between Romans and Goths. Unfortunately the Goths, when they became Christians, had adopted the doctrine of Arius, which Church and state had rejected; and even if they adapted themselves to the Roman forms in government, the union was limited to the peaceful occupancy of a common territory. During these changes in Italy new German kingdoms were rising in the former Roman provinces on the west and south. In Gaul, the Salic Franks, under Chlodwig (486), had annihilated the last remnants of the Roman rule and had adopted the Christian doctrine sanctioned by Rome. From this germ grew the Frankish power, destined for such future greatness. In Spain, Athaulf had already laid the foundation of a West-Gothic sovereignty. Eurich and his successors ruled over this West-Gothic elective monarchy until 711. The amalgamation of Goths and Romans in Spain proceeded far more smoothly than in Italy, especially because King Reccared (587) was converted from Arian to orthodox Christianity, and formed a legislature for both nations in common. Dislodged by the victorious West Goths, the Vandals had already withdrawn to Roman Africa: their king Geiserich had conquered the whole province (439) and made Carthage the capital of a kingdom which was destined to live for nearly a century. The Vandals, who had become a considerable maritime power, then acquired Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and the Balearic Islands, and were dreaded not only in Italy (455, sack of Rome), but also in Byzantium. Yet the warm climate and the luxury of later Rome soon sapped the strength of the Northerners. A blending with the Romans had been impracticable, since the Vandals, who in contrast to the other Germans were intolerant in religion, as zealous Arians relentlessly persecuted the adherents of the Roman Church. At this time the East Roman empire took a fresh lease of life under Justinian I. This prince, hard pressed in the North by the Bulgarians and in the East by the Persians, entertained the idea of restoring the unity and the greatness of the pristine Roman empire: the success and skill of his brave generals, Belisarius and Narses, made this goal seem actually attainable. After the annihilation of the disintegrating Vandal power, the southern coasts of West-Gothic Spain were conquered and held for some time. Then the Byzantine armies turned to Italy, and after twenty years of fighting the power of the East Goths was ended. But the times were unfavourable for a complete restoration; fresh hordes were following the main body of migrating Eastern nations. The territories in Pannonia and Dacia, which had been abandoned in his time by Theodoric, had been occupied by Langobardi and

Gepidi. In the wars of extermination which had broken out between the two races the Langobardi won the day: but they had to yield to the pressure of the Tataric Avars, and moved westward. In the year 568 the Langobardi, under Alboin, reached the borders of Italy. In a very brief period they had conquered almost the whole land. The independent spirit of the Langobardi hardly tolerated the rule of their own kings, and each duke sought rather to become a ruler on his own account. Thus the first foundations were laid for the political disintegration of Italy. After King Authari (589) had married the Bavarian Theodelinde, an adherent to the Roman faith, close relations arose between the conquerors and the conquered. Steady amalgamation made the German spirit retreat further and further into the background, until at last it was stifled by the Roman. In the struggle against powerful vassals, against the remnants of the Byzantine exarchate at Ravenna, and against the influence of the bishop of Rome, the kingdom of the Langobardi gradually sank to ruin, until in 774 a foreign invader gave it its death blow.

B. The Invasion of Islam

The mighty movement in the north of the Mediterranean, outlines of which have been sketched in the preceding pages, has its counterpart in a later movement on the eastern and southern coasts. Here also a migration begins, not indeed from unknown regions, but starting from a definite local centre. It advanced not as a half-unknown natural force, but springing from one individual will. The southeastern angle of the basin of the Mediterranean, the birthplace of monotheistic religions, once more produced an idea of the One God, which united in itself the obstinate zeal of the worship of Jehovah with the expansive power of the Christian religion. Islam, the doctrine taught by Mahomet, not only quickly took root in Arabia, its home, but grew irresistibly greater: all nations on the face of the earth were to be converted to the belief in Allah and his Prophet, and by the sword, if other means failed. Thus the previously isolated Arabian nation suddenly swept beyond its borders with overwhelming power, the leader in a second migration.

The invasion of the Arabs did not drive the other peoples before it, as the German migration had done; it overwhelmed them. The successors of Mahomet, who as Kalifs were the spiritual and temporal rulers of their people, immediately commenced an attack on the two great neighbouring powers. Omar deprived the Byzantines of Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, Egypt and the north coast of Africa. His successor, Othman, conquered Persia and destroyed the royal house of the Sassanides.

Hardly had the Arabs settled on the Mediterranean when they became inspired with the life of the Mediterranean spirit; and although the situation of their country, bounded by three seas, had in thousands of years never once caused them to turn their thoughts to navigation, they now became navigators. On the Phœnician coast, the classic cradle of maritime life, they created for themselves, as it were in a moment, powerful fleets, with which they not only ventured on a naval war with the Byzantines, but also seized the world's trade into their own hands. The influence of the Mediterranean asserted itself. Contact with the Græco-Roman civilisation aroused in them a spirit of

research and a love for science. At a time when Europe was retrograding intellectually and morally through the flood of barbarous nations and the subversal of all institutions, the Arabs became almost the only transmitters of culture. Under the Kalifate of the Ommiades (661-750), who transferred their court to Damascus, the Arabian supremacy was extended still more widely. While it spread in Asia as far as the Caucasus, the Caspian and Aral Seas, the Sir-darja and away towards India, it invaded Europe from Africa in a direction just opposite to the path of Vandal invasion. In the year 711 the Arabs put an end to the kingdom of the West Goths, swarmed over the Pyrenees into the kingdom of the Franks, and occupied the Balearic Islands, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily and even Tarentum.

C. Retrospective

If we consider as a whole the movement of the nations, continuing from the middle of the fourth to the eighth century and beyond, we notice before everything else a predominant line of advance from East to West on both sides of the Mediterranean. In the North the movement begins earlier and penetrates deeper: in the South it is a deliberate course of action. In both cases it is brought to a halt by the Atlantic Ocean and is compelled to describe a right angle and to strike out into a new direction. Determined by the nature of the ground, their march leads the wanderers across the sea at the point where the continents are closest to each other, at the Straits of Gibraltar: here the two currents meet and join their waters. Thus the living strength of both is destroyed. The moving circle of nations round the Mediterranean is now completely closed. The whole movement must come to a stop, even if the pressure from behind continues, for it can no longer go forward: the two ends of the thread have been joined, and form a tangled skein, which prevents all progress. Now the problem for the nation is how to plant themselves firmly in the ground, to hold fast to the conquered territory as far as possible, and to keep off the next comers. As for the basin of the Mediterranean itself, which again became the scene of events in the history of the world, it showed itself for the second time to be the mighty breakwater or the great receiver, in which the motley mixture of nations ferments and in the end is purified into more perfect forms. During the great storm, indeed, and immediately after it there is more fermentation than purification to be observed on the Mediterranean. An old world has been shattered into fragments, and the new world knows not what is to be made out of the scattered ruins. A lofty, and eventually an over-refined civilisation has been compelled to bow beneath the rude steps of nations exuberant with animal strength. It is not to be expected of times when "thousands slain unnoticed lie" that men should show any comprehension of intellectual development, of humanity, of law and order, of the ideal conception of life. The only things that gained respect were booty won by the sword, personal courage, and bodily strength. "Life consists in defending one's self." In fact, all that the laborious work of civilisation had reared in many centuries was breaking up: not merely manuscripts and art-treasures, temples and theatres, roads and bridges, aqueducts and marts, but ideals, plans and achievements, intellectual efforts, in fact, the entire sphere of thought and emotion in the ancient world. And yet in this

collapse of all existing things, in the helpless striving after a new, dimly pictured order of things, the Mediterranean spirit, apparently crushed, preserved its vitality and its supremacy. Yet the close historical connection between the nations of the Mediterranean, which, though little apparent, was all the more close, expressed itself from that period onwards so vigorously that it irresistibly drew even foreign elements into its charmed circle. It is remarkable what little tenacity in the preservation of their own individuality is evinced by these foreigners, from the time of their becoming settled on the coasts of the Mediterranean. We can certainly trace in this the influence of the mild climate, the more effeminate way of living, as compared with previous times, the charm of the Southern women, the more frequent indulgence in wine; again, the number of the immigrants may have been small in comparison with the original population: but the fact remains that the conquerors, through trade, marriage and other intimate relations, soon experienced an ethnological change, as a result of which the Germanic elements sink into obscurity with astonishing rapidity.

D. The Rise of the Romance Nations

On the other hand, the influence of the Roman civilisation developed irresistible strength in the mixture of races. This had appeared much earlier (we may recall the Romanising of Africa and Dacia by colonists and soldiers), and was especially remarkable now in Italy and the western countries. In the Pyrenæan peninsula, after the West Goths in the third century of their rule had changed their nationality by intermarriage with the natives, the Spaniards arose, in whom, in spite of liberal mixture with Celtiberians, Greeks and Carthaginians, the Romance element was predominant. Similarly in the Apennine peninsula, the Lombards gradually were transformed into the Italians by mixture with the Romans and the relics of the Gothic and Greek population. And even the strongest and most tenacious of the Germanic peoples that came into direct contact with the Romans, the Franks in Gaul, changed and blended with Romans and Gauls into the French, in whom the Celtic element was most prominent and next the Romance, while the Germanic almost disappeared; only the eastern tribes of the Franks, through the support of the hardy Frisians, Saxons and Bajuwari, preserved their identity and developed it into a German nationality in combination with these tribes. The feeble cohesion of the Germanic tribes, notwithstanding all their natural strength, is shown also by their almost sudden disappearance from the field of history (East Goths after 555, Gepidæ after 568, Vandals after 534: for the opposite view, see Löher's Guanches Hypothesis). They change their religion with a certain facility. With the exception of the orthodox Franks, all the Germanic tribes had adopted Arian Christianity; but as soon as they were settled among the Romans they mostly adopted the Roman religion. This fact presents a striking contrast to the Semites (Jews and Arabs), who preserved their native manners, customs and faith even in dispersion and under unaccustomed circumstances of life. We must, however, bear in mind that the Germanic tribes were in the position of advanced outposts, which shattered the old world like battering-rams and were broken off from the great parent stock by the violence of the impact.

A main reason why the Germanic races were at a disadvantage in the compounding of nations on the Mediterranean, lies in the consideration that the conquered had at their command a well-developed literary language and a rich literature, while the conquerors were badly off in this respect. Writing, indeed, existed among them (Runes), but the knowledge of it was rare, and a written literature was entirely wanting. It is thus comprehensible that, as new conditions demanded a freer use of writing from the Germans, they found it more difficult to express themselves in their own tongue than in the foreign one, in the use of which they could obtain advice and help. Thus a foreign language was already in use for communication at a distance, and it was only a step farther to employ it for oral communication. He who neglects his mother-tongue has lost half his nationality. Superior civilisation proved more powerful than brute strength; and the succeeding generations employed the more developed ancient language all the sooner, as the new one was inadequate for the expressions of a number of ideas, with which the Germans first became acquainted through the Romans. Again, the ancient language was the language of the Church, to whose care and protection all that was left of culture in those rude times had fled: and the Church began then to exert over the simple minds of the Germans a greater spiritual influence than it ever did over the native races of the Mediterranean. Again, language only forms a single link in the chain of influences which are at work in the amalgamation of nations. Although the Græco-Roman civilisation was buried by the migration of the races under an avalanche of semi-barbarian débris, yet it was not stifled; but here and there, at first in isolated spots, then in numerous places, it broke through with increasing strength and forced its way up to the surface again. Naturally it became impregnated with much of the foreign element that covered it, yet it transmitted to them so many of its characteristics that their further development in the direction of a single Mediterranean spirit was accelerated.

E. Byzantium

In the East Roman empire, which survived, though in a diminished form, the storms of the migrations, the Græco-Roman culture was not exposed to the same destructive influences as in the western countries of the Mediterranean. At least the Balkan peninsula, with its capital, Constantinople, was able for a considerable time to ward off the invasion of the Avars, Bulgarians and Arabs. But it fell a victim to a peculiar internal disintegration. While in the West the crumbling civilisation had fertilised a fresh soil vigorous with life, the East remained externally quite unscathed; but internally, owing to the pressure of the Tatars and the Semites, it was confined to its own limits and broke up in isolation. The old Hellenism, deprived of air and light, had passed into *Byzantinism*. The change was characterised by a remarkable formulation of Christian doctrine, by a perpetually growing opposition to Rome and the Roman Church, especially after the schism and the rise of a despotic form of government which had not previously existed. This development showed a complete divergence from the Mediterranean spirit, and therefore cannot be further traced here (cf. Vol. V.).

F. The Franks and the Rise of the Western European Spirit

Of the new state-building races in the West, the Franks most completely apprehended the task that awaited them, in so far as this consisted not only in destruction, but in reconstruction (see above, p. 32 on Chlodwig). The history of the Franks under the Merovingians, a long chronicle of outrages and excesses, offers indeed no attractive picture, and yet amidst all that is repugnant great features exist. The good always survives. After the sovereignty over the united Franks had passed to the race of Pepin, the might of Islam in Europe broke against their strength. For the second time in the course of the great race-movement it was Gaul which shattered the onslaught of Asiatic conquerors: as formerly Attila had been compelled on the plains of Châlons to retreat, so now the Arabs met the same fate at Poitiers in the year 732. Charles Martel and his Franks saved Europe from a defection from the Mediterranean spirit. For there is no doubt that, notwithstanding the high degree of culture already attained by Islam and its monotheistic principle, that Oriental religion could in no way have agreed with the western countries, steeped in the Roman spirit, but must have necessarily hindered their natural development. Just as France had already shown herself a strong rampart against the Arabs, so she showed herself now against the last offshoots of the race-movement which pressed on from the East. The Avars had taken nearly the whole of what is now Austria and Hungary, and from thence harassed Italy and France by predatory incursions. They found no opposition from the unwarlike Slavs of those parts, the Wends, Serbs, Czecs, for a great leader was wanting. Then the Franks not only vigorously attacked them, but drove them back at the end of the eighth century behind the Theiss. There the Avars gradually lost themselves among the Slavs and Bulgarians. With this ended the great race-movement, so far as it extended to the countries of the Mediterranean. It is true that a century later an Ural tribe, the Magyars, immigrated into the eastern part of the former territory of the Huns and Avars. This people, alone among all the earlier and later incomers of Tataric stock, willingly incorporated itself into the European group of nations by the adoption of Christian culture, and in other respects they cannot be reckoned among the Mediterranean nations. Further, the devastating inroad of the Mongols in the thirteenth century forms only a passing incident without any effect. And finally in regard to the successful immigration of the Turks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it falls outside the scope of this present treatise. Thus we may venture to assert that it was to a large extent the vigorous efforts of the Franks which brought the race-movement to a standstill. Under the rule of the first four descendants of Pepin they directed as a united people the forces of the migrating nations, which had mostly shown themselves destructive or merely temporarily constructive, towards the creation of permanent institutions. The lion's share in this work fell to Charles the Great. Under him and through him the Frankish people became the forerunners of those nations in which the true Mediterranean spirit of morality and enlightenment was destined to reach the most perfect accomplishment. The bulk of Charles the Great's task of restoration fell in the Mediterranean countries. Italy offered him the means; there the dominion of the Lombards was approaching its end. Before this,

misunderstandings between the Lombard king, Aistulf, and Pope Stephen II. had caused the intervention of the Frankish king, Pepin. The father of Charles, siding with the Pope, had formerly presented to the chair of Peter the Exarchate of Ravenna, which had been taken from the Lombards (Langobardi). When, therefore, during the reign of Charles, disputes broke out with renewed intensity between the Lombard king and the Pope, Charles made use of his right to interfere, dethroned Desiderius and received the homage of the Lombards as king of Italy. Italy therefore received the Frankish form of government. Since the old spirit of Roman institutions was in accordance with these laws, written as they were in Latin, they quickly struck root and helped to hasten the amalgamation of Lombard and Roman life, already commenced. The Frankish spirit proved itself a powerful agent in the union of the nations. The Pope, confirmed by Charles in the possession of the gift of Pepin, saw in the Franks true sons and firm pillars of the Roman Church.

This mutual understanding promoted the revival of a great conception which had been considered dead, that of the restoration of the Roman empire. Before his coronation as emperor at Rome, Charles had already devoted his efforts towards incorporating, if not all, at any rate the European, maritime countries of the Mediterranean into his realm, and towards organising the nations who inhabited them into a unity in the Frankish-Roman sense. He was most easily successful with the extension of his dominion over the coasts of the Mediterranean, partly by conquest (Spain), partly by treaties (Illyria). When Charles, who, on his accession, had possessed no part of these border-lands, except Aquitania, was crowned Roman emperor in the year 800 by Pope Leo III., he was already lord of all the European shores of the Mediterranean from the mouth of the Ebro to Albania. And his plans extended still farther towards the East. He was prevented from carrying them out by the tedious operations necessitated by the obstinate resistance of the Saxons, whose subjugation and conversion to Christianity he regarded as one of his chief duties. Nevertheless, the monarchy established by Charles formed an empire that comprised almost all of western Europe from the North Sea and the Baltic, and can appropriately be called a Mediterranean empire. Charles was less successful with the restoration of true unity; ecclesiastical unity was not sufficient to check the disintegrating force of national tendencies. As long as Charles lived, his mighty genius and his far-reaching personal influence kept the nations together under his sceptre, but soon after his death the empire was dissolved. The three larger kingdoms which grew out of the monarchy, France, Germany, and Italy, preserved for a considerable time the impression of the spirit with which Charles had stamped them. In particular, the newly awakened conception of empire was kept alive. It sank deep into the minds of the nations and was for centuries one of the most powerful mainsprings of political activity. In estimating the part played by the Frankish monarchy, their most important service must be reckoned the restoration and strengthening, through intervention, of that intimate connection between the nations on the Mediterranean which the migration had shattered. The ruins of the old civilisation were taken by the Franks and steeped in Germanic methods of thought and feeling. Thus a new field for culture was formed. And from it the Mediterranean spirit has been able to develop into a broader entity as the Western European spirit.

G. The Germans and the Slavs on the Outer Side

The other Germanic races that had been forced onward by the great movement of the nations, and from whom eventually the German people emerged, finally established themselves north of the Alps or continued their march further beyond the Baltic and the North Sea; this is not the place to discuss them (cf. Vol. VI.). The physical characteristics of that part of Middle Europe which was occupied by the Teuton races who remained or became Germans definitely determined their historical development in a different direction. These territories are separated from the Mediterranean by the boundary-wall of the Alps, and their great rivers, with one single exception, flow towards the North Sea and the Baltic, which are equally "Mediterranean" seas of sharply defined peculiarities in history, geography, and civilisation. The Germans linked themselves to the North European group. Here they found the surroundings congenial; here they could establish a nucleus of power and develop on a national basis, while immediate contact with the Mediterranean was dangerous (cf. the fate of the Goths, Vandals, Lombards). On similar grounds the Slavs have no relations with the Mediterranean. This continental people, so conspicuously peaceful and agricultural, seemed diligently to avoid the shores of the Mediterranean. In one spot only, at the northeast corner of the Adriatic, members of the Slavonic family, the Chorvates (Croats, Chrowotes), have settled in a dense mass. These became, indeed, skilful seamen through mixture with the old Illyrians, but limited themselves to their own coasts: and as a nation they were too few and in their political development too independent to exercise a predominant influence on the shaping of the life on the Mediterranean. Slavs, indeed, flooded Greece in great masses, but their nation was as little able to gain a firm footing there as the Germanic race in Spain and Italy. They soon were blended with the natives into the modern Greek nation, in which the Hellenic spirit prevailed; and with it they became the prey of the ever narrowing Byzantinism.

H. The Normans and the Crusades

Nevertheless, a Germanic race once more asserted its vigorous strength in the Mediterranean at a time when national life had already begun to assume the fixed outlines of that form, which has been maintained essentially up to the present day. The appearance of the Normans is the more noteworthy in that they followed a path as yet untrodden by the migrating nations, that is, they came by sea and from the North. The Teutonic population of Scandinavia had, in consequence of the barrenness of their home, at an early period turned their attention to piracy, and thus became the pest of the North. The spirit of adventure, ambition, and the consciousness of physical strength made the Normans no longer content with piracy, but sent them out, always in ships, on lasting conquests.* Charles the Great had already been forced to defend his kingdom against the attacks of the Normans: and towards the middle of the ninth century they had established themselves firmly in England and northern France: here Charles III., the Simple, was compelled in 911 formally to surrender all Normandy to them. In the Mediterranean the Normans, sailing

through the Straits of Gibraltar, had as early as the second half of the ninth century appeared as bold pirates, plundering the coasts as far as Greece: but the bold defence of the Arabs and Spaniards had hindered a permanent occupation then. Nevertheless, this enterprising race had by the sixth decade of the eleventh century succeeded in founding a national kingdom in Lower Italy and Sicily, which for a century and a half flourished exceedingly.

The founders of this kingdom had come from Normandy, where the Normans had quickly become christianised, had accepted French customs with the adaptability characteristic of the Teutons, and had changed into a quite distinctive nation. Civilisation could not take from them their love of liberty, their lust for adventure, and their eagerness for action; but since religion and custom forbade Christians to rob and murder, they sought a new field of activity. This they found in the war against Islam. They gradually so extended their campaigns that they reached even the East and carried away with them all the Christian nations of Europe. The movement of the Crusades, a tide of Western nations flowing back towards the East, did not originally start from the Normans, but it is connected with the establishment of their supremacy in Lower Italy. This noteworthy people, in whom the pious enthusiasm and the calm determination of the North was united with the fiery fancy and emotional nature of the South, had on their reception of Christianity given it an enthusiastic and romantic direction. They yearned to visit the places where Christ had lived, taught, and suffered. When the news spread through Europe, chiefly from the Normans, that in those places, which the Mohammedans held, native Christians and western pilgrims were being oppressed, a mood gradually took possession of them which fanned the religious ardour, the ambition, and the rapacity of the Western nations and ultimately brought about the long war of the Christian West with the Mohammedan East. This war, the theatre of which was exclusively the basin of the Mediterranean, and by which the inhabitants of that region were once more thrown into complete confusion, culminated at first in the reconquest of the Holy Land by Christendom and in the spread of Christianity over the known world; but in time the purely religious and moral motives fell into the background to make room for political schemes of aggrandisement. But both these impulses show the power of the reanimated Mediterranean spirit, which, kept in ceaseless movement like waves of the sea, now pressed on from West to East. Its most zealous promoters of the Crusades were the Normans, not as a united people, but in the form of numerous wandering knights and adventurers. Since these bold freelances were accustomed to make a stay in Lower Italy on their voyages to Palestine and back, in order to have a passing encounter with the Arabs, they found ample opportunity there to mix in the various quarrels of the counts and barons, the former Lombard feudal lords and Greeks, and to place at their disposal their swords, which readily leapt from their scabbards. In this way they won much for themselves. First the Arabs were driven out; in 1030 Apulia with its capital, Aversa, appears already as a Norman possession. Soon afterwards the sons of Tancred de Hauteville succeeded in uniting the small Norman lordships in Italy. In 1071 Robert Guiscard was recognised by the papal chair as Duke of Apulia and Calabria, while at the same time his brother Roger ended the Arab rule in Sicily and conquered the whole island.

Meanwhile the great retrograde migration of the Crusades had commenced (1096). Struck by the mighty impact of the Western armies, the Mohammedan house of Seljuk, which had entered on the inheritance of the Arab Kalifs, seemed ready to fall to ruins, as once the Roman empire under the shock of the barbarians. Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine were quickly conquered by the Crusaders, and Western knights created Eastern kingdoms for themselves. Godfrey de Bouillon of Lorraine became King of Jerusalem; the Norman Bohemund of Tarentum, son of Robert Guiscard, became Prince of Antioch; the Provençal Raimond of Toulouse, Prince of Tripoli. By the side of these secular principalities were organised the spiritual knightly orders, the Knights of St. John, the Templars, and the Teutonic order, independent bodies, possessed of great wealth. Yet Western civilisation found no favourable soil in the East, because it adhered rigidly to its religious, romantic, and feudal character and was inclined to little leniency towards the equally rigid racial and social forms of the East. It also found a malicious opponent in the Byzantinism of the Greek population, which opposed the "Latins" with outspoken hostility. Thus, in spite of the first dazzling success, the Western system never took firm root, but was soon itself hard pressed after the Mohammedans had recovered from their first alarm and had found a vigorous ruler in the Sultan Saladin.

It is remarkable that the very same Normans, who in the East were the implacable foes of Islam, not only refrained from oppressing and persecuting their numerous Arabic subjects in their own kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, but treated them with actual consideration, being eager to effect an amalgamation of races. The Arabs of the East had at that time been crushed by Seljuks, Turks, and Kurds, or driven back to their original home. The Arabs of Spain and Sicily, on the contrary, had reached a stage of civilisation higher than that attained by almost any part of Europe. And since the fanaticism of these Arabs was not nearly so keen as that of their Eastern co-religionists, their union with the rest of the motley population of Sicily did not seem at all impossible. In fact, it did come about to a certain degree; and if it was not completely successful, the reason lies in the early dissolution of the Norman power, which after extraordinary prosperity succumbed in the war (1194) against the world-monarchy personified in the German imperial House of the Hohenstaufer. From that time the Normans, who were always weak in numbers, disappeared from the Mediterranean without leaving any trace beyond a glorious memory. Their conquerors, the Staufer, as lords of Lower Italy and Sicily, showed consideration to the Arabs and made friendly advances to them; but they also sank into obscurity, and the French and Spanish, who succeeded to their rule in Naples and Sicily, were bent only on driving out the Saracens by force or exterminating them.

Islam wreaked vengeance on Christianity for this loss by preparing a speedy end for the Western power in Asia. After Saladin in 1187 had retaken Jerusalem, all attempts of the Christians to recover it proved fruitless. At the close of the twelfth century the Western powers had to abandon Asia. On the other hand, in the beginning of the thirteenth century a new attempt was made by them to expand in the East, this time at the expense of the Byzantine kingdom. Under the pretext of a crusade, an expedition of Christian knights, whose moving spirit was the Doge of Venice, started straight for Constantinople by sea, cap-

tured it, placed a new emperor on the throne, merely to dethrone him at once, and finally availed themselves of the weakness of the Greeks to divide their territory among themselves. Count Baldwin of Flanders placed himself in 1204 on the throne of Constantinople as "Latin emperor." Under him, just as had been the case a century before in Syria and Palestine, there arose a series of vassal states under Western knights (Boniface of Montferrat in the kingdom of Thessalonica, William of Champlitte in the principality of Achaia, Otto Delaroche in the duchy of Athens); the coasts were seized by the republic of Venice (Cyprus had been ruled since 1193 as a kingdom by the family of Lusignan when driven out from Jerusalem). In short, the Byzantine rule saw itself restricted in Europe to Epirus and elsewhere to the north of Asia Minor (Nicæa and Trebizond).

But even then the West was not successful in creating permanent political fabrics; sharp dissensions between Latins and Greeks, internal and ecclesiastical disputes, pressure from the Bulgarians on the north and from some vigorous Comnenes caused the downfall, first of the kingdom of Thessalonica, then that of the Latin empire. In 1261 the Byzantine empire was restored. The dukedoms of Achaia and Athens lasted, it is true, somewhat longer, since the first placed itself under the protection of the Neapolitan House of Anjou, the latter under that of the Sicilian royal House of Aragon, and was ruled by a band of Spanish freebooters, the Catalonian company: yet they only led a confused, shadowy existence until they became the spoil of the Turks. The possessions of Venice and those of Genoa, which were also acquired during the Crusades, were kept the longest and were the most powerful. These commercial republics were free from national, religious, and feudal arrogance and from the insolence of the other Western conquerors, and knew how to maintain friendly relations with their Byzantine and Eastern subjects. But after the Turks had finally shattered the Byzantine empire and had shifted the centre of gravity of their power to Europe, Venice and Genoa, too, were obliged to quit the field.

4. THE RENAISSANCE AS THE FLOWER OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SPIRIT

A. The Consequences of Intercourse Between East and West

The movement of nations occasioned by the Crusades, which is distinguished from the great migration of the peoples only by the fact that it did not involve the total abandonment of home, but the removal only of a portion of the population capable of bearing arms, produced no lasting change in the political conditions of the inhabitants of the Mediterranean. The grouping of great nations, which was already assuming a permanent form, was not seriously disturbed by it. Yet a wide-reaching importance attaches to it in many respects. It forms the conclusion, the last outburst of those impelling forces which, springing partly from natural, partly from spiritual necessity, drove the masses one against the other, mingled them together, and out of the mixture caused new forms to be created. From this point on, the inner life of the nations of the Mediterranean comes more and more into a position of equilibrium and rest. (See the subjoined

FRANCE
SPAIN
Islands
MEDIT
HUNGARY
SERVIA
BLACK SEA
TURKISH
ANIA MINOR
IONIAN SEA
ANEAN SEA
Syrtis Major
Black Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
LIBYAN
THE HARBANELLES
MALTA
COUNTRIES
MEDITERRANEAN

map of the "Countries of the Mediterranean.") The impulse towards expansion is quenched and gives place to one towards the internal improvement of all that concerns the nation, the state, and civilisation. After the struggle between the two conflicting religions, Christianity and Islam, lasting two hundred years, had ended in the exhaustion of both, a silent understanding was arrived at. The subsequent advance of the Turks into Europe presents another aspect: in this, religious reasons no longer play the chief part and the invasion of the Turks ethnically exercised but little influence. The West and the East had learnt to know each other. Not only had the long sword of the knight crossed with the scimitar of the Saracen, not only had the Gospel matched itself against the Koran, but Western and Eastern life had come into contact. Thereafter many intellectual threads were spun back and forwards between the two, marking new paths of trade and commerce over the sea. A certain reciprocal appreciation of each other's strength, character, mental abilities, and nature began to assert itself, an appreciation of what each might learn, borrow, or buy from the other.

To this gradually dawning knowledge was joined the conviction that the forcible incorporation of the enemy's territory would be difficult and, even if possible, would perhaps not conduce to the welfare of either. The long-continued hostility between the two halves of the Mediterranean had caused the building of large fleets upon it and had transformed insignificant coast towns, as Pisa, Genoa, Venice, into maritime powers; fleet and merchant navy both required occupation. After the great war had end only maritime trade and petty warfare were profitable. In fact, maritime trade on the Mediterranean, which had greatly diminished, owing to the migration of the nations, flourished so splendidly during and after the time of the Crusades that all previous results were eclipsed. This prosperity was accompanied by a rapid growth of national wealth, the exchange of the productions peculiar to the different regions, a refinement in manners, an awakening of the desire for travel and of ardour for research, and a universal enlargement of knowledge. Familiarity with the East and its civilisation, which had almost been lost by the inhabitants of the western Mediterranean, awoke a multitude of new thoughts, which fructified and advanced the development of state, politics, society, and science. This mental change was greatly accelerated by the fact that the West in its new system was in many ways permeated with survivals of old Mediterranean ideas.

On the other side a similar dispersion of Western elements was produced in the East through these causes. Partly as remnants of the Latin state system, partly as colonists and traders, Burgundians, Provençals, Spaniards, Southern Italians, Lombards, Genoese, Venetians, and Illyrians had spread in great numbers over the coasts of Syria, the Ægean and the Black Sea. These outposts of the West were, of course, too weak to exert an ethnical influence on the life of the Eastern nations, yet were strong enough, in union with the native Græco-Slavs and the Turko-Tatars, who were streaming in from the far East, to prevent the formation of marked nationalities Thus they have contributed towards giving that character to the eastern basin of the Mediterranean which attaches to it at the present day, that of a mechanical medley of race fragments, showing no trace of chemical affinity, and therefore incapable of any of those bonds which have made united nations out of the conglomerate populations of the

West. In the motley mosaic of races in the eastern Mediterranean basin, which makes possible even at the present day an Eastern question, the most diverse and inharmonious patches are formed by the various ethnic groups that invaded the East after the Crusade: and even if most of these sections were torn up again, the Eastern question put forth its first roots into the gaps which could not be filled up naturally. It reaches, therefore, far back into the past: it is not so much a modern force as an ethnographical question unsolved by history.

B. The Renaissance of the Mediterranean Spirit

The universal interests of mankind, formerly put into the background, partly by the deafening din of arms and partly by a scholasticism, which fettered the intellect, came gradually back to men's minds, occupied their thoughts, and found zealous supporters. That theory of life which had been born when the exploits of Alexander the Great widened the horizon of man, which had assumed a more lasting form under the Roman empire, and, socially purified, had been established by triumphant Christianity upon the moral worth of man as a basis, once more arose. Henceforth the Renaissance, embodying this conception, selects and brings together the best qualities of all previous manifestations in an intellectual new birth. Through this movement the Mediterranean spirit, whose sources had been many, and whose growth had been slow, becoming conscious of itself, was destined to attain unity. The peculiar nature of the Mediterranean spirit finds its purest expression in the Renaissance, which comprises in itself material, moral, and intellectual welfare, the beautiful and the useful, the rights of the state and the citizen, and the free unfolding of the individual. Rejoicing in the power of creation, it passed directly into the wider conception of European civilisation. This accounts for the superiority of European civilisation over the other civilisations of the world and the triumphant manner in which, radiating from the Mediterranean, it has spread over the world. Its progress continues in our own day, and in perfect adaptation to time and place it has grown more ennobling, more enriching, more intense.

II

THE ANCIENT NATIONS OF THE BLACK SEA AND ON THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

By DR. KARL GEORG BRANDIS

1. ASIA MINOR

A. The Geography of Asia Minor and its Historical Importance

THE great peninsula projecting from the Asiatic continent towards the west has been called Asia Minor (ἡ μικρὰ Ἀσία) since ancient times on account of its connection with Asia. It is divided from Syria and Mesopotamia on the south and the southeast by the Taurus range and its northwestern continuation, the Antitaurus. On the northeast the range of the Paryadres, which follows the south shore of the Black Sea, and on the east the whole Armenian highlands along the upper course of the Euphrates separate it from the Caucasus region. On the north the boundary is the Black Sea, on the west the Ægean. For the most part, Asia Minor consists of a large elevated plateau, stretching from the Taurus Mountains to the mountains running along the southern coast of the Black Sea. Only in the west there extend fertile, well-watered plains between the deeply indented seaboard, full of bays and harbours, and the various ranges on the coast, which form, as it were, the passage to the tableland. In the north the coast of Asia Minor approaches within a few miles of Europe, from which it is separated only by the narrow straits of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, while further southward the numerous islands of every size form a sort of bridge across to Hellas. Thus Asia Minor forms a connecting-link between Asia and Europe, and is influenced by both in its historical development; but as geographically it does not form a perfect unit, it has never attained political or national independence.

B. Preliminary Remarks on the Ethnology of the Native and Immigrant Races of Asia Minor

(*a*) *Native Races.*—We meet here from the very first a large number of different tribes. The Mœonians and Lydians dwelt in the country watered by the Hermus; they were bounded on the south first by the Carians and then by the Lycians. In the gorges and valleys of the western Taurus and its spurs lived the Milyæ, Solymi, and especially the Pisidians and Isaurians. The Cilicians possessed the main range of these mountains with the southern ridges, while Cappadocians

and Lycaonians had occupied the tableland northward of the Taurus. Notwithstanding our extremely scanty knowledge of the earliest times, we can notice some shifting of population in this medley of peoples. Thus the name of the Cappadocians and Cappadocia occurs first in the Persian era; before that time these regions as far as the Taurus were held by Tibareni and Moschi, whom we rediscover later as small tribes in the mountains on the coast of Pontus, and still earlier the Cheta, as we shall see, had descended hence into northern Syria. But, taken all in all, these nations always inhabited the same territory and stand out in sharp contrast to the Thracian and Greek tribes, who are known to have been immigrants. They must therefore be reckoned as autochthonous. The close relationship between the tribes is proved most conclusively by similarity in language. In the whole district inhabited by them there are very numerous names of places ending in "ssos" and "nda" (Termessos, Sagalassos; Œnoanda, Laranda) and many names of persons agreeing in roots and endings. Formerly attempts were made to assign the nations in Asia Minor partly to the Semitic and partly to the Indo-Germanic stock, so that while some considered the Cappadocians, Lydians, Lycians, and Carians to be Indo-Germans, and the Pisidians, Isaurians, Cilicians to be Semites, others classified them differently; but after the relationship of these nations had become clearer, the conviction has gradually gained ground that in dealing with these inhabitants of Asia Minor we have to deal with a distinct race. But it is not clear at present how far they are connected with the inhabitants of the south slopes of the Caucasus, i.e. the Iberians and Albanians; with those of the mountains of the Pontic coast, i.e. the Tibareni and Moschi, who, as we have seen, in early times extended far over the tableland up to the Taurus; with the Chalybes, who owed their Greek name to their skill in obtaining iron and steel (χάλυψ) from the iron ore which lay exposed on the surface of their mountains; or with the numerous other tribes of this region.

Characteristic of many tribes in Asia Minor is the worship of the great Mother of the Gods, Ma, or Ammas, a nature goddess, who has her seat on the mountain tops and takes many titles from them (Dindymene, Idaia, Sipylene, Cybele), and from her proceed all growth and decay in nature as well as all civilisation. She is the protectress of city walls and gates, and wears, therefore, the mural crown. In her honour feasts were celebrated with wild revelry, with dance and crashing music, and in her service priests gashed their bodies, and maidens prostituted themselves. In the great centres of the worship of the Mother of the Gods there were numerous priests and an equal number of sacred slaves. Among the Phrygians, as well as among the Dardani (kindred stocks), the introduction of the service of the Mother of the Gods is connected with the names of their first kings, Midas and Dardanus. This is, however, a sign that this service belonged to the aboriginal inhabitants.

Peculiar also to this entire district are the colossal rock-hewn reliefs, which agree in style, as well as in the fact that the figures thereon represented wear mostly the same costume, namely, a high-peaked cap, short tunic, and pointed shoes. They are found spread over a region extending from the north slopes of the Taurus and the Pisidian lakes to the Halys on the one side and as far as the Ægean Sea on the other side. The figure carved in the living rock near Nymphœum, on the road from Smyrna to Sardis, representing a warrior with

spear and bow, was famous even in antiquity, and was ascribed to Sesostris: at the present day in Boghas-Kœi and the neighbouring Hujuk, on the right bank of the Halys, directly south of Sinope and east of Ancyra, in a district called Pteria in antiquity, the remains of old city walls and the foundations of large palaces have been discovered, clearly the centre of an ancient civilisation. In Boghas-Kœi, outside the walls, an almost rectangular courtyard was cut in the rocks, the walls of which are covered with reliefs. In one place a long procession of men is on the march; in another place our attention is fixed on a group of seven gods, who stand not on the ground, but on beasts or the tops of mountains or, in one case, on the necks of two men. The costume which we described above belongs to these figures too; but, unfortunately, up till now the hieroglyphic signs accompanying the figures have not been deciphered. Now, it has long been recognised that these monuments, both in style and in the manner of inscription, are very closely connected with those which have been discovered in North Syria. They have been, therefore, called Hethitic or even Cappadocian, according as their origin was assumed to be in North Syria, where demonstrably the Cheta (Hethites, or Hittites) once had a powerful kingdom, or in Cappadocia, where Boghas-Kœi is situated. Whatever name is given to them, one thing is clear, that they are not derived from one people, by whom, either in friendly intercourse or through warlike conquests, they were spread over the whole region; their wide dissemination shows rather that they owe their origin to a homogeneous and related population. The Cheta descended from the eastern edge of the great plateau towards North Syria, where they at first formed a large kingdom and after its downfall many small principalities, until their territories were conquered by the Assyrians. And if the Cheta were not Semites they may very well have been a tribe of Asia Minor, which created spontaneously the above-mentioned peculiar monuments. The influences of Assyrian art on the later works produced by them, both in North Syria and Boghas-Kœi, can be explained in the same way; when they were produced both places were alike subject to the power of the Assyrians.

(*b*) *Immigrating Tribes.*—In contrast to these peoples, which may be called the peoples of Asia Minor in the proper sense, since as far as our knowledge goes they were always settled there, we find in the northwest and on the entire west coast such tribes as evidently were not indigenous to Asia Minor. To these belong, in the first place, the Thracian tribes, who crossed from their European mother-country over the Bosphorus and Hellespont and pressed on from the regions which skirt these straits gradually eastward. This did not certainly take place at any one time; in the course of a long period new bands kept coming into Asia Minor from Thrace, driven either by the scarcity of food, resulting from over-population, or by the onward pressure of tribes from the North and West. Though we can scarcely identify these migrating masses, and little though we know of the wars of the Thracians with the aboriginal population and of their gradual submission or absorption (the reader should recollect the above-mentioned introduction of the worship of the Mother of the Gods by the Phrygians and Dardani), one point is established, that the Phrygians, from whom the great stretch of country from the upper stream of the Sangarius to the Pisidian lakes derives its name, the Mysians in the land on the Propontis eastward from Ida and round Olympus,

and, last of all, the Bithynians, who gave their name to the strip of coast on the Black Sea which they occupied, immigrated from Thrace. The ancients were aware of this, conjecturing it from the similar tribal names to be found on both sides of the Propontis.

The worship of Sabazius was universal among the Thracians of Europe and Asia Minor. He is familiar to us in the Greek form of Dionysus, a divinity who rules all animate nature. He was represented as awake in summer and asleep in winter: and, accordingly, the awakening of life in spring was celebrated with orgiastic feasts, while the death of nature was deplored with wild grief. We may also venture to point out that the method of burial in large earthen mounds, the so-called *Tumuli*, seems to have been customary on both shores of the Propontis. From the exploration of such Tumuli the astonishing fact has been brought to light that their construction is identical. They consist of several layers—beds of ashes, and burnt earth, containing earthen vessels, animal bones, and sherds, alternating with thick strata of earth and broken stone. This method of interment agrees with that which Herodotus describes as Thracian, but differs from that in use in Lycia, the district of the Halys, and other places, where the dead are generally buried in rock tombs.

The Trojans, who inhabited the country along the Propontis on the north slopes of the Ida range, belong to this Phrygo-Thracian group. If the different layers or towns discovered by Schliemann at Troy really belong to one and the same population, they must have immigrated at a very early epoch, probably as early as 3000 B.C. Though they appear scarcely otherwise in history, they are familiar to every one through the Homeric poems, in which their long war with the Greeks and the final destruction of their city are told. And even if the fact itself cannot be disputed that a splendid capital was destroyed by Agamemnon, King of Mycenæ, and his followers (see also Vol. I., p. 178), yet it is an isolated event, which can hardly be brought into a strict historical connection. It is clear also from the early settlements on the west coast of this peninsula that relations, not always peaceful and friendly, existed between Greece and Asia Minor at a very early date.

According as the main body of the *Greek* emigrants came from northern, central, or southern Greece, the more northern or the more southern regions of the coast of Asia Minor were their goal. Colonisation certainly did not take place all at once; bands constantly crossed over from the mother-country, which, from its position and natural configuration, pointed to the sea and to emigration as a vent for her population when it became too large for the territory it occupied. Gradually, after centuries of struggles, the land was won from the aboriginal inhabitants. Reminiscences of these wars are still preserved in the Greek legends of the Rape of Briseis, the daughter of Brisa, by Achilles, and the wounding of Telephus of Teuthrania. Sometimes a peaceful union and gradual amalgamation were arrived at, as we hear in many Greek towns on the Asiatic coast of a Carian, Lelegian, or differently named, but in any case native population by the side of the Greek. At last flourishing and powerful communities were formed out of what were certainly small settlements at first.

The process of colonisation had begun even in the Mycenean period. The name Jevanna, given on the Egyptian monuments to the auxiliaries of the Cheta, of whose identity with the Ionians (in Hebrew, Javan) no one will doubt, proves

that in the thirteenth century B.C. not only was the name Ionians firmly established, but that the Greeks settled in Asia Minor had already attained some importance and were known outside their country. The chief goal of the emigrants from northern Greece was the island of Lesbos, from which the Teuthranian and Lydian coast was colonised. Pitane, Elæa, Grynium, Myrina, Cyme, Ægæ, Temnos, and Smyrna on the southern, and Magnesia on the northern foot of Mount Sipylus are Greek towns. The inhabitants of all this district regarded themselves as belonging to one stock, and called themselves Æolians. Different races from central Greece occupied the Lydian and Carian coast from the mouth of the Hermus to the peninsula of Miletus, and here the name "Ionians" was fixed upon the Greek settlers, who entered into a close alliance and became a united state with its religious centre at Panionium, where Poseidon was worshipped. The following were Ionian towns: Clazomenæ, Erythræ, Teos, Lebedos, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Myus, Miletus, and in the north, surrounded by Æolian towns, Phocæa. The most advanced post towards the west was Magnesia on the Mæander. Later in point of time was the settlement of the Dorians, who pressed forward from Crete and the southern Cyclades, which they previously had occupied, to the two great island outposts of Asia Minor, Cos and Rhodes, and then to the widely jutting promontories of the mainland itself, Cnidus and Halicarnassus. The league of these Dorian towns had its religious centre in the sanctuary of the Triopian Apollo.

C. The History of Asia Minor

(*a*) *The Oldest Accounts of the Races of Asia Minor.*—The oldest historical information of Asia Minor is to be found in the Egyptian monuments, and dates back to the sixteenth century B.C. Then we discover in the country afterwards called Commagene and Cappadocia the people of the Cheta (Hittites), who pressed victoriously southward and planted themselves firmly in North Syria. Rameses II., King of Egypt, waged a long and bitterly contested war against them, and in the end the kingdom of the Cheta won recognition as a sovereign power. But this kingdom, which held its own against the Pharaohs and extended northward and southward into the upper valley of the Orontes, soon broke up into many small states, several of which were traceable in North Syria as late as the eighth century and were only subjugated by the Assyrians. When the Cheta fought against Rameses II. they were allied with the "Princes of all Lands," who marched to their aid with troops: thus we come to hear of the nations of the Ruka, Dardeny, Masa, Jevanna, Pidasa, and Carcischa, of whom we may take the Ruka to be Lycians; the Dardeny, Dardani; the Jevanna, Ionians; the Carcischa probably Cilicians, while nothing is yet clear about the Masa and Pidasa.

Under the Pharaoh Merneptah (soon after 1280 B.C.) there appeared on the west frontier of Pharaoh's kingdom, together with the Libyans, certain "nations from the countries of the Sea," and these were annihilated in a bloody battle there. Besides the Ruka, who are already known to us, the Akajwascha (Achæans), Turuscha (Tyrrhenes), Schardana (Sardinians from the island of Sardinia), and Schakruscha took part also in this expedition. Under Rameses

III. (about 1200 B.C.) the same incidents recurred. Partly in large, open rowing boats by sea, partly in ox wagons overland through Syria, came an expedition of the Purasat, Takkara, Schakruscha, Danona, Vaschascha, who were likewise annihilated on land and sea. Of the two last-mentioned groups, the Akawascha, Turuscha, and Schardana were not natives of Asia Minor; of the others, the Ruka, like the Lycians, the Purasat, Takkara, Danona, Schakruscha, and Vaschascha certainly were such. The felt helmet, adorned with feathers, which was universal among them — a dress which Herodotus ascribes to the Lycians — proves not only their intimate connection with each other, but also their connection with the peoples of southwest Asia Minor. We see, therefore, the nations of Asia Minor in constant movement from the sixteenth to the twelfth century B.C. The Cheta pressed victoriously forward; the Ruka, and their comrades deserted their homes, partly as mercenaries and allies of the Cheta, partly as pirates and freebooters. Did the invasion and advance of the Phrygo-Thracian tribes compel the natives to wander forth? In general, these expeditions impress us as undertaken rather for plunder and booty than to procure settlements somewhere for themselves. The enterprise of the Hittites in making conquests outside the borders of the peninsula and founding a kingdom there, gave the example to the people of Asia Minor. All the kingdoms, which were established on this model, were restricted to the more or less limited confines of the peninsula itself. Only Mithradates the Great united with his ancestral kingdom a great part of the north coast of the Black Sea. The attacks made by the "maritime nations," the Ruka and their allies, on Egypt were almost typical of the whole southwest coast of Asia Minor, where Carians, Pisidians, and Cilicians were for centuries notorious for piracy and privateering, even though we hear nothing further of the great allied expeditions against Egypt, which the threatened land resisted effectively only by calling out all its forces.

(*b*) *Lydia and the State of the Mermnadæ.*—In earlier times no country on the peninsula of Asia Minor played so prominent a part as Lydia, though it is true that in the legends, Phrygia and her kings also enjoyed certain prominence. In Phrygia a Midas and a Gordius reigned alternately, agriculture was early practised, and ants are said to have carried grains of wheat into the mouth of the child Midas, and thus to have foretold his future wealth; and, consequently, his wealth is represented as the fruit of tillage. This close connection of the Phrygian kings with agriculture finds its expression in the story that the deity of the country, Lityerses, who competes with the reapers and scourges the idlers, is given to Midas as a son: Midas is said also to have discovered the flutes used in the worship of the Mother of Gods, whose introduction into Phrygia is referred back to him, since the Phrygians, like all Thracians, particularly loved and eagerly practised music. But real historical knowledge of them is absolutely non-existent. It is only after the rise of the Lydian kingdom that the sources begin to well up more copiously and more clearly; then first we stand on more or less certain historical ground.

The first royal house ruling over Lydia, the Atyadæ, is quite mythical. Then follow kings of the race of the Heraclidæ, and of these we know little more than that they are supposed to have reigned 505 years. During the century immedi-

ately preceding their fall the names of five or six kings have come down to us, i.e. Alyattes, Cadys, Ardys, Meles, Myrsus, and Candaules. More important than these names and the stories of the murder of the one and of the succession of the other, is the fact that Lydia at this time, as also later, was a feudal state, and that under the sovereigns numerous lords ruled in the country, who were the owners of the soil to whom the country population stood in the position of serfs. And since it is expressly told us that one of these lords was conceded immunity from taxation for his district as a reward for his co-operation in raising Ardys to the throne, we may reasonably conclude from this that the other lords had to pay tribute. Besides this, they had not all the same rank; one of them stood next to the king and was also regent in case of the death or disability of the king, and usually held an office like that of the Frankish mayor of the palace, while some others composed a sort of court under the official title of "Friends of the King."

Granted that these landowners played an important part, still we must clearly understand that at an early period a trading and artisan section of the population was prominent by the side of this nobility. In the highly coloured romances of Lydian history which have come down to us through the Greeks, traders often appear, together with innkeepers: and the Lydians are spoken of as the first people who coined money and who were retail merchants and pedlars. Since they were cut off from the coast by the Greek towns, their trade was an overland trade; they were the commercial factors of the civilised countries of the East, and the great and ancient trade route from the Euphrates terminated in their capital. From Sardis the wares of the East reached the sea, passing through the hands of the Greeks. An important industry grew up in Lydia at an early date. Skilfully wrought fabrics and brilliantly coloured garments were made on the looms of the weavers' and in the dyers' shops, and all sorts of ornaments were found in the workshops of the goldsmiths and silversmiths. In Sardis and even in the other towns, which were of small importance as compared with the capital, there resided a trading and manufacturing population, about whose political rights we have no special information. They could be summoned by the king, under exceptional circumstances, to a popular assembly and be asked for their opinion. It is worthy of notice that King Ardys is renowned for the care he devoted to the army. He is said to have raised his cavalry forces to thirty thousand men, and in later times the Lydian cavalry proved formidable to their foes. A new epoch in the history of Lydia opens with Gyges. According to the legends handed down from antiquity, Gyges was originally either a royal spearman, like Artaxerxes, the first Sassanid, or a shepherd, like King David; this thoroughly corresponds to the ideas of the Eastern nations, who like to raise the ancestors of the kingly families from the dust to the highest human power. In reality he sprang from the lordly race of the Mermnadæ, a powerful family in the country. His father, Dascylus, lived in voluntary exile at Sinope. Thence Gyges at the age of eighteen was recalled to the court at Sardis, and soon, as the recognised favourite of the king, was nominated his "Majordomus." By a palace revolution, in which the last Candaules met his death, Gyges won the hand of the royal widow and with it the crown, and defended it successfully in battle (687 B.C.). With Gyges begins a new policy of the Lydian kings; a policy of conquests is entered on,

of which the Greek coast towns were the ultimate object. While the towns of Æolis, with the exception of Mytilene, were agricultural towns and had attained no importance, the Ionian towns, thanks to the fertility of their territory, the excellence of their position, and the activity of their citizens, had developed into important centres of trade and industry. Through their close trade connection with the Phœnicians and the Lydians, who, as we have seen, were in control of the overland trade with the East, they became emporiums for oriental wares, which they sent on further west, together with the products of their own labour. Gyges now attacked these Ionian towns. While Miletus and Smyrna warded off his attack, and the spearmen of Smyrna actually overcame the Lydian cavalry, Colophon, which was renowned for its great riches, was subdued. Even the Troad came under Lydian domination. Gyges showed his successors the way, but he did not himself proceed to further attempts in this direction.

When the great tide of Scythian invasion swept from Asia over the great Russian plain it bore down upon the northern shores of the Black Sea where the people known as the Cimmerians dwelt. These people were closely allied to the Thracians. To Thrace naturally they turned their steps, flying from the terrible Scythian invaders. Their kinsmen in Thrace made common cause with them. The allied forces crossed to Asia as many Thracian tribes had previously done, and the descendants of these Thracian Tribes in Asia Minor joined them and shared their conquests. In Bithynia and in the Troad these Asiatic Thracians had settled. The united forces of Cimmerians and Thracians marched on Phrygia. King Midas, dreading their approach, killed himself, the legend says, by drinking bull's blood. Sinope was next assailed. In a little time the territories conquered marched with the territories of the Assyrian king who had advanced his frontiers to the Halys. On the banks of the Halys was fought the great battle which turned back the tide of Cimmerian invasion from the borders of Assyria. In this contest King Assarhadon won a complete victory and secured the safety of his dominions from the barbarian onset (679 B.C.)

The invaders then turned on Lydia. Gyges in terror implored the aid of the Assyrians. The aid was given on condition that Gyges would do homage to the Assyrian monarch and acknowledge his suzerainty. The Cimmerians and Thracians were repulsed, but Gyges repudiated the suzerainty (660 B.C.). He was then abandoned to his fate by his former allies. The storm soon burst upon his kingdom. This time the barbarians met with little opposition. Gyges fell in battle. His capital, Sardis, surrendered. The hordes of invaders were let loose upon the Greek settlements. Ionia was overrun, Magnesia was destroyed, and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was burnt, while towns on all sides were given up to plunder and devastation. "It was a raid and not a subjugation of the towns," says Herodotus, and his words are true in as far as they apply to the conduct of the invaders after the conquest of Lydia, but the Lydian war itself was in no way a raid, but a regular struggle between organised powers. Besides, the occupation of Lydia was permanent. King followed king no doubt on the Lydian throne. To Gyges succeeded his son Ardys, to him in turn his son Sadyattes. But the Cimmerians held firm hold of their conquests through these two reigns. It was only during the reign of Alyattes, the successor of Sadyattes, that Lydia broke the Cimmerian yoke.

Alyattes freed Lydia and all Asia Minor from the bondage which the barbarians had imposed. Whether the Cimmerians wandered back to their old homes or

sank into servitude in Lydia or were allowed to blend with the inhabitants no one can now say. But with the liberation of Lydia by Alyattes their career as a conquering nation closes, and as such history knows them no more. Nor was this great work the only service which Lydia owed to Alyattes. The son and the grandson of Gyges, shadows of kings, had now and then turned their arms against the Ionian towns, and in turn had besieged Miletus in vain. But Alyattes went to war in grim earnest. For years a worsting struggle went on between the sea city and the military kingdom, until at last, wearied of the struggle, both parties willingly made peace and sealed the peace with a treaty of alliance. The Lydians now destroyed Smyrna and held the coast at three important points. Eastward the course of Alyattes was barred. The Assyrian power reached up to the Halys. The Medes and Babylonians divided between them the great empire of Nineveh which had fallen asunder.

Eastern Asia Minor fell to the Medes. Their power grew and under Cyaxares threatened Lydia. War broke out and lasted for many years. Peace came in a very remarkable manner. On May 28th, 585 B.C., while a battle was actually raging there took place a total eclipse of the sun which Thales of Miletus had foretold. Struck with religious alarm, both sides sued for peace. The rulers of Babylon and Cilicia were appealed to as mediators. The son of Cyaxares and the daughter of Alyattes were united in marriage and all danger from the Medes was now averted from Lydia. Freed from all anxiety on the eastern borders, Alyattes was able to devote his attention in part to the internal organisation of his kingdom and in preparation for wars of aggression which seemed to him inevitable wars of self-defence. For between the Ionian cities and the Lydian kingdom durable peace was, he believed, impossible. Accordingly Alyattes made up his mind to determine once and for all which power would be supreme in Asia Minor. In the result Lydia emerged victorious and Alyattes was able to hand on to his son the sceptre of a great and flourishing kingdom. The Cimmerian danger had passed. The great Eastern monarchies were friendly, and Lydia held the undisputed Hegemony of the Greeks in Asia Minor.

Under Crœsus, who succeeded Alyattes, Lydia reached the most splendid and powerful position. He conquered Ephesus, imposed tribute upon the remaining Greek cities which had not been subjugated by his predecessors, incorporated Phrygia, after the death of the last king, Gordius, into his kingdom, and exercised the supremacy over Bithynia. All too soon misfortunes burst on him. In the year 553 the Persian, Cyrus, revolted against the Median king, Astyages, and made himself Great King in his place. Partly to avenge the fall of his brother-in-law, partly to prevent the dangers threatening him from Persian ambition, Crœsus negotiated an alliance with Nabunaid, King of Babylon, and the Pharaoh Amasis. Encouraged by favourable oracles, including one from Delphi, he invaded Cappadocia with a strong army, but was compelled by Cyrus to retreat across the Halys, and then was completely defeated in the valley of the Hermus and besieged in the acropolis of Sardis. This last place of refuge was taken by treachery, and Crœsus fell into the hands of the victor (546 B.C.). Thus Lydia became Persian. At the head of the two new provinces (satrapies) were placed noble Persians, whose seats were at Sardis and at Dascylium on the Hellespont.

(c) *The Persian Rule and the Struggles of the Ionians for Independence.*—The greater number of Greek cities in Asia Minor had been first brought

under the Lydian supremacy by Crœsus, but in spite of their being dependent and tributary, they had been kindly treated by the king, who was a friend to the Greeks. Miletus still enjoyed benefits of the treaty of friendship and alliance concluded with Alyattes. The age of the Mermnadæ was by no means an age of decline or decay for the Greek cities, although isolated towns, as Smyrna and Colophon, never or only very slowly recovered from the blow they had suffered through the Lydians. Taken all in all, this was a time of great prosperity. Attention has already been called to the fact that the Ionian cities as trade centres facilitated communication between the East and the West (cf. above, p. 51). They now begin to send out colonies and found factories. Miletus founded Abydus and Cyzicus on the Hellespont, stages for the journeys to the Black Sea, on the shores of which Milesian colonies soon sprang up everywhere. The grain of the south Russian coast and the fruitful "Hinterland" and the costly skins furnished by countless wild beasts, the good timber that the southern coasts of the Black Sea supplied from their forests, and the valuable metals they drew from their rich veins of ore, the fish that the sea yielded — of all these precious commodities, the Milesians knew how to obtain control in order to establish a prosperous trade. By the side of Miletus the other towns sink into insignificance. Yet Phocæa is worthy of mention, because in the founding of Lampsacus it was actuated by the importance of the passage of the Bosphorus for trade (just as Miletus was when it founded Abydus and Cyzicus), and opened up for itself a traffic with the farthest West by founding Massalia, the still flourishing Marseilles. Towards the south also brisk trade relations with Egypt existed at this time. King Amasis actually conceded the town of Naucratis, as an emporium to the Greeks, including the Milesians and other states of Asia Minor, and allowed them to live there with their own civic rights and under their own local magistrates. This activity in trade was paralleled by a lively activity in the intellectual sphere. Marble was here first worked artistically and the foundation laid for the great development of Greek sculpture. Lyric poetry was perfected, and here arose the first philosophers, who systematised the result of their speculations.

But there was a dark side also to this bright picture. The many struggles and wars between separate cities (thus Samos and Priene, Chios and Erythræ carried on a long blood-feud, and Magnesia and Ephesus were at war) had their counterpart in long and violent party struggles in the communities. The original form of government, a monarchy, had been changed to an oligarchy, composed of the nobility. The citizens, becoming conscious of their power through industry and prosperity, began to struggle for political equality and for a share in the municipal government. These struggles did not, indeed, always lead to the establishment of a democracy, and often an individual forced his way into power. Such men, whom we come across in many cities of Asia Minor, were called by the Greeks Tyrants. The result of these numerous wars of city against city and of the violent party struggles had already been seen in the case of the Lydian conquests; the Greek cities did not combine in one league, but each city acted for itself and was thus from its isolation more easily overpowered. The same spectacle was repeated when the Persian danger threatened. The Æolians and Ionians, it is true, united at first in order to submit to Cyrus on the same conditions as formerly they submitted to the Lydian kings. But Miletus had stood aloof and had been able by timely measures to maintain the privileged

position which she had formerly held under the Mermnadæ. Cyrus rejected the proferred terms. The Greek cities turned in a body to Sparta for help and prepared to offer a determined resistance. Sparta declined to help them, and we hear nothing further of common action and common resistance. After Priene and Magnesia on the Mæander, which had rendered help in the ill-starred revolt of the Lydians under Pactyas, had been conquered and severely punished, the remaining states were subdued one by one. Thus the whole Greek coast—the Dorian cities surrendered mostly without resistance—became subject to Persia, and was forced not only to pay tribute, but to furnish soldiers and obey the tyrants appointed by the great king. When, finally, Caria and Lydia had been conquered by the Persian satrap, Harpagus, the whole of Asia Minor belonged to the Persian kingdom. Of the islands, Chios and Lesbos submitted; Samos, where Polycrates was tyrant, had to be conquered later and its strong fortress stormed. Cilicia retained its own rulers, but owned the suzerainty of Persia.

During the Persian rule Asia Minor has naturally no independent history. But the burdens which the great king laid on the peninsula could not have been very heavy. Apart from the revolt of the Ionians, we hear of no risings. The insurrections against the satraps in the fourth century B.C. originated with ambitious governors desirous of independent rule, not with a people struggling to throw off an oppressive yoke. On the other hand, it must be emphasised that the wise institutions which Darius, the son of Hysdaspes, inaugurated were beneficial to Asia Minor. He divided his extensive realm into twenty satrapies, of which four or five, if we include the inhabitants of the ranges on the Pontic coast, as the Moschi, Tibareni, Macroni, Mossynoeci, etc., were in Asia Minor. Thus Ionia with Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia formed one, Mysia and Lydia the second, the Hellespont, Phrygia and Bithynia the third, and Cilicia alone the fourth.

This division was especially important for the levying of troops and the raising of taxes, to which each satrapy had to contribute a fixed sum. This amounted in the case of Ionia, Caria, and Lycia to 400 talents of silver; Mysia and Lydia paid 500; the Hellespont and Phrygia only 360. But to this must necessarily be added the expenses, which had to be separately defrayed, of feeding the troops which were permanently stationed there as well as those temporarily marching through the country, and the cost of keeping up the governor's court. It was, however, surely a boon for the subjects that their taxes to the great king were definitely assessed, since formerly under the name of presents, irregular imposts had been exacted. The establishment of the royal post-road was bound to benefit Asia Minor. It is true that from the earliest times a caravan route ran from Sardis across the Halys, skirting the north of the Lycaonian salt desert to the Euphrates, and from thence further to the east; but Darius placed everywhere at fixed intervals along this road stations with inns, and placed watch-towers at river fords, mountain passes, or where else such might be necessary. By this means the security of travellers was considerably increased: and even if his first thought was for the royal service and for a rapid and certain communication between Sardis and Susa, the greater security which he thus ensured must have redounded to the good of his subjects. At the same time Darius established a uniform coinage throughout the empire: but while the striking of gold coins was made a royal monopoly, rulers and cities,

especially the Greek cities, were allowed to strike silver coins of any standard and with their own legend. The royal coins were of gold and silver after the Lydian system, but according to Babylonian weights. For the numerous inhabitants of Asia Minor who traded directly with the East this was a beneficial institution. The Persians did not interfere to disturb the uses and customs of their subjects: as long as they paid their taxes and remained quiet, the Phrygians might sacrifice to their Sabazius, and the others might hold feasts to their Mother of the Gods without fear of Persian restraint.

But a state of affairs which nations accustomed to absolute monarchy considered endurable, perhaps even pleasant, produced discontent at first and soon open disaffection among the freedom-loving Greeks. It is true they could realise the advantages of a uniform currency and of a safe royal highway, and they had already paid tribute under Crœsus: but the levies of troops and ships which they had been forced to furnish to Cyrus for the subjugation of Lycia and in larger numbers to Darius for the expedition against the Scythians were especially resented by them. There was the additional circumstance that men who were friendly to Persia had been placed by the great king as tyrants in their midst. Owing to this, the active corporate life which had flourished, in Ionia especially, must have been seriously checked: for the authority of these tyrants depended on Persia, and their anxiety to win the favour and good graces of the great king must have been greater than their eagerness to rule to the satisfaction of their fellow-citizens. The discontent that was fermenting among the Greeks at that time is shown by isolated facts that have come down to us about the progress of Darius' Scythian campaign. The Greek towns had been obliged to send ships and to equip a strong fleet; this fleet sailed in advance of the army which was marching through Thrace, entered the mouth of the Danube and constructed a bridge there for the land forces. The campaign against the Scythians across the Danube failed; after heavy losses Darius returned unsuccessful to the Danube; but the news of his precarious position had reached there before him. Miltiades, prince of the Chersonese, proposed to break down the bridge and to use this opportunity of liberating Ionia; but the tyrant of Miletus, Histiæus, called attention to the fact that with the overthrow of the king the power of the tyrants would be ended. That put the matter into a new light to the tyrants present there, who had been inclined to vote with Miltiades: they allowed the bridge to stand, and thereby rescued the king and the remnants of his army. Nevertheless, single detachments of the fleet had already started homewards, and Byzantium and Chalcedon revolted when the tidings of the disastrous result of the Scythian expedition reached them. The people of Chalcedon broke down the bridge thrown over the Bosphorus so that Darius had to cross from Sestos to Asia by ship. Yet the fragments of the army which the king had rescued from the Scythians were still so large that the insurgent cities were reconquered and punished (513 B.C.).

Soon after, however, events occurred which were destined to show more clearly the prevalent feeling among the Greeks. In the year 500 B.C. aristocrats from Naxos, who had been exiled by the people, came to Miletus, where, in the absence of Histiæus, who was staying at the court of Susa, Aristagoras, his son-in-law, was conducting the government. He received the Naxians and promised to reinstate them. He laid a suitable plan before Artaphernes, the

satrap of Sardis, offered to bear the costs himself, and asked for approval of his scheme. The cities then were ordered by Artaphernes to send ships and foot-soldiers, but Megabates, and not Aristagoras, as he hoped, was appointed commander of the fleet and of the army against Miletus. The expedition failed completely; the Naxians successfully defended themselves for four months against all attacks, so that at last Megabates withdrew without effecting anything. But Aristagoras could not make good the expenses of the war, as he had promised, and feared that he would be deposed from his office on account of a quarrel with Megabates, a near relation of the king. In this difficult position he received a message from his father-in-law, Histiæus, urging him to revolt from the king. Aristagoras, therefore, determined on revolt and found at Miletus support for the scheme. Not only Miletus, however, where Aristagoras resigned his tyranny and restored the democratic constitution, revolted from the great king; the fleet, too, which was still assembled after the disastrous result of the Naxos expedition, joined in the revolt. Many cities expelled their tyrants and made common cause with Miletus: each chose *strategoi* (generals) as supreme officials to constitute a supreme council of war.

At first the common cause seemed to meet with success; Eretria sent five ships, Athens twenty, to their assistance. In the spring of 499 B.C. the allies advanced to Sardis, took the city without, however, being able to capture the citadel held by Artaphernes, and burnt the greater part of it. In this conflagration the temple of Cybele, goddess of the country, was destroyed: this so embittered the inhabitants that they rose themselves against the Greeks and forced them to withdraw. In the meantime, the Persian generals had assembled: they came up with the army of the allies at Ephesus as it was retiring from Sardis and inflicted on them a crushing defeat. On the other hand, the fleet of the allies ruled the sea and induced the Greek towns on the Hellespont and Caria to revolt. Such successes, however, were not lasting, as the Persian commanders with superior forces soon reconquered the towns on the Hellespont and defeated the Carians at Labranda. Aristagoras, who had at first been the soul of the enterprise, became so discouraged that, seeking safety for his person, he fled to Thrace, where he was murdered by the Edonians. "He was not a magnanimous man," Herodotus says: and clearly when he fanned the flame of revolt and made himself its leader he had let himself be swayed by selfish motives. When, therefore, the fleet of the allies with its three hundred and fifty sail was annihilated by the Persians at Lade (497 B.C.) the united resistance of the Greeks was crushed. Each town was reconquered separately. Miletus alone held out against siege and assault until it, too, had to surrender after an heroic resistance 494 (B.C.). By this the Persian domination was everywhere re-established, and the hated tyrants ruled in every Greek city as representatives of the great king.

But the war which soon afterwards the Greek mother-country had to wage against Darius and Xerxes in the cause of its own freedom was destined also to free the settlements of Asia Minor eventually from the Persian yoke. Marathon, Salamis, Platæa will ever remain as the greatest deeds of heroism in this Greek struggle. And just as at Platæa the Persian army was annihilated and the Persian camp stormed, so at the same time, perhaps on the same day, the Persian fleet was shattered at Mycale on the coast of Asia Minor by the confederates. This was the signal for the small Greek towns of Asia Minor to make common cause with

the mother-country and to revolt from the Persian king. The confederacy of Delos was then formed with Athens as the chosen head; its place of meeting was at first Delos, afterwards Athens, and its members pledged themselves, while completely retaining their autonomy, to provide ships and crews and to furnish money contributions in order to found a war treasury. The members of the new league prosecuted the war against Persia, and under the protection of this aspiring and rapidly powerful league the small Greek towns of Asia Minor were secure from Persian attacks and from Persian vengeance for their revolt. The war continued for many years. The Persian garrisons were driven out of the towns of the Hellespont and from the Thracian coast: a large Persian fleet, which had sought protection from the advancing fleet of the confederates in the mouth of the Eurymedon, a river in Pamphylia, with the object also of effecting a juncture with the Persian army, was annihilated, together with the army, by the bold attack of Cimon (467 or in the summer of 465 B.C.), and the camp of the Persians was stormed. Elsewhere, too, where the Asiatics met the Greeks they were worsted. Although no regular peace was concluded, yet from about 449 B.C. hostilities ceased on both sides. In fact, the Greek towns in Asia Minor enjoyed liberty and governed themselves.

They were, however, destined to come once more under the Persian rule. When the Peloponnesian war had ended, disastrously for Athens, the maritime power and the naval supremacy of Athens were also utterly destroyed. Even though a virtual empire had been formed out of the original Hegemony of Athens in the confederacy of Delos, which often pressed heavily on the individual members of the league and punished every attempt at secession, one point to be recognised is that Athens thoroughly fulfilled the obligation she incurred of protecting Greek towns against the encroachments and attacks of the barbarians. This Hellenic policy in the best sense was not followed by Athens' rival, Sparta. After the last of the treaties concluded during the course of the Peloponnesian war between Sparta and the great king (411 B.C.), the small Greek towns of Asia Minor are said to have been once more subject to Persia. The policy here expressed was, it is true, abandoned by Lysander, in whose mind the plan was formed of making Sparta a naval power and of calling into existence a Spartan maritime empire. He was bound, therefore, to break the treaty with the great king and either to protect the Greek towns in Asia Minor from the Persians or to free them from the Persian yoke, if they already bore it. After the fall of Athens, Lysander was in Asia Minor; wherever he could, he abolished the democratic constitutions in the cities and established oligarchies, consisting of men of Lacedæmonian sympathies. He also entrusted places of strategic importance to Spartan Harmosts, without being disturbed in his plans by the Persian commander-in-chief, Cyrus, the brother of the great king, who soon afterwards marched over the Taurus in open revolt to put himself in his brother's place. But when Lysander was recalled and his successors in command, Thimbron, Dercyllidas, and King Agesilaus, continued his policy, it came to open war between them and the Persian satraps, Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, the successor of Cyrus, who had fallen at Cunaxa. Marauding incursions of the Spartans into the territory of the satrapies, battles without any decisive results, alternated with armistices and negotiations between the two parties, which turned on the liberation of the Greeks in Asia Minor from Persian rule. A crisis

was brought about by the sea-fight at Cnidus (394 B.C.), in which the Spartan fleet was defeated, and to a large extent destroyed, by the Athenian Conon, who commanded on the Persian side. Not merely did Sparta's naval supremacy receive a severe blow, but more friendly relations between Athens and Persia were brought about by Conon. With Persian money the long walls of Athens were rebuilt; and, owing to Conon's appearance on the coast of Asia Minor, many towns went over to the Athenians from the Spartans. Sparta saw itself compelled to abandon Lysander's policy of establishing a naval empire and to make overtures to the great king. Through the agency of Antalcidas, the shameful peace which bears his name was concluded. In this the small Greek towns in Asia Minor were surrendered to the Persians and once more made subject to their authority (387 B.C.). Athens, which had so long been the protector of the Hellenes against the barbarians, was then too weak to change the course of affairs.

(*d*) *Alexander the Great and his expedition to Asia.*—All Asia Minor was now once more Persian, as before the Ionian revolt. Nothing was changed in the relation of the subjects towards the great king. But under a series of weak monarchs the independence of powerful satraps had grown more pronounced. After the rebellion of Cyrus, in the course of the fourth century, a fresh insurrection of the satraps broke out, which could only be repressed by the treacherous murder of the leaders, Datames and Ariobarzanes. To the slackness of authority and the want of a firm government must be attributed the immediate fall of Asia Minor into the hands of Alexander of Macedon (see Fig. 1 of the plate facing p. 134), who at last carried out the long-cherished Hellenic hope of an attack on the Persians. After elaborate preparations he crossed the Bosphorus with his army (334 B.C.), completely defeated the army of the satraps in a dashing attack at the Granicus, and rapidly made himself master of Asia Minor, taking Miletus and Halicarnassus, where the Persian garrison offered resistance. This is not the place to relate in detail his unparalleled, victorious career and the founding of his mighty empire (see p. 107, *et seq.*). We may merely indicate his policy in Asia Minor. The division into satrapies remained unaltered, just as the land tax laid on the separate satrapies; the Greek cities were, however, declared free and autonomous and exempted from the payment of tribute.

(*e*) *The Diadochi* (*Successors*) *and the Founding of Independent Kingdoms.*—After the death of Alexander (323 B.C.), the empire which he had held together with so powerful a hand and iron energy threatened to break into pieces, although its continuance seemed secure at first by the selection of his stepbrother Arrhidæus as king under the title of Philip, by the birth of a son and heir, and by the appointment of Perdiccas as regent of the empire. The foremost generals became governors of the provinces and at the same time commanders of the troops stationed or about to be levied in their administrative districts. In these large military commands lay the germs of endless quarrels and of the final dissolution of the empire.

Alexander, indeed, understood how to check the ambition and jealousy of his generals by personal influence, but after his death the governor of every province

bestirred himself immediately to raise a trustworthy army, by which he might make himself as independent as possible of the imperial power and might carry out his own ambitious designs without regard for the welfare and prosperity of the whole. This naturally furnished the ground of many disputes. The scene of these "wars of the Successors" was Asia Minor.

Antigonus was sent thither from Babylon as governor of Greater Phrygia, Leonnatus went to Hellespontine Phrygia, Eumenes to Cappadocia, Asandros to Caria, Menander to Lydia, and Philotas to Cilicia. While the others all went to provinces long since subdued, Eumenes had first to conquer his province. The Cappadocians, whose land had hardly been touched by Alexander himself, had never reconciled themselves to the Macedonian rulers placed over them, and had actually set a native noble, by name Ariarathes, at the head of affairs. He being a clever, enterprising man, had extended his rule over the whole of Cappadocia, to which Pontus then belonged, and maintained it with the help of a strong army of fifteen thousand horsemen and thirty thousand foot-soldiers. According to the commands of the regent of the empire, Antigonus and Leonnatus were to help Eumenes in expelling Ariarathes: but neither obeyed orders. Perdiccas, therefore, was obliged to march against Cappadocia with the imperial army. Ariarathes was defeated, taken prisoner, and crucified, and Eumenes received the country as his province. The nephew of Ariarathes, his namesake, saved his life by flight into Armenia, whence at a later period he came back to influence the destinies of his fatherland.

Leonnatus had in the interval aided Antipater, governor of Macedonia, in his struggle against the Hellenes, and had lost his life in the campaign; and the rebellion of Antigonus gave the regent cause for marching against him; but instead of personally justifying his conduct, according to the summons that had been sent him, Antigonus fled to Antipater in Europe and effected there an alliance against Perdiccas, in which Ptolemy also, the governor of Egypt, took a part. In the war that then broke out Perdiccas met his fate in Egypt, and Antipater became regent of the empire in his stead. Antigonus received back the province of Greater Phrygia, from which he had fled, and was given the supreme command of the imperial army with the task of carrying on the war against Eumenes, who had been on the side of Perdiccas and had successfully held his own against Antipater and Craterus. Eumenes was defeated in the open field, but he successfully defended himself in the steep mountain fortress of Nora against Antigonus, escaped, and in a short time assembled a new army, with which he conquered Cilicia and Phœnicia and finally crossed the Euphrates, in order to bring the governors of the Eastern provinces over to his side. At last, in the year 316 B.C., after many battles he fell, through the treachery of his picked troops, into the hands of Antigonus, who had him put to death. Previously to this and immediately after the death of Antipater (319 B.C.), who had appointed Polyperchon as his successor and regent of the empire, Antigonus had renounced obedience to the new regent, had driven out the governors of Hellespontine Phrygia and Lydia, who were on the side of Polyperchon, and had given their satrapies to men of his own party. Now, after the death of Eumenes, he was ruler of all Asia, from the upper provinces of which he returned to Asia Minor with enormous treasure.

But the great power and ascendancy of Antigonus produced a hostile coali-

tion of the other governors. These were Cassander, the son of Antipater, who meantime had driven Polyperchon out of Macedonia; Ptolemy; Lysimachus, who in the year 323 had received Thrace as a province, and after subduing the warlike, freedom-loving mountain tribes, had founded for himself an important state; and, lastly, Seleucus, who, driven from his satrapy of Babylon by Antigonus, had fled to Ptolemy in Egypt. Antigonus refused their request to divide the satrapies equally; so wars resulted, which dragged on with changing fortunes and some interruptions from 315 to 301. In these the last members of the royal family, i.e. Alexander's posthumous son, who was called after him, and his illegitimate son Heracles, met their death. The rulers, therefore, placed the royal diadem on their own heads and assumed the title of kings (306 B.C.). Antigonus retained his power, and Asia Minor remained his choicest possession until he succumbed to the last mighty onslaught of his enemies and was killed at the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia (301 B.C.). There is no sign of lasting institutions or of a government bringing blessings to its subjects in this disturbed period of new and constantly growing armaments. Only the Greek cities of Asia Minor enjoyed peculiar consideration and retained their self-government and immunity from taxation. After the death of Antigonus there were four kingdoms in existence — Egypt, under Ptolemy; Thrace, under Lysimachus; Macedonia and Greece, under Cassander, and Syria, under Seleucus. Asia Minor was divided between Lysimachus and Seleucus, who had taken the most important share in the overthrow of Antigonus. Both remained in possession of the portion that fell to them, notwithstanding that Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus (see Fig. 2 of the plate facing p. 134), made numerous attempts to reconquer his father's realm. Lysimachus was defeated and killed at Corupedium, 281, in a battle against Seleucus, to whom as victor Asia Minor justly fell. During the immediately succeeding period the line of Seleucus are in the ascendency and possess, indeed, the greatest power as far as extent of territory goes; but they are no longer sole rulers, as once Antigonus was.

In the confusion in which Asia Minor was involved after the death of Alexander, new states had gradually been developed there, which, growing into greater power, stamped their mark on the whole subsequent period. After the dissolution of the Lydian dominion we find on the soil of Asia Minor for the first, and indeed for the last time, states with a separate history and a separate policy, in complete independence of any great political power whose capital and centre of gravity lay outside the peninsula.

Ariarathes, the nephew and adopted son of the Ariarathes, whom Perdiccas had crucified at the time when Antigonus was waging his disastrous war against the allied kings (see above, p. 60), had returned to Cappadocia from Armenia, and, supported by the good will of the population, which had never grown accustomed to the Macedonian rule, entered upon the heritage of his father. His attempt was favoured by events in the immediate neighbourhood. Mithradates, the son of the Mithradates, who had killed Datames in the great rebellion of the satraps and had betrayed his own father Ariobarzanes, had after much aimless wandering entered at last into the service of Antigonus merely to be killed by him. His son, who bore the same name, was threatened with the same fate, but being warned by Demetrius Poliorcetes, fled to Paphlagonia. There he was able to occupy the town of Cimiata in the gorges of the Olgassys, which he surrounded

with strong walls, and in concert with Ariarathes summoned the Paphlagonians and the inhabitants of the north coast to arms. The governor of Antigonus had to give way to the two; and when, after the battle of Ipsus, the two victors, Lysimachus and Seleucus, turned their attention to the subjugation of these outlying districts, it was too late. An army of Seleucus was totally defeated in Cappadocia, and Mithradates was able to hold his own in the North. Later, after the death of Lysimachus and the invasion of the Gauls, and during the continuous wars of the Seleucidæ, both in and outside Asia Minor, no more thought was entertained of their subjugation. Thus Ariarathes created an independent kingdom in Cappadocia, with which he united Cataonia: and Mithradates, who received the name of Ktistes (the Founder), founded a kingdom in the valleys of the Amnias and Iris, which, situated on the Pontus Euxinus (Black Sea), came gradually for brevity to be called Pontus. The rulers of both territories naturally styled themselves kings.

In the Northwest new states grew up. Bithynia had been ruled in Persian times by princes of its own, who recognised the suzerainty of the Great King and were subject to his satraps, even though they often enough disobeyed them. Alexander freed Bithynia from the Persian domination, but apparently left the princely families in possession of their hereditary power; the Macedonian governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, Calas, was appointed to complete their subjection. But the Bithynian prince, Bas, repelled his attack in the open field, and his son Zipoites succeeded during the wars of "the Successors" in maintaining and even in extending his hereditary position. Zipoites is the first who styled himself king; this must have happened in 297 B.C. after a victory over Lysimachus, since the era of the Bithynian kings begins with the autumn of 297. He also maintained his position against the successor of Antiochus, Seleucus, who had sent his general, Patrocles, to force Bithynia to submission. In any case, after this Bithynia finally entered the ranks of independent states. Zipoites was able to bequeath to his son Nicomedes a realm which towards the East included the Greek towns of Tion and Cieros.

About this time there arose an independent state in the valley of the Caicus, on the borders of Bithynia. At the outbreak of the war with Seleucus, Philetærus had abandoned Lysimachus, whose citadel and treasures he was guarding at Pergamus, and had gone over to Seleucus. When the latter was soon afterwards murdered he won the gratitude of Antiochus by sending him the body of his father, held Pergamus, and succeeded in bringing the whole valley of the Caicus as far as the sea under his dominion, and thus laid the foundations of the kingdom of Pergamus.

Once more a race of invaders became prominent in Asia Minor and exercised an important influence on the conditions of the country. Just as previously, at the time of the Mermnadæ, Cimmerians, combined with Thracian hordes, had crossed over into Asia Minor and had long scoured the land, plundering and robbing, so now the Gauls appeared (see p. 52). They had before this made inroads into Thrace and Macedonia: now (277 B.C.), Nicomedes, who was contesting his inheritance with his brothers, took a Gallic army under Leonnorius into his pay and by their aid subdued Bithynia. At the same time a second Gallic force under Lutarius crossed the Hellespont, joined the force under Leonnorius, which now was again free, and, both combined, raided the fields of

Asia Minor and burned the towns. Antiochus, in order to protect, at any rate, his own part of Asia Minor from the Gallic pillagers, marched across the Taurus. A pitched battle was fought between him and the Gauls. In overwhelming force — so ran the account of the fight — the "Galatians" confronted the king in a dense phalanx, twenty-four ranks deep, with ten thousand horsemen on each wing. From the centre of the line of battle eighty four-horse chariots, armed with scythes, and twice as many two-horse war chariots were to charge. It may easily be conceived that the king's courage almost failed him at the sight of this formidable multitude, especially since the greater part of his inferior army consisted of peltasts and other light-armed troops. He even wished to make terms; but one of his generals encouraged him and devised a plan of battle for him. The sixteen elephants which the king had with him were driven headlong against the enemy; the enemy's horses, which had never seen an elephant, took fright, galloped in wild rout back on the ranks, and caused universal confusion. The overthrow of the Gauls was complete.

This victory checked the wandering of the Gauls, in so far that they were driven back to the eastern part of Phrygia on both sides of the Halys and restricted to a region, to which they gave their name permanently. Here in *Galatia* they founded their capital, Ancyra, which attained later great prosperity, and at the present day as Angora has taken new life through the construction of the Anatolian Railway. Here they gradually obtained secure settlements and lived, mixed with the natives, without abandoning their language, habits, or constitution, under twelve tetrarchs, each of whom belonged to one of the four cantons of their three tribes (Trokmeri, Tolistoboii, and Tektosagi), and under a council consisting of three hundred members. Often enough, starting from here as mercenaries of the rival princes, they helped to decide the destinies of the peninsula. For, unfortunately, there was no prosperous development in Asia Minor even after the conquest of the Gauls by Antiochus. In the many wars between Egypt and Syria, which led to the occupation of the coast of Caria and Lycia by the Ptolemies, then in the long, bloody war between the brothers Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax, sons of Antiochus Theos, the whole west coast and the central and southern districts, Caria, Phrygia, Lycia, and Cilicia, were at one time in the hands of Callinicus, at another of Hierax. No wonder that the Gauls, too, reappeared in this confusion, and after inflicting a crushing blow on Callinicus in the interest of Hierax, once more assumed a position which threatened danger. Once more they laid waste the fields; and their neighbours, to secure peace from them, were forced to pay tribute. Even Antiochus Hierax could not secure immunity in any other way.

The credit of averting the new danger of the Gauls belongs to the princes of Pergamus. After Eumenes I., the successor of Philetærus, had defeated Antiochus I. at Sardis in 262 the permanence of their rule was secured. The disturbed times gave an opportunity for strengthening and extending it. Attalus I. (241-197), the son and successor of Eumenes, had brought his name into history by an action which conferred on him lasting fame in the eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity. He refused to pay to the Gauls the customary tribute and faced their consequent invasion in a battle, where he completely defeated them. By this means he greatly contributed towards ending their raids and confining them to their own territory. On account of this splendid achievement

Attalus was honoured by the towns and princes who were saved by him from the Gallic danger, and he adorned himself with the royal diadem. Eumenes II. dedicated to him an imposing monument, an altar to Zeus, standing on a massive pedestal, round the sides of which ran reliefs, which glorified for all time the victory of Attalus over the Gauls under the representation of the battle of the gods with the giants. (See the plate "Acropolis of Pergamus" at p. 67). We are indebted to Karl Humann for the excavation of this altar and for sending its reliefs to Berlin.

Attalus I. not only permanently secured his realm, but extended it also by a war with Antiochus Hierax, who after long disputes with his brother Seleucus Callinicus had finally withdrawn and held Asia Minor north of the Taurus, so far as it was distinctly Seleucid. Hierax was defeated at Coloë, in the neighbourhood of Sardis, and compelled to fly from Asia Minor, and Seleucid Asia Minor fell into the hands of Attalus. But the Seleucidæ were destined once more to establish their power in the peninsula, and, as it seemed, more firmly than ever. Achæus, the general of Seleucus, retook from Attalus the territory he had recently conquered, but could not resist the temptation of founding a separate state and of placing the kingly diadem on his own head during the confusion which prevailed in Syria after the death of Seleucus. This kingdom, severed from the main Seleucid state, lasted some years until Antiochus III., who had restored his authority in his own kingdom by a successful war against insurgent satraps, felt himself sufficiently strong to deprive Achæus also of his sovereignty. Achæus, being beaten, shut himself up in Sardis and held out a considerable time, but was eventually murdered by traitors. Thus Antiochus III. reunited a large part of Asia Minor to his own main territory (214 B.C.); and in other respects his attempts were not unsuccessful. He brought the possessions of the Ptolemies on the Syro-Phœnician coast under his sway and took the southwest coast of Asia Minor, which had been Egyptian for many years.

From this period dates a letter of the king to his governor at Eriza in South Phrygia, which has been preserved for us in an inscription; this gives us a slight, and yet, considering the paucity of our sources of information, a very welcome glimpse into the internal administration. The Seleucid kingdom, as the Persian, was divided into satrapies: we do not know how many of these were included in Asia Minor. But if Eriza was the capital of a satrapy, Phrygia, at any rate, seems to have been divided into two; for the capital would hardly have been situated in the farthest south of the country if it did not form two circles of administration, one of which comprised the northern, the other the southern part. By the side of the worship of the native gods, which naturally remained fixed, a similar worship of the king and the queen was introduced; for both there was in each satrapy one high priest, and sacrifices were offered to both, just as two hundred years later in the provinces high priests were appointed for the Roman emperor.

But Antiochus III. did not rest content with these acquisitions. It was not enough that he had brought even Greek towns on the western coast of Asia Minor into his power (the free city of Rhodes, a naval power, as well as Pergamus, confronted him and actually protected some towns from him), he aimed at Europe also and laid claims to Thrace on the ground that it was by right a possession of the Seleucidæ, owing to the defeat of Lysimachus by Seleucus

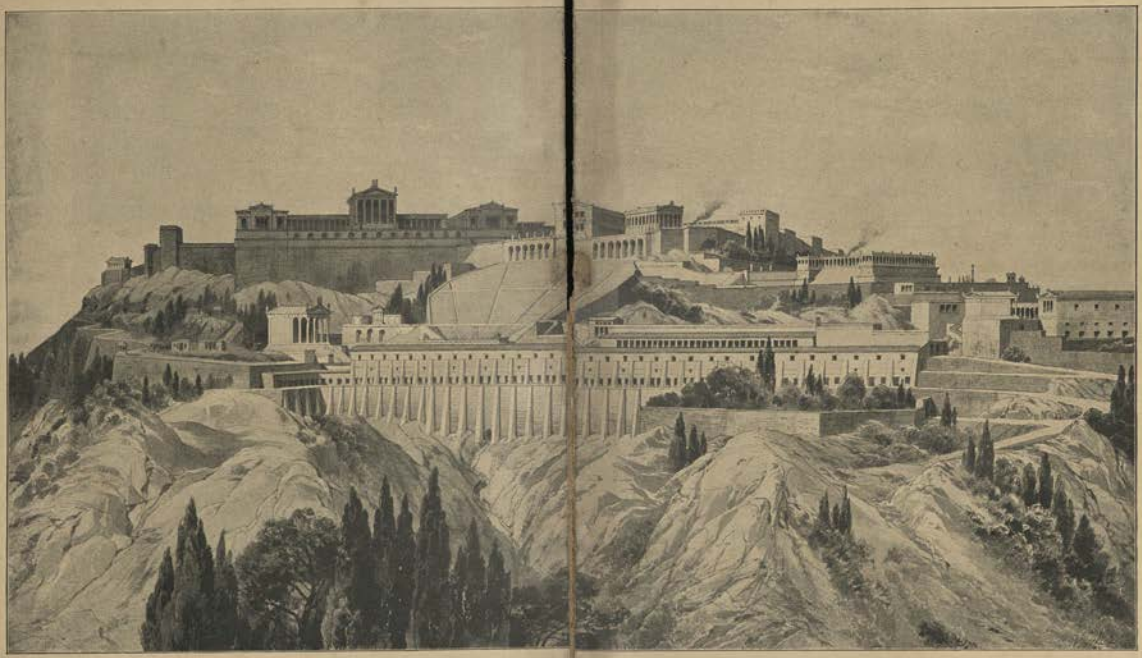
He had already become master of the town of Sestus, and had made Lysimachea, which he restored, the headquarters of his army and the capital of a province of Thrace that was still to be conquered, when he became involved in a war with Rome. Rome, which had only just declared all Greeks to be free at the end of the second Macedonian war, could naturally not tolerate the attacks of Antiochus. It was bound to recognise a *casus belli* in the reception of its deadly foe, Hannibal, by Antiochus, as well as in his alliance with its old enemies, the Ætolians, and the coalition of all the opponents of Rome, which Hannibal had diligently promoted. Then, too, its allies, Rhodes and the hard-beset Pergamus, had eagerly begged for help and most pressingly urged the commencement of hostilities. The attempt of the king to meet the Romans in Greece failed completely: the Romans were left victorious there. But instead of vigorously resisting and, if possible, frustrating their attempt to cross into Asia, Antiochus remained inactive. At Magnesia, on the Sipylus, he was completely routed in the year 190 B.C., and the dominion of the Seleucidæ in Asia Minor on this side of the Taurus was ended forever. They only kept the territory on the far side of the Taurus (i.e. practically Cilicia), and did not venture to cross the sea with warships to the west of the mouth of the Calycadnus. Rhodes and Pergamus were splendidly rewarded for their loyalty. The former received the country of Lycia and Caria as far as the Mæander; Pergamus, which had withstood a siege from Antiochus, and whose territory had been ravaged, received Hellespontine Phrygia, Greater Phrygia, Lydia with Sardis and Ephesus, which had been occupied by Antiochus and had not soon enough gone over from him to the Romans, and the part of Caria which lay north of the Mæander. The Greek towns of Asia Minor, which had sided with the Romans on the day of the battle of Magnesia, were conceded self-government and also immunity from tribute. Among them we find names famous in history, such as Ilium, Smyrna, Chios, Phocæa, Miletus. And, further, by the despatch of Manlius Volso with an army against the Galatians, who were defeated by him in two battles, the Romans deserved well of Asia Minor; for even after the defeat inflicted on the Galatians by Attalus many towns had still been obliged to pay tribute to them to secure protection from their marauding invasions. The Galatian scourge was now destroyed once for all.

(*f*) *Rome as the Leading Power in Asia Minor.*—The results of the battle of Magnesia are of the most far-reaching importance. Rome, without appropriating a foot's breadth of land, becomes from this time the foremost power in Asia Minor. It is clear on the face of it that Pergamus and Rhodes, which had long been allies of Rome, and had just been splendidly rewarded, would seek to further their prosperity and power by this connection; but the longer the other states, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus itself, resisted, the less they could avoid the influences of Rome. The power of the Macedonian, Syrian, and Egyptian monarchies over Asia Minor was broken from that day. For at least a century the peninsula enjoyed peace, in which they had had no share since Alexander's death, at first owing to the deadly feuds of the successors (Diadochi), and later through the perpetual wars of the kingdoms. What conception Rome had of its rights as the leading power, is clearly shown by the political changes which were introduced into Asia Minor thirty years after the battle of Magnesia. After the third Macedonian war Rome, being dissatisfied

with the conduct of the free city of Rhodes and its unwelcome intrusion into the course of this war, deprived it of its possessions on the peninsula of Asia Minor and declared Caria and Lycia to be "free." The Rhodian garrisons had to be withdrawn from these countries, and the considerable tribute which till then had flowed into the Rhodian treasury from that source was stopped. Thus the power of Rhodes suffered a heavy loss. The trade of Rhodes was bound to fall off, since the Romans had established the free harbour of Delos and had blocked the main artery of the Rhodian exports and imports on the coast of Macedonia, which had now become Roman.

In Lycia the towns, of which there were many of various sizes, formed themselves into a close organisation, the Lycian league. They had always unwillingly submitted to the Rhodian rule, and knew how to make good use of the freedom now conceded to them for the welfare of the country. The beginnings of this Lycian city-league may have been older, especially as far as the common worship of the Lycian tribal deity is concerned; but now other duties fell upon the league: the representation of the country in foreign lands, negotiations with strange powers, the maintenance of the common interests, as well as the establishment of systematic and assured conditions at home, rested now with the league. And though such a city-league in itself presented no novelty (for in Greece there were many such), yet the fundamental thought on which the Lycian league rested was new and excellent. Every member of the league had a different number of votes, according to its size, distributed in such a way that the largest towns gave three, the intermediate towns two, and the small towns one vote, respectively, at the meeting of the league, which was held in turn in each of the communities. At the head of the league was placed a president, chosen similarly in turn from the towns which were members, and elected annually. The towns exercised their right of voting through representatives. A similarly organised league must have existed in Caria. Here there were comparatively few towns, but many large village communities. We know of the Chrysaorian league that it was formed in honour of Zeus Chrysaoreus, and included all Carians. Granted that it may have been older, so far as cult and religion are concerned, it must have now developed some political activity, since the country required a common representative body, and the league offered itself as such. We may assume that about the same duties as had fallen on the Lycian league through the concession of freedom were assumed by the Chrysaorian league of the Carians. At any rate, inscriptions have preserved for us traces of some political activity. On the whole, however, Caria does not seem to have made any upward progress. Piracy, which indeed never had completely died out on this coast, but had been repressed and limited by the Seleucid and Egyptian fleet, seems to have boldly reasserted itself, and, owing to the totally deficient naval police of the Romans, not to have shrunk from quite long expeditions. Notwithstanding that Lycia and Caria were free, neither country ever played a part in politics.

The most splendid picture at this time is presented by Pergamus, which, through the courage and statecraft of its kings, had become an important kingdom. From the struggle against Bithynia, which broke out immediately after the war with Antiochus III., Eumenes II. emerged as victor. Prusias of Bithynia had occupied some territory in Mysia, which in the peace with Anti-



THE ACROPOLIS OF PERGAMON

(Drawn by O. Schulz from the proposed design for restoration by Richard Bohn.)

ochus had been conceded to Eumenes. On this ground a quarrel began between the two, which has the greater interest for us because Hannibal for the last time played a part in it, and for the last time uselessly, it is true, tried to form a powerful coalition against Rome. Despite of some successes of Hannibal, Eumenes was not only able to maintain his position, but also to incorporate into his own kingdom the territory conquered by Prusias on the Sangarius. Prusias did not venture to shelter Hannibal when the Romans demanded his surrender; and the great Carthaginian, being abandoned, put an end to his life at Libussa, on a height above the Gulf of Nicomedia. The princes of Pergamus, distinguished as they were for their cleverness and statecraft, were not less renowned for their warm interest in art and science. We have already mentioned the altar to Zeus (see p. 64). On the acropolis, which towers above the city, they reared a rich group of buildings, which, rising in terraces one above the other, crown the summit of the royal citadel. (See the subjoined plate, "The Acropolis of Pergamus.") And in the middle of it, among palaces and temples and public buildings, was the library, which was also a museum, where, besides a rich collection of books, originals, as well as copies of prominent works of the older Greek art, were preserved. In this manner Pergamus became an important centre of civilisation, and will be always mentioned with honour by the side of Alexandria. The princes of Pergamus attracted artists, knew how to set them profitable tasks, and caused Greek art to blossom afresh; and we admire its works, so true to nature, so living and instinct with passion, even to the present day, in the reliefs of the altar of Zeus and in the statues of the so-called fighting and dying Gauls. By the side of Pergamus, Bithynia fell into the background: its princes had gradually subdued the whole territory from the Rhyndacus and the Mysian Olympus to Heraclea and southward from Heraclea over the Sangarius up to the Paphlagonian frontier. Hellenism, it is true, early made an entrance here, in any case it flourished after Nicomedes I.; and it is true that an increasing number of Greek towns sprang up, such as Nicomedia, founded by Nicomedes I., and Prusa (now Brussa) on Olympus, founded by Prusias. But none of these cities can be compared with Pergamus in glory and importance.

(*g*) *The Roman Province of Asia, the Kingdom of Pontus, and Mithradates the Great.*—Up to this time Rome had had no possessions of her own in Asia Minor. But when Attalus III. of Pergamus died in the year 133 B.C. and made Rome his heir, the Romans accepted the inheritance. Here begins a new phase in the historical development of Asia Minor. It is true that Aristonicus, a scion of the princely house of Pergamus, disputed the inheritance with the Romans, raised an army, found adherents, and went against them, sword in hand. But it was impossible for him to hold out long. In the year 129 B.C the revolt was crushed and its leader murdered. The consul, Manius Aquillius, created the Roman province, Asia, coextensive with the kingdom of Pergamus. In addition, there was Caria, which had taken part in the revolt of Aristonicus. This latter had been besieged and captured in Stratonicæa. Aquillius having been bribed, had given Greater Phrygia to Mithradates Euergetes of Pontus; Bithynia raised a protest; the proceedings in the senate on this point were prolonged interminably, until at last Rome appropriated the country herself. From that time (116 B.C.) all Greater Phrygia, Hellespontine Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, were

included in the new Roman province. Of the Greek towns, free up till now, those that had supported Aristonicus were deprived of their liberty and made provincial towns; but the others were recognised as free and autonomous.

At first, indeed, Rome had magnanimously relinquished all claim to taxes, which had long been raised by the kings of Pergamus; but soon some of them were restored. They introduced a tax of one-tenth on the produce of the soil, a tax on pasture land, and duties on imports and exports: the collection of revenue was made over to a company of Roman knights, who farmed all these taxes at Rome. This method of taxation was the plague and ruin of the provincials. The Asiatics, exposed to the tyranny and caprice of these companies, who only considered their own profit, and never the welfare of the taxpayers, and who naturally wished not only to get back the sums paid at Rome for farming these taxes, but to enrich themselves greatly by it, were shamelessly plundered by them, and could never hope for success if they ever ventured on a judicial complaint at Rome; for the very knights who composed these companies for farming the taxes, filled the law courts. A Roman governor, who changed yearly, stood at the head of the province. Even if some of them, as Mucius Scævola, were very honourable and worthy men, who really took the welfare of the province to heart, the majority of them only brought with them a mass of debts from the capital; and the province was reckoned by them and their compeers to be the most suitable sphere for getting rid of their debts and acquiring new wealth. There were, indeed, opportunities enough for the governor to wring out money for himself, especially since the province had to provide all expenses for him and his suite. The amount, however, which had to be expended for him depended on his own discretion, since he could impose taxes for a definite object, such as for the building of ships to resist the bold attacks of pirates, or generally for the protection of the land; and it rested with him alone to determine the rate of taxation, while no one controlled its proper application. Again, he alone distributed the garrisons among the towns, and many towns were only too glad to be quit of these unwelcome guests by a money payment to the governor. It was not, in any case, difficult for the Roman officials to thoroughly plunder the province entrusted to them. And, unfortunately, the number of the selfish governors at this time was greater than that of the honourable. Besides this, the suite of the governor was large, and consisted mostly of young aristocratic Romans, to whom the opportunity for acquiring some wealth was not unwelcome.

In short, the maladministration of the Romans was appalling. And in Rome itself the senate usually turned a deaf ear when complaints against its members were raised, just as the courts of the knights spared the tax-farming associations, if it was in any way possible. Such misgovernment must have greatly excited the anger and dissatisfaction of the provincials. Only a spark was needed to kindle a terrible conflagration, and the man was soon found who knew how to deal with these conditions.

We saw earlier that the race of the Mithradatidæ in Pontus had founded a dynasty. In the course of time the frontiers of this kingdom were widened. The Greek towns on this coast, Amastris, Amisus, and, above all, Sinope, with its own colonies of Trapezus and Cerasus, had been conquered and Sinope made the capital of the kingdom of Pontus. On the other hand, the various attempts of the Pontic princes to bring Galatia and Greater Phrygia under their rule were

frustrated, either by a coalition of the other kings in Asia Minor or by the intervention of Rome. Mithradates Euergetes, who had fought in the war of Aristonicus on the side of the Romans, and then thought he had claims on Greater Phrygia, which he hoped to strengthen by gifts of money to the consul, Aquillius, was murdered, at his own wife's instigation, before the transactions with Greater Phrygia were completed. He left a son of tender age, who, young as he was, fled from the plots of his mother and remained for many years hiding in the lonely mountains, where he steeled his courage and strengthened his body by struggles with the wild beasts and the rough surroundings. Mithradates Eupator reappeared at Sinope as a young man of twenty. The army saluted him with shouts of joy, and the people hailed him as their king. (See Fig. 3 of the plate, "Portraits on the coins of Alexander the Great and Hellenistic princes" at p. 134). His mother was obliged to resign the government to him. Filled with ambition and energy, his first and foremost thought was the aggrandisement of his kingdom; but that required means, money, and soldiers, of which he had not sufficient at his disposal. A happy chance helped him. In the Tauric Chersonese, the modern Crimea, the Scythians of the great South Russian steppe were pressing hard the free town of Chersonesus and the kingdom of Bosporus (now Kereh); Mithradates, being asked to help them, sent his general, Diophantus, with an army across to them. He defeated the Scythians, drove them back from the peninsula, and admitted the Chersonese, as well as the kingdom of Bosporus, which had submitted to his master, into the union of his subject states. Perhaps more important than the increase in territory was the replenishment of the Pontic treasury by the taxes which flowed in from the Crimea. Mithradates strengthened his army and increased its efficiency by continual training. He had already conquered Paphlagonia and Galatia in combination with Nicomedes of Bithynia, and had partitioned them with his ally, and had already secured his influence in Cappadocia, when the protests of Rome forced both of them to relinquish their conquests. Mithradates, indeed, bowed this time to the dictates of Rome, since he did not yet feel himself strong enough; but the wish to wreak vengeance on Rome for having prevented first his father and then himself from realising the ardently desired scheme of conquest, was cherished from this moment.

The disputes about the succession in Bithynia between Nicomedes III. and Socrates, of whom the latter held possession of the throne by the help of Mithradates until Nicomedes, supported by the Romans, expelled him, and finally the invasion of the territory of Pontus by Nicomedes, led to the outbreak of the war between Rome and Mithradates. This so-called First Mithradatic War broke out at a time (88 B.C.) when the Romans were still fully occupied in Italy itself. The Roman legate, Manius Aquillius, who was at the head of the Roman embassy which had brought back King Nicomedes, and before the outbreak of the war had conducted some diplomatic negotiations with Mithradates, levied, indeed, some troops in Asia; but he, as well as the remaining Roman commanders, the governor of the province of Asia, and the general of the forces in the adjoining Cilicia, were defeated by Mithradates or repulsed without attempting serious resistance. The king marched by way of Apameia and Laodicea into the Roman provinces. Isolated towns, such as Magnesia, near the Sipylus, and Stratonicea in Caria, resisted for some time the attacks of the king and had to be conquered by him; but these were exceptions. Mithradates was received with open arms

and hailed as a liberator from the universally hated yoke. In a very short time the province joined him. At his orders on one day eighty thousand Italians were murdered. These had gradually become numerous, as more and more people had poured into the incalculably rich land of Asia for the sake of gain and commerce. Greece also was affected. Athens first of all espoused the cause of Mithradates: the Bœotians, Achæans, and Lacedæmonians declared for him. His general, Archelaus, was in Greece with one hundred thousand men, and had his headquarters at Athens. At Rome itself there was civil war. Not until the beginning of the year 87 B.C. was Sulla the Great able to start with an army for Greece. His mere appearance brought many Greeks back to their allegiance. Only Athens resisted, remained loyal to Mithradates, and had to be conquered after a long siege (March 1, 86); a few days later the Piræus also was stormed and given to the flames. This first great success was followed by others: Sulla defeated Archelaus at Chæronea, and Dorylaus, who had come up with considerable reinforcements, at Orchomenus.

In Asia Minor also the situation was not as favourable for Mithradates as at first. Rhodes had refused submission to the king, and Lycia did likewise. The siege of Rhodes, like that of Patara in Lycia, had been a waste of time, for on both occasions Mithradates had been forced to withdraw without effecting any result. Again, his cruel and tyrannical government began soon to prove an intolerable yoke on the Asiatics, who had greeted him as a liberator. At Ephesus, Tralles, and other places the king's governors were murdered or expelled, and the towns put into a state of defence. Meantime the democratic party that ruled at Rome since Sulla's departure, had sent an army to the theatre of war, which murdered its own leader, the consul Flaccus, and now crossed under Fimbria to Asia Minor and there took up the war against Mithradates. Lucullus, Sulla's general, had assembled a fleet in Syria and Egypt, with which he conducted successful operations and took Cos, Cnidus, Chios and other towns from Mithradates. Pressed on every side, the king resolved to enter into negotiations for peace with Sulla. After preliminary conferences held between Archelaus and Sulla, the latter and Mithradates met at Dardanus. By the terms of peace Mithradates was obliged to evacuate the Roman province, give up his conquests in Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia, and for the future restrict himself to the possession of his Pontic territory; in addition, he was to surrender seventy warships and pay 2000 talents as war indemnity. At Sulla's appearance Fimbria's army deserted, and Fimbria himself committed suicide (84 B.C.).

Thus ended the First Mithradatie War, and the province of Asia was once more Roman. Sulla reorganised it. Rhodes was rewarded for its heroic resistance by a gift of Caunus and other districts on the Carian coast; the towns which had remained loyal were declared free, while those that had revolted were punished and a heavy fine was imposed upon them. This penalty weighed heavily upon the towns; and since it had to be met by loans, it seriously retarded their prosperity, already seriously impaired. Ten years afterwards we see Lucullus endeavouring by wise measures to discharge the debts of many of the towns and vigorously combating the pernicious system by which unpaid interest was regarded as bearing interest in turn — a method of computation which swelled the total amount to an enormous sum. He reduced the rate of interest, wiped out the interest which had run up above the amount of the original

capital, and appropriated the fourth part of the income of the debtor for the satisfaction of the creditor.

The Second Mithradatic War (83-81) was in reality nothing more than a marauding expedition of Murena, the governor of Asia, into the Pontic territory.

Towards the end of the year 74 B.C. Nicomedes III. of Bithynia died and bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. That gave Mithradates a welcome opportunity to invade Bithynia in the spring of 73 and to bring the whole land under his rule. The Romans had to conquer their inheritance sword in hand, and the consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were immediately sent from Rome to Bithynia. Thus the Third Mithradatic War began. Cotta, to whom the supreme command of the fleet had been given, was to defend Bithynia. He withdrew to Chalcedon, while Lucullus advanced from Cilicia and Asia with the legions which had been collected there. Cotta offered battle under the walls of Chalcedon, and was defeated; at the same time Mithridates' fleet forced an entrance into the harbour and captured sixty Roman warships. After this success Mithradates began the siege of the rich free town of Cyzicus, which was loyal to the Romans and defended itself bravely. Lucullus advanced to its relief: Mithradates, taken on two sides, and no longer besieger, but besieged, with his mighty army crippled by hunger and disease, was compelled at last to abandon his attempt and to fall back hastily on Pontus, saving what he could. Even his fleet, which at first seemed to have become a formidable danger to the Romans, was by degrees driven out of the Ægean Sea. Lucullus, on his part, now marched through Bithynia and Paphlagonia into the king's territory, defeated him at Cabeira and compelled him to fly to his son-in-law, Tigranes, King of Armenia. (See Fig. 4 of plate facing p. 134). After the conquest of the towns of Amisus and Sinope, Lucullus advanced into Armenia, defeated Tigranes at Tigranocerta (69 B.C.), and after a second victory at Artaxata, was making preparations to subdue all Armenia, when his soldiers mutinied and forced their general to retreat. As even the enormous booty taken in the town of Nisibis, captured on this retreat, did not alter the soldiers' purpose, Lucullus was forced, unwillingly and reluctantly, to abandon Armenia. Meantime Mithradates had escaped, returned to Pontus, and collected a new army, with which he advanced to reconquer his kingdom. The feeling in Rome was so hostile to Lucullus that he was recalled, and Pompey was entrusted with the conduct of the Mithradatic War in his place.

Pompey had just ended the War with the Pirates. We have seen (p. 66) how, after the Seleucid and Egyptian fleet had lost the mastery of the Ægean Sea, piracy once more came boldly forward; but the state of affairs in the districts of the Taurus was much worse than in the Ægean. The wild tribes of that country, which since 190 belonged partly to Pergamus and party to the Seleucidæ, raised their heads the more boldly and became more and more undisciplined as the reins of government in Pergamus and Antiochus grew loose in the hands of feeble kings. Robbers throve everywhere in Cilicia, Pisidia, and Isauria; they hid themselves and their treasures in the obscure corners of the country when they returned from their forays. Rome had repeatedly attempted to remedy this state of affairs, but without any permanent success. In the second and first centuries B.C. the corsairs appeared no longer separately, but in large numbers, as in the time of Rameses. They made prize of single merchant-

men, and alarmed the towns and extorted treasure from them. Pompey deserves the credit of having at last energetically checked this plague. Covered with glory in this war against the pirates, he appeared the most competent general to end the Mithradatic War. He therefore started in the year 66 B.C. for the new theatre of war, and so completely crushed Mithradates at Dasteira, which he himself afterwards named Nicopolis (City of Victory), that the King of Pontus could save himself only by precipitate flight through Colchis to the Bosphorus. In the midst of mighty preparations and great plans (he intended to lead against Italy a large army of Scythians, Thracians, and Celts, and to attack Rome itself), he was betrayed by his son Pharnaces and the army, and died by his own hand. Thus Pontus, the kingdom of Mithradates, fell to Rome; Bosporus was left to his son and betrayer, Pharnaces. Pompey's campaigns in the Caucasus region, in Armenia and Syria, do not concern us here. He organised Pontus as a province, founded eleven townships in it, and united it and Bithynia under one jurisdiction. Rome was now mistress of all Asia Minor, except Cappadocia, Galatia, and Lycia; even Cilicia was formed into a province. But before 25 B.C. Galatia was a province. Cappadocia was absorbed after the death of its last king, and Lycia in the middle of the first century A.D. was robbed of the independence it had maintained till then.

Under the emperors the whole of Asia Minor formed Roman provinces, but the abuses in government which existed under the republic had been abolished. There were no longer any societies for farming the taxes. These were divided among the different towns in a fixed amount, assessed according to the richness of the soil and collected by the municipalities. The governors were more strictly supervised, and were, indeed, in the "imperial" provinces responsible to the emperor himself. In the legislative assemblies of the different provinces magistrates were appointed to deliberate over matters of common interest and to promote the worship of the emperor: they also had the right of complaint against the governor. If we take into consideration the long period of peace that ensued, we can readily surmise that trade flourished and prosperity returned. In the old cities, as well as in the numerous newly founded towns there rose theatres and other public buildings, the ruins of which even now testify to their magnificence and size. But Asia Minor had no separate history in the age of the Roman emperors, just as later under Byzantine and at present under Turkish rule. It has been a part of world-empires, and only as such has it had a share in the events of world-history. The age when independent states in Asia Minor played a part in the history of the world passed away with the early years of the empire.

2. THE OLD ASIATIC-EUROPEAN BORDER NATIONS—THE SCYTHIANS AND SARMATIANS

A. The Country, Name, and Customs of the Scythians

In the great South Russian steppe, which extends from the north shore of the Caspian Sea up to the mouth of the Danube, there dwelt in antiquity a race, called Scythians by the Greeks, and Scolotæ by themselves. We shall in the

following pages retain the name of Scythians for the inhabitants of southern Russia.

Just as the South Russian steppe is a continuation of the central Asiatic plain, which stretches from the watershed between the Caspian and Aral seas to the spurs of the Pamir and the Hindu-Kusch, so the Greeks did not restrict the name of Scythian to the old South Russian people, but gave it to all the tribes of the steppes having the same customs and modes of life. Sometimes these were called Sacæ, sometimes Massagetæ. But however different and numerous the names which were given by the ancients to the nations who inhabit those vast regions, one feature is common to all — they were nomads, just as now the Turcomans, Kirgheses, or whatever they may be called, who have succeeded to them. And, further, it may be now noted as an universally established fact that all these nations of the steppes were Iranians, that is, they belonged to the same stock as the Persians and Medes in Iran proper. The nomads of South Russia, called Scythians in the narrower sense of the word, were formerly held to be Mongolians. The most important authority for this was the description of the Greek physician, Hippocrates, according to which their appearance was thick, and so fleshy that the joints were buried in fat, flabby, and soft, while their complexion was ruddy. Hippocrates notices also in the Scythians what is often noticeable in nations of a low grade: they all looked much alike. But the life on the steppes stamps a certain similarity on all the nomad nations confined in them; outside of that the points of resemblance noted are not so characteristic that we must necessarily consider the Scythians to be Mongolians. The remains of the Scythian language bear rather an Aryan stamp, and show in their roots and endings a close relationship to that spoken in Iran. By referring to the plate at page 75, which shows the Scythian kings and nobles as represented by Greek artists, it will be found that the type is not Mongolian. The close observation of the customs and habits of the steppe, which is shown in the lifelike representation of the separate examples, is a guarantee to us that the men, no less than the animals and separate scenes, are accurate reproductions of careful studies from life. Their Eastern neighbours, the Sarmatians, divided from them by the course of the Tanais, spoke a dialect allied to the Scythian, as Herodotus tells us; and a fact which did not escape the ancients, the Sarmatians were undoubtedly Iranians.

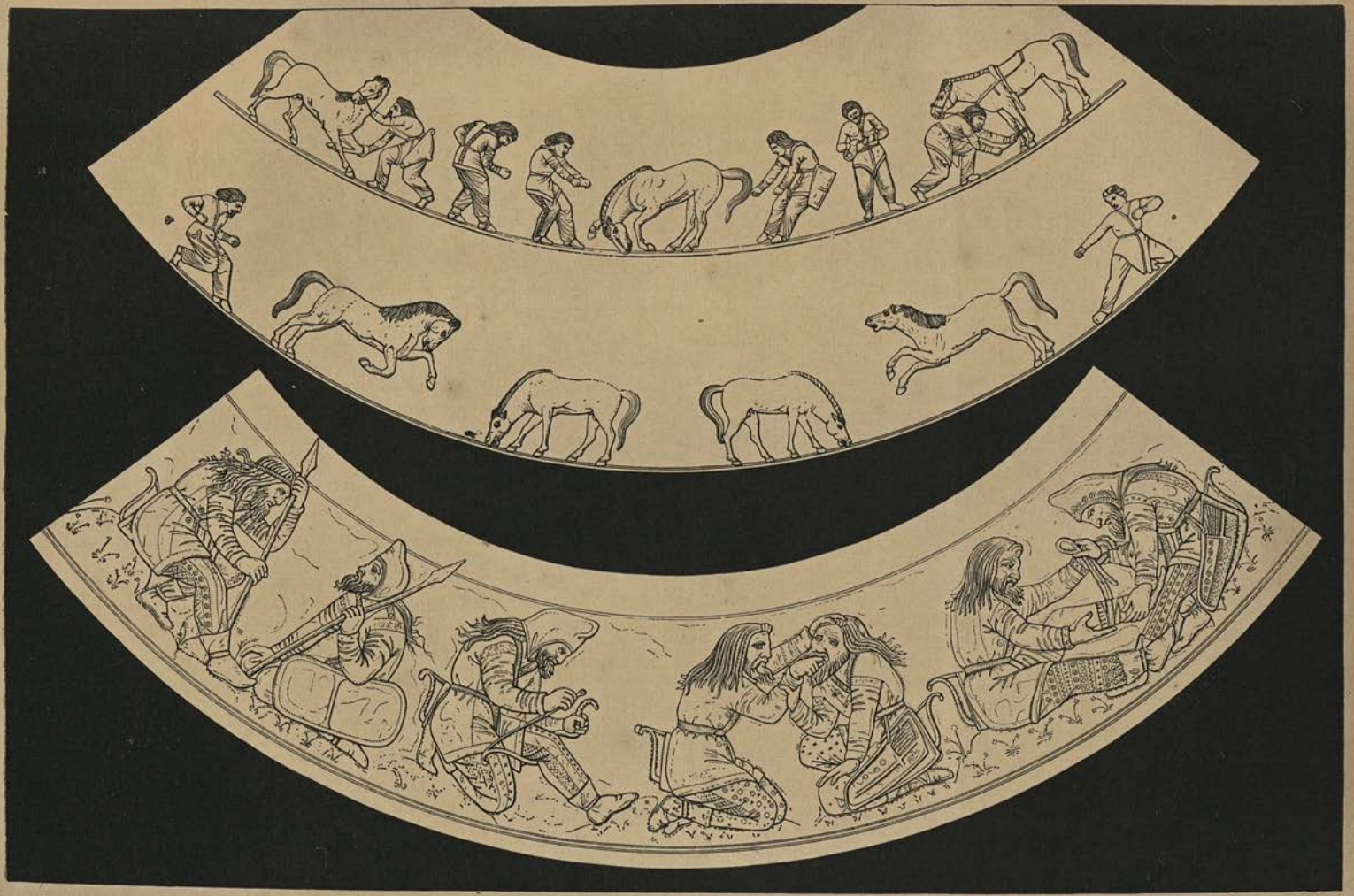
This great nation of Iranic origin, roaming from the Oxus and Jaxartes (the Amu-darja and Sir-darja) to the mouths of the Danube, was split into many tribes and hordes. The one which pushed farthest westward, i.e. the Scolotæ, or Scythians in the narrower sense, are best known to us, because Herodotus, the father of history, made them the subject of a detailed description.

The Greeks knew that the Scythians had not always lived in South Russia, but had immigrated there from Asia. On their wanderings the Scythians came across the Cimmerians. They did not drive out this people all at once in one mighty onslaught, as Herodotus thought, but gradually and slowly pushed them back. The effect of this blow struck by the Scythians, who came from the East and pushed onward, is seen in the pressure of the Cimmerians on the Thracians of the Balkan peninsula, and their paving a way for themselves through Thrace to new settlements in Asia Minor, whither they swept many Thracian tribes with them. This movement in South Russia and on the Balkan

peninsula lasted many centuries. It is certain that a great part of the Cimmerians, owing to the pressing onward of the Scythians, left their land and sought new homes elsewhere. Another part was certainly subdued by the new people and fused with them, as happened later to the Scythians themselves, owing to the pressure of nations from the East. A last remnant of the Cimmerians preserved their independence in the Crimea, protected by the mountains, which they either had previously inhabited or to which they had fled for refuge from the Scythians. These were the Tauri, in the mountains of the southern Crimea, who in the accounts which have come down to us are always sharply marked off from the Scythians inhabiting the rest of the Crimea. They were notorious for their piracy and their custom of sacrificing strangers who fell into their hands through shipwreck or in any other way. The story of Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia is well known. She came to them by divine decree; and, being appointed priestess of Artemis among them, was confronted by the necessity of sacrificing her own brother, Orestes, and his friend, Pylades.

The migrations of the Cimmerians, their invasions of Asia Minor, and their final overthrow have been related in another place (see pp. 52, etc.). On the other hand, in the country originally inhabited by them, the Cimmerian Bosporus, so called after them (the present straits of Kerch) and some fortifications which presumably owe their origin to them, and therefore were called by the ancients "Cimmerian," still preserve their memory.

The Scythians then inhabited the whole of Crimea, with the exception of the mountainous South and the South Russian steppe from the Don to the Dniester. The district that owned their influence certainly extended so far. The "agricultural" Scythians in the districts watered by the Dniester, Bug, and Dnieper were, indeed, from their occupation contrasted with the ruling nomad stock, the "royal" Scythians in the wide plain between the Dnieper and the Don, but in other respects were not different from them. And as farming was only possible in the immediate vicinity of the streams which flow through the steppes, we may well assume that it was not practised by all members of the tribe, but was restricted to some few sections, who as inhabitants of fertile, well-watered plains, and influenced by the neighbouring Greek colonies on the north coast of the Black Sea, had made the transition from nomad life to agriculture. Similarly, as the kingdom of Bosporus expanded under efficient rulers, the Scythians on the east side of the Crimea became subject to them, and at the same time became agriculturists, instead of nomad herdsmen. But with the exception of these "agricultural" Scythians, all the rest, and especially the ruling tribe of the "royal" Scythians, were, in consequence of the nature of the country in which they dwelt and roamed, nomads and herdsmen. They did not cultivate the land and did not live on the products of their labour. They had no villages and towns, no citadels or fortified places, but were cattle breeders and wandered with their cattle and their goods from one pasturage to another. From this there soon resulted the division of the people into innumerable small sections (in Herodotus "Nomos"), to each one of which was assigned a district, generally well defined, but without any hard-and-fast boundary-line in particular, on which they found pasture for feeding their herds; and this district, the life of which centred, we may imagine, round the heap of brushwood with the iron sword planted on it, which we shall mention later, must have



SCENES FROM SCYTHIAN LIFE

The upper zone belongs to the silver vase from Tschertomlitsk, the lower to the Electron vase from Kul-Oba.

(After Kondakow, Tolstoi, and Reinach: Antiquities of Southern Russia.)

also been large enough to offer new pastures when those already discovered provided no more sustenance. We can surmise that disputes and strife were common, and that often war broke out, when one section fed their cattle on the land apportioned to another. To change their abodes quickly and to protect themselves against the inclemency of the weather, the Scythians learnt to construct tents for themselves, which, consisting of lathes covered over with felt or skins of wild animals and placed on heavy, four-wheeled or six-wheeled wagons, served them as a dwelling-place. These wagons afforded shelter against rain, snow, and storm, and, drawn by teams of oxen, were used to transport the women, children, and chattels on their wanderings, while the men and elder boys rode and drove the cattle. The chief wealth of the Scythians consisted in horses, cattle, and sheep. In war and in peace the men were for the most part of their life on horseback. The breeding, care, and taming of horses was their chief occupation (see the subjoined plate, "Scenes from Scythian life"); mare's milk and cheese made from it served them as food. The cattle and sheep supplied them with meat, and they used the skins for clothing or barter, for they were eagerly sought after by the Greeks.

Their religious customs and ceremonies corresponded to the state of nature in which the Scythians evidently lived. The sky and its wife, the earth, who received from it the rain and sunshine necessary for her fruitfulness; fire and water, with some other natural phenomena, which Herodotus identifies with Apollo, the celestial Aphrodite, and Hercules, without enabling us to arrive at their real signification — these were the objects of divine worship, to whom they offered sacrifices, and whom they invoked at their sacrifices. But to none of their deities did they erect temples and altars, any more than they fashioned images of them. They did not slaughter the sacrificial victim, but strangled it by a noose. After it had been skinned and the flesh stripped from the bones, the flesh was again fitted into the skin and cooked, the bones serving as fuel for the purpose. Peculiar, too, was the worship paid to the sword as the noblest weapon of the Scythian, who lived always on a war footing, ready for defence or for attack. In every tribal section a pile of brushwood was heaped up, which was replenished every year on account of the sinking caused by the weather; and on this brushwood-heap, which presented a flat surface at the top, was planted a sword, to which horses and cattle were annually sacrificed. In perusing Herodotus' description we are involuntarily reminded of the mounds of the American Indians (cf. Vol. I., p. 200 *et seq.*). Even human sacrifices were not unknown to the Scythians. They sacrificed to their god of war one out of every hundred prisoners. After wine had been sprinkled upon his head the victim was slaughtered in such a way that his blood was caught in a vessel. The corpse of the victim was left lying in the open after they had hewn off the right shoulder, which was thrown high into the air, while the blood which had been caught was taken up to the top of the pile of brushwood erected in honour of their god of war and there poured over the upright sword of the god.

Characteristic also was the conduct of the soldier towards his slain enemy. The Scythian drank the blood of the first man whom he killed. But he severed the head of every enemy he killed from the body and brought it to his king, for only he who brought home the head of a slain enemy could share the booty. The more heads he possessed, the more respected he was among his countrymen.

The severed head served not only as a title for him to a share of the spoil, but the skin was stripped off it, tanned, and hung as an ornament on the horse's bridle, or sewn together with other human skins, was used as an article of dress. Human skin was esteemed not only as being thick and strong, but also extremely beautiful, white, and glossy. Besides this, the skull, stripped of the skin, was sawn in two and a drinking-cup made of its upper portion, which was ordinarily covered outside with oxhide, while rich Scythians gilded it also inside. The Scythians scalped even their own countrymen, like enemies, if they had been at feud with them and, after a complaint, had vanquished them in the presence of the king.

At the head of the tribes were chiefs; at the head of the whole Scythian people a king. The government was despotic. We see that very clearly from the ceremonies at the burial of the kings. If an ordinary Scythian died, his corpse was carried round to all the neighbours for fourteen days, and every one gave a funeral feast. The embalmed body of the king was taken from tribe to tribe, in each of which the men inflicted cruel wounds on themselves and joined the funeral procession until it reached Gerrhi, in the territory of the "royal" Scythians, where the tombs of the kings were. Here the king was buried and with him one of his wives, his cup-bearer, his cook, his groom, his lackey, his horses, and all sorts of gold and silver vessels. A gigantic sepulchral mound was heaped up over all. On the first anniversary fifty more horses and fifty servants of the dead king were strangled; the horses were stuffed and fixed on stakes and the servants placed on them as guards for the dead man. Many such sepulchral mounds, usually called Kurgans, have been found in the vicinity of the Dnieper and opened. They held concealed in their chambers, besides the bones of men and animals, all sorts of implements, among which the works of Greek artists in gold and silver are conspicuous, and deserve special attention. They show, indeed, the friendly intercourse which must have once existed on the north shores of the Black Sea between the Scythians and the flourishing Greek colonies.

The Greeks, and especially the vigorous and enterprising Ionians of the coast of Asia Minor, began very early to navigate the Black Sea, in order to procure for themselves the products of those parts and open up markets for their own goods. They therefore sent out colonists to establish emporiums in suitable localities. Such settlements may have often been recalled, but very often prosperous and powerful towns grew up out of them. There were Greek colonies on the coast of South Russia, as Olbia at the mouth of the Hypanis (Bug); Tyras on the river of the same name in the Crimea; Panticapæum, or Bosporus (now Kerch), Chersonesus (now Sebastopol), and Theodosia, founded by the kings of Bosporus (now Feodosia; in the Middle Ages, Caffa), and finally Tanais on the Sea of Azov, near the mouth of the Don. The oldest and originally the most flourishing of these was Olbia. From here ran a trade route over the Dnieper and the Don, through the territory of the Sarmatians and Budinæ, first up to the Volga, where lay the factory of Gelonus, founded by the Greeks on account of the fur trade, and then over the Ural (probably by Orenburg) and the Ilek, down into the heart of Asia. At a later period the Asiatic trade passed through Tanais, which flourished under the Roman emperors. Panticapæum deserves to be mentioned with Olbia. From small beginnings it developed into an important commercial town and the capital of a kingdom which comprised the whole eastern

peninsula of the Crimea and the peninsula of Taman, which lay opposite on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus.

We are told how the Greek colonists made themselves masters of the Scythian settlement of Panticapæum, and how they had to fight with the Scythians until they gradually increased their territory, brought the neighbouring barbarians into subjection, and made peaceful agricultural citizens out of them, a process repeatedly followed by those Greek colonies. The barbarians did not willingly give up their territory; it had to be fought for, and only gradually were trade relations formed with them and put on a firm basis. Very often the Greeks had to draw the sword in order to repel the attacks of rapacious and plundering Scythians, until they at length were strong enough to keep them in check. So long as the citizens of Olbia, on the one side, and the kings of Bosporus, on the other, understood this, their trade flourished. The Crimea was the chief granary for Athens; from here, as from the other Greek colonies, hides, furs, and fleeces were sent to the mother-country. Everywhere on the coasts, especially on those of the Mæotis (Sea of Azov), sprang up settlements for the numerous fishermen who followed their calling there, catching great quantities of fish, which, thanks to the abundance of salt to be found, they at once salted and sent away by ship. Slaves also were eagerly sought after. In return the mother-country exported, besides oil and wine (the olive and the vine do not flourish on the northern coasts of the Euxine), all sorts of fabrics, gold and silver ornaments, and other articles of luxury. The products of Greek manufacturers which are found in such quantities in the Scythian tombs show us that the Scythians were good customers for Greek wares. In return they furnished slaves, hides, wool and many like things.

The relations, therefore, between the Scythians and Greeks were varied. But even if so many germs of a higher culture reached the barbarians, making many of them agriculturists; even if Scythian kings, like Ariapeithes and his son Scyles, had Greek wives and were attached to Greek customs, the Scythian nation, as a whole, remained on a low plane of civilisation and resisted Greek influences. Scyles, for instance, was expelled on account of his frequent visits to Olbia and his taking part in the Bacchic revels. They remained a warlike, nomad people, trained to arms, but not strong enough to withstand the shock and the pressure of the nations pushing forwards from the East.

B. The History of the Scythians and Sarmatians 77-81

Our earliest knowledge of the Scythians is the record of the greatest danger which they ever faced. In the year 513 B.C. Darius of Persia marched against them with seven hundred thousand men and six hundred ships. The nature of their country stood the Scythians in good stead. When Darius led his army over the Danube on a bridge and marched forward, the Scythians retreated before him, avoiding every pitched battle, filled up the watering-places and laid waste the pasture lands. Thus the Persian king was enticed into a desert, and the Scythians appeared at once on his rear and his front. Darius had to turn back, after suffering heavy loss, to save his army from perishing miserably of thirst. As a set-off for this expedition of Darius, the Scythians undertook some years later

(495 B.C.) a raid through Thracia into the Thracian Chersonese. It is said, indeed, that they had intended to cross into Asia Minor, but they did not get so far.

For a long time after we hear nothing of the Scythians. But if it is certain that no Attila or Timur arose among them, as among the other nomad peoples of Asia, and that they did not become formidable to the world through a triumphant invasion, yet an uninterrupted movement must have taken place among the nations of southern Russia; naturally not such as is incongruous with nomad life, but a movement rather marked by the intrusion of one tribe into the territory of another, the transfer of power from the conquered to the victorious people, and the occupation of the land left vacant by the victors by another people still.

According to Herodotus, in the fifth century B.C. the Scythians (Scolotæ) were the ruling nation between the Bug and the Don, and their neighbours on the east were the Sarmatians; the boundary between the two was formed by the Tanais (Don). By the third or second century the state of affairs had changed. The Tanais no longer divided the two nations, but the Sarmatians ruled the greater part of the steppe westward of the Don; and where formerly the "royal" Scythians dwelt the Sarmatian tribe of the Rhoxolani were now settled. Before this result was attained many a battle must have been fought and the blood of many a nomad have been shed. Of this we hear nothing; but it is certain that in the long wars by which the Sarmatians became the masters of the steppe of southern Russia the Scythians were by no means exterminated. An isolated record of their long struggles and counter-struggles may have been preserved for us in the story of the Scythian king, Ateas. About the middle of the fourth century B.C. we find him to the south of the Danube and actually at war with the Greek colony of Istrus in the Dobrudscha, having already fought and defeated the Triballi, who lived to the south of the Danube. Pressed hard by the King of Istrus, he asked help of King Philip of Macedon, promising in return to appoint him his heir. Soon afterwards, however, when the King of Istrus died, Ateas sent back the Macedonian auxiliaries, with whom he could now dispense, and returned a refusal to Philip's request that in compensation he would defray a part of the cost of the siege of Byzantium. After the raising of the siege Philip began war with the Scythians, marched to the Danube, and won a complete victory over them. Ateas himself was killed; and many women and children and countless herds — it is reckoned that twenty thousand mares alone were brought back to Macedon — fell into the hands of the victor. If Ateas could be reduced to such straits by one small Greek town as to be forced to seek foreign assistance, we cannot believe that he invaded a foreign country at the head of a powerful force with a view to conquest; but we are more inclined to assume that, being himself hard pressed by more powerful nations in the East, he hoped to find new permanent settlements south of the Danube — a prelude, as it were, to its movement of the German races in the third and fourth centuries A.D. This hope was not realised: Ateas fell, and under Alexander, Philip's son, the Triballi again were the ruling nation to the south of the Danube. But north of the Danube and away towards the Bug the Scythians held their own. Thirty years after their defeat by Philip they supported those same Istriani which had pressed Ateas so hard in the war against Lysimachus.

If one part of the Scythians under Ateas marched forward, and so escaped the pressure of the Sarmatians, another part remained in their old homes. In the Crimea and in the immediately adjoining districts of the South Russian steppe towards the end of the second century B.C., when the Rhoxolani were already settled between the Don and the Dnieper, a Scythian king, Scilurus, attained such power as to threaten the Greek towns of Chersonesus and Bosporus. Energetic and powerful kings no longer, indeed, ruled in Bosporus, as formerly, and even in Chersonesus the old rigour seemed to have relaxed and to have given place to a certain effeminacy and weakness. In any case, these towns no longer held the Scythians in check, as formerly. Scilurus pressed them hard, demanded and obtained payment of tribute to insure their immunity from invasion, and brought them to such a condition that they began to look round for foreign help. Mithradates the Great, the King of Pontus, the mighty and dangerous opponent of Rome, sent his general, Diophantus (see p. 69, above), who defeated the Scythians under Scilurus in several campaigns and forced them to refrain from further attacks on the territory of the Greek towns. Bosporus and Chersonesus paid a high price for the service rendered to them; they had to give up their independence and became Pontic towns.

After the death of Mithradates and the end of his dynasty, Rome assumed the foremost and leading position in the Crimea. Although in Bosporus the royal line which had been established by Rome still nominally ruled, and even in the time of the emperors successfully kept guard on this farthest frontier of the empire against the nomad barbarians of the South Russian steppe, just as formerly the Leuconidæ, yet in reality Rome was here, as everywhere, the supreme power, setting up or deposing monarchs and sending her troops to insure peace. In the first half of the first century of the Christian era a Roman general liberated the town of Chersonesus from a siege by the Scythians. These were the same Scythians of the northern half of the Crimea and the adjoining parts of the steppe who formerly had been repulsed by Diophantus. That is the last time that we meet the Scythians here.

In the broad steppes between the Don and the Dniester the Sarmatians, and especially the Rhoxolani, were predominant; and the last Scythians must have been absorbed and subdued by them.

Like Bosporus and Chersonesus, Olbia, that once flourishing and powerful town on the north shore of the Black Sea, declined in importance. About the time when Diophantus brought help to the Greek towns on the Crimea (or perhaps a little earlier) Olbia was also hard pressed on all sides, and although their public treasury was drained, and the help of solvent citizens had to be called into requisition, was compelled to pay tribute or give gifts of money to the numerous chieftains of the neighbouring tribes, in order to secure their good will and to keep them from hostile measures against the town. But distress reached its culminating point when the Gauls and the German Sciri, who joined them, advanced from the district of the Vistula and seemed to threaten the town; and though that was avoided, and the united army of the Gauls and Sciri seems to have withdrawn, Olbia soon afterwards had to fight against new enemies, for some twenty or thirty years later the town was taken and destroyed by the Getæ, who dwelt on the Danube and under an energetic ruler had become a great power. The town, it is true, was rebuilt; but, involved in

continual wars against the neighbouring barbarians, it never regained its former prosperity.

These plundering expeditions, first of the Gauls and Sciri, then of the Getæ, are, as it were, a prelude to the scenes that were to be acted on the South Russian steppe in the succeeding centuries; that is, in the uninterrupted flow and crush of nation upon nation.

After the kingdom of the Getæ had broken up, the Sarmatian Iaziges advanced over the Danube and pressed hard on the Greek colonies there until they took possession of the country between the Theiss and the Danube; here they were settled during the entire period of the empire, and often proved dangerous enemies to the Romans.

The Sarmatians who remained behind in South Russia, especially the Rhoxolani, repeatedly pushed on towards the Danube, but were finally crushed by the German nations advancing from the districts on the Vistula, the Goths, Heruli, and all the other tribes. Thence the German tribes frequently raided and invaded the Roman territory until in 375 A.D. they went down before the mighty onslaught of the Huns.

3. THE PRIMITIVE NATIONS OF THE MAIN BALKAN PENINSULA

A. Physical Geography of the Balkan Peninsula

Seamed by high mountains which run in various directions and enclose sharply isolated valleys, the mass of the southeasternmost peninsula of Europe resembles in its physical characteristics the peninsula of Greece, which joins it to the south (treated in the second half of this volume), but differs from it in being far less accessible by sea. The east coast is but little indented and is deficient in good harbours. The west coast is more irregular in outline and possesses numerous islands and harbours; lofty and precipitous mountains, however, run down to the shore and prevent brisk trade with the interior. Only to the north, where the peninsula joins the continent, is it without any distinct boundary, and on that side the country is wholly exposed to foreign invasion. The vast area may be divided orographically into two regions — the western part, shut in by the Dinaric Mountains, which stretch from north to south, and the eastern part, which abounds in mountain ranges, running at right angles almost with the Dinaric chain. The ethnographic divisions correspond in general to the orographic; the Illyrians dwelt on the west, the Thracians on the east, and at a later period the Macedonians thrust in their way between the two to the south.

B. The Primitive Nations of the Balkan Peninsula

(*a*) *The Illyrians.*—Bordering on Epirus in the south and having intercourse with the Hellenes, the Illyrians were on the north neighbours of the Celts, with whom they came into contact in what is now Croatia. But exact boundaries can be as little specified in the north as on the side of the Thracians in the east; the frontiers were often uncertain and in course of time were frequently altered. Prevented

from extending northward by the Celts, who, since an early period, pressed down on them, and hemmed in by mountains on the east, the Illyrians had continuously encroached upon the Hellenes in the south, and some bands of them had even advanced into Greece; but the great mass of wanderers who left their old home on account of over-population and the consequent deficiency in food, or the pressure of neighbouring nations, or the desire for conquest crossed the Ionian Sea and settled on the opposite Italian coast. Even in ancient times the Daunians, the Sallentinians, the Pelignians, Iapygians, Messapians, and other tribes of Italy were held to be Illyrians; and the correctness of this assumption has recently been confirmed by the close relationship of the present Albanian — a dialect spoken practically in the same district as that once occupied by the Illyrians, and considered to be the latest variety of one of the old Illyrian dialects — with the Messapian, preserved on inscriptions in Lower Italy.

Split up into many tribes, which preserved their peculiar habits and customs, separated as they were from each other by mountain ranges, and untouched by any foreign civilisation, the Illyrians never attained national unity, though renowned for their bravery and notorious for their rudeness and love of plunder. At the head of the tribes were the princes, who sought to extend their dominions at the expense of each other as well as by the invasion of foreign territory. West of the lake of Lychnitis some importance was attained by the monarchy of Bardylis (cf. p. 96) and his son Clitus, who invaded Macedonia and held in subjection part of that country until driven back by Philip and afterwards by Alexander. At a later period the kingdom of the Ardiæi existed on the lower course of the Naro. This nation, governed by such princes as Pleuratus and Agron, ruled the sea with their pirate fleet and menaced the Greek colonies on the fertile islands which fringe the coast (Pharos, Issa, Corcyra Nigra, Melito) as well as to the Greek towns on the mainland (Lissus, Epidamnus, and Apollonia). All the Greeks on the Adriatic, with the exception of those of Issa, lost their independence. Issa invoked the help of Rome; and in the year 230 B.C. Rome first interfered in Illyrian affairs by liberating the Greek towns. Rome was forced to wage war repeatedly in Illyria before that country could be made a province. Then, for the first time, Illyria became more accessible; roads were built and the beginning of progress made, while the Roman legions maintained peace and paved the way for trade and commerce.

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(*b*) *The Thracians.*—We do not know when the Thracians entered the land which bears their name. From the few words which have been preserved (no records in the Thracian language exist) and from the proper names which have come down to us in large numbers, but above all from their geographic position among the Indo-Germanic nations — Greeks, Slavs, and the Aryan Scythians — it has long been held that the Thracians also were Indo-Germans and formed as distinct a branch of that great family as their southern neighbours or the Celts with whom they afterwards came into contact on the Danube. Thracian tribes spread beyond the Balkan Peninsula itself and settled, the Getæ in Transylvania, the Dacians in what is now Rumania. And though in more recent, and particularly in Roman times, the term "Thrace" was applied to the country south of the Hæmus, between the Rhodope Mountains and the Black Sea; in antiquity this was not the case: then Thrace comprised all countries where Thracians

dwelt, the vast regions — that is, extending from the slopes of the Carpathians to the Ægean and from the Black Sea westward to the frontiers of Illyria.

Probably no one at present doubts that the Thracians originally came from the north. But after the first occupation of the land to which they gave their name many important changes occurred; tribes long settled changed character with the arrival of new settlers or wandered from the old homes to new abodes. The Trojans and Phrygians, both Thracian tribes, came from Europe to find a new home in Asia; this event is said to have happened about 3000 B.C.— that is, in prehistoric times. Then came the migration into Asia of the Mysians, who set out thither from the valley of the Danube. Some of them were still settled there even in Roman days under the name of Mœsians. The last great migration from the Balkan Peninsula over the Bosporus into Asia Minor, that of the Thynians and Bithynians, occurred after the close of prehistoric times. Of them, however, a part remained behind in Europe, as in the case of the Mysians. The chief cause of all the migrations was the inability of the tribes to resist the pressure of powerful nations behind them.

We do not know how often entire tribes, or at least considerable fractions of them, were thus annihilated or crushed; we only may see here and there the results of a long and important movement, without being able to follow more closely its origin and its course. Thus we know (cf. above, p. 52) that the Cimmerians of the South Russian steppe in the east were pushed westward by the advance of the Scythians, were driven against the Thracians, and, finally, flying before the Nomads, left their native land; how they then proceeded through the Balkan Peninsula over the Bosphorus into Asia Minor and there produced great revolutions. Some Thracian tribes, which had shared their campaigns in Asia Minor, were with them. Precisely the same thing happened to the Thracians in the southwest, where the Pierians, Bottiæans, and Edonians held all the territory up to Olympus and the Thessalian frontier, where the Macedonians repelled every forward movement. Obviously the departure of the Thracians from those parts must have produced important revolutions or migrations among the kindred tribes.

The superstitions of the Thracians, their forms of divine worship, and their religious conceptions were the object of zealous study among the Greeks; but many observances are found among them which had been borrowed of their southern neighbours and developed. According to Herodotus, the Thracians worshipped Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis; but their kings worshipped Hermes, whom they claimed as progenitor, a cult peculiar to them. The whole list of their gods is not, indeed, exhausted by these names; they certainly worshipped one other celestial being, who seems to have been called by some tribes Gebeleïzis, by others Sbelthiurdus. Him in times of tempest they would entreat, by discharging arrows in the air, to silence the thunder and keep back the lightning.

It is not surprising to find Ares, the god of war and of the din of arms, worshipped by so warlike a people. Thrace was for this reason called Areia, the land of Ares; from Thrace (according to Homer) he rushed forth, accompanied by his son Phœbus, to battle with his foes, and to Thrace he returned after the famous episode with the fair Aphrodite. But we know nothing of the manner in which he was worshipped.

On the other hand, the cult of Dionysus is tolerably well known. Supposing

that Semele, who is universally considered to be his mother, is really the Thraco-Phrygian earth-goddess, then Dionysus may be considered the son of the Earth and of the god of Heaven, a conclusion to which the first element in his name points. He brings blessings and fertility; not merely the vine, but all the fruits of the fields and gardens are under his protection: when the plants that cover the earth pass away lamentations are raised to him; when they awake once more he is greeted with shouts of joy. Utter licentiousness and the wildest abandon characterised the celebration of the resurrection of Dionysus. Men and women, the latter clad in flowing many-coloured garments, joined in the rout. Garlanded with ivy and bearing thyrsus staves and various instruments of music (flutes, cymbals, drums, and pipes), they rushed madly through the fields in search of the god, and the orgy was continued till the approach of the god was announced by the ululation of men imitating the howling of beasts; the wildest enthusiasm was indulged in by all who took part when once the god was again among them. All this was reckoned, even in antiquity, as a distinctive feature of the festival of the Thracian Dionysus. In Greece any trace of such orgiastic festivals may be assigned to Thracian influences. Another aspect of the nature of Dionysus deserves to be noticed. He was a god of prophecy. North of Pangæum, in the wild Rhodopian range, was found his oracle, over which the priestly race of the Bessi presided. A woman, inspired by the god, uttered in his name dark sayings, hardly more intelligible than those of her far more famous colleague at Delphi. This oracle of Dionysus maintained its importance for many centuries.

Orgiastic festivals with processions were held in honour of the goddess Bendis, who was identified with the Greek Artemis. The offerings brought her by the women were wrapped in wheat-stalks; the men organised a torchlight ride, and the whole was ended by a night of revelry. The festivities were as wild as the people itself; and we may infer what their effect was on the manners of the people from Herodotus, who reproaches the Thracian maidens with unchastity.

Human beings were also sacrificed. Every four years a festival was held in honour of Salmoxis, at which a man, previously selected by lot to go to Salmoxis as ambassador and messenger, was seized by his hands and feet and thrown on the points of spears. If the chosen victim did not die therefrom, he was a wicked man, unworthy of the commission entrusted to him, and another was taken in his place. The favourite wife was often sacrificed on the new-made grave of her deceased husband and immediately buried by his side. Herodotus, it is true, relates this only of one Thracian tribe. But the sacrifice of widows was certainly a universal Thracian custom in early times, as it was, indeed, among other Aryan nations in primitive times, and exists at the present day in India. By the time of Herodotus this custom, formerly universal, had begun to die out.

In more recent times no human victims were offered to the dead, but all kinds of objects were consecrated to the departed as a hero or demigod. Small marble slabs were dedicated to him, which showed in relief the figure of a rider with fluttering cloak, sometimes alone, frequently in combination with various beasts of the chase, at which the horseman hurls his lance; often an altar was raised to him. The surviving members of the family did this in order that the spirit of the departed might be gracious and favourable to them.

Herodotus was able to say of the Thracian tribe of the Getæ that, according

to their religious conception, life did not end with death, but that after death a better and more happy life was to be expected: according to ordinary tradition, the sage Salmoxis had taught them this belief in immortality. Peculiar to them is the exalted station the wise man or priest occupied by the side of the king; as interpreter of the divine commands, and as mediator between gods and mortals he was the monarch's guide and counsellor. And the Trausi, another Thracian tribe, lamented at the birth of a male child, as they reflected on the afflictions and sufferings awaiting him in life; but they buried the deceased with great rejoicing as one who had done with sorrow and had entered into everlasting happiness. It is not therefore astonishing that the piety of the Thracians was often praised in antiquity. In some cases also asceticism is noticeable among them: there were people who, in order to obtain a reputation for sanctity, refrained from all flesh food and remained unmarried. We can doubtless see in the efforts of these few holy men a reaction against the prevailing habits of life, for in many other instances handed down to us the Thracians appear in a brutal light, indulging in polygamy, addicted to drink, and rough in their habits.

Wives were bought for money from their parents and were strictly watched by their husbands, whereas maidens enjoyed great freedom of movement and could form *liaisons* at pleasure. The sale of children also was prevalent.

The Thracians were divided into numerous tribes, at the head of which stood princes. The inaccessibility of their mountains favoured the efforts of the inhabitants to maintain their independence. These mountain tribes lived mostly by hunting and cattle-breeding; brigandage and marauding were regarded as the most honourable pursuits. The state of affairs was different in the river-valleys, especially in the broad and fertile valley of the Hebrus. Here there was a higher civilisation: agriculture was carried on; wheat and millet were cultivated as well as hemp, from which cloth was made; barley, from which beer was extracted, and even vines. Here the inhabitants dwelt in fortified villages, and there were farms surrounded by palisades, since the owners always had to be prepared for the raids of the marauding mountain tribes. In the valley of the Hebrus, which was inhabited by various tribes, a kingdom was first constituted by the Odrysæ, who united several tribes under one rule.

But before this could happen Thrace had to shake off the yoke of the Persians. When Darius marched through this land on his expedition against the Scythians (513 B.C.) its inhabitants either submitted to him or were forced, as the Getæ between the Hæmus and the Danube, to join his army. After the disaster to the king, Megabazus remained behind in Thrace with eighty thousand men in order completely to subdue the country. As a result, the districts on the Ægean coast and the valley of the Hebrus came under the Persian rule. They were made subject to tribute and were required to provide auxiliaries, while Persian garrisons were placed in the most important towns, such as Doriscus, Eion on the Strymon, Sestus, Byzantium, etc. The Persian supremacy in Thrace lasted up to the time of the Persian wars, when after the battles of Platæa and Mycale the Greeks succeeded in bringing the straits of the Bosphorus once more into their power and driving the Persians completely out of Europe. In the following years Persian garrisons fell in rapid succession, last of all that of Doriscus, which was defended by the brave Mascames.

Thus the Persians were driven out of Thrace by the Greeks, chiefly owing to the

Athenians. But far from welcoming their liberators gladly, the Thracians, on the contrary, offered a desperate resistance to the Athenians. They not only aided the Persian garrisons of Eion and Doriscus, but actually defeated the Athenians on several occasions, when these, being now in possession of Eion, endeavoured to occupy and colonise Enneahodoe, a place on the Strymon in a most fertile region and at the intersection of the roads from the north to the Ægean Sea, and from Macedonia eastward to the Hellespont and the Bosphorus: it was not until 436 B.C. that Amphipolis could be founded here. But Eion belonged to the Athenians, and after the revolt of Thasus the possessions of Thasus on the mainland, such as Oesymæ, Galepsus, and Scaptehylæ, fell into their hands (463 B.C.). Thus the Athenians firmly established themselves on the Thracian coast. The Thracian Chersonese had long been in their possession; and through the creation of the Attic maritime league — to which Abdera, Aenus, and Maronea of the Greek colonies situated in these parts, and Byzantium, Perinthus, and others of the Hellespontine towns belonged — they completely ruled the whole Thracian coast. The Chalcidian peninsula which adjoins on the west, was also subjected to Athenian influence.

Almost contemporaneously with the establishment of the Athenian power on the coast, the Odrysæ in the valley of the Hebrus succeeded in subduing the other native tribes and in founding a kingdom. Though Teres was not the founder of the Odrysæan kingdom, he was regarded as the one who did most to enhance its power and to extend its sway over the regions of Thrace. The whole territory between Rhodope, Mount Hæmus, the Black Sea, and Hellespont was ruled over by the Odrysæan kings. Even beyond Mount Hæmus, the Getæ, who inhabited the coast between the mountain and the Danube, were subject to them, as were the Agriani, who dwelt in the mountains along the upper course of the Strymon; even a few Pæonian tribes recognised their supremacy. Sitalces, the son of Teres, reigned over the Odrysæan realm within these boundaries.

The monarchy was absolute. We are not told that the people were ever consulted or that any voice in the decision of public affairs was conceded them, or that the king in general was bound by laws or a constitution. In the event of war he summoned all men capable of bearing arms: at the end of the war they were dismissed. There was not the slightest trace of a standing army with its strict military organisation and efficient training. Next to the king there were dynasts, or local chiefs, whose power was naturally weaker when the king was strong, and stronger when the king was weak. The taxes which accrued to the king from the country itself and from some Hellenic colonies on the seacoasts amounted, according to Thucydides, at their highest total to 400 talents of silver annually; but in addition to these he received presents of gold and silver, embroidered and plain stuffs and many other things, the value of which is said to have equalled the amount of the taxes. The Thracians thought it more blessed to receive than to give, and it was difficult for any one to accomplish his object without distributing lavish presents. The more influential a man was, the more he favoured this custom; the king, naturally, obtained the most, and his wealth increased with his power. Obviously this was a great cause of official uncertainty, and under such circumstances there was no thought of an organised administration. Nobles are mentioned among the Odrysæ. The court and immediate circle round the king were composed of them or they resided on their estates, ready to

go to war as cavalry when necessary; and what Herodotus said of Thracians in general holds good of them — namely, that agriculture was regarded by them as dishonourable and disgraceful, and that only the life of the soldier and robber pleased them. By the side of these nobles there must naturally have been "commons," for how else could the cultivation of the fields and gardens, for which the territory of the Odrysæ was famous, have been carried on? These commons, or peasants, composed the infantry in time of war.

Sitalces, the son and successor of Teres, had the command over a very considerable force (one hundred and fifty thousand men are spoken of). As an ally of Athens he interfered in the affairs of Macedonia and Chalcidice: we shall see later on why this expedition proved fruitless to him — a few years later (424 B.C.) Sitalces fell in a campaign against the Triballi on the Danube. This shows that he was eager to extend his power over the Thracian tribes. But soon afterwards the Odrysæan kingdom broke up for lack of a firm basis. The various tribes that composed the kingdom submitted, indeed, to the iron hand of one who knew how to keep them together, but they always struggled for independence whenever that strict rule was relaxed.

Under Seuthes and Medocus, the successors of Sitalces, the power of the local chiefs was strengthened, and they became more and more independent of the superior king. One of these, Cotys, succeeded (383 B.C.) in overthrowing the hereditary dynasty and making himself sole monarch. Though he was sensual and fond of pleasure, he was capable and vigorous. He made it his object to conquer the Thracian Chersonese. When the Athenians recovered from the disastrous termination of the Peloponnesian war and proceeded to reconquer the towns on the Thracian Chersonese which had been lost to them, they came into collision with Cotys. In this war, which with the exception of a successful campaign carried on by the capable Timotheus (364 B.C.), was conducted by Athens with inefficient commanders and slight resources, victory rested with the Thracian king: he conquered Sestus and other places; and about the year 360 Athens possessed only the two small places Crithotæ and Elæus.

After the death of Cotys (359) his kingdom was divided. His son, Cersebleptes, held the territory east of the Hebrus, while Amadocus ruled over the territory between the Hebrus and Nestus, and Berisades, from Nestus to the Strymon. Simultaneously Philip came to the throne in the neighbouring state to the west, Macedonia, and was destined soon to interfere in the affairs of Thrace (see below, p. 100).

C. The Macedonians

(a) Physical Characteristics of Macedonia and its Oldest Settlers.—The land lying between the courses of the Axius and Haliacmon, which afterwards belonged to Macedonia, was, so far as the materials at our disposal allow us to trace its history backwards, at one time occupied by Thracian tribes. While a rich, fertile plain, encircled by mountains, lay between the lower courses of the Axius and the Haliacmon towards the sea, the upper stretches of these rivers enclosed a wild and partly inaccessible mountain district, which, inhabited by various nationalities, long preserved its independence. At a remote but fairly definite period there dwelt round Mount Bermius those Phrygian tribes

which later crossed over to Asia Minor and subjugated and cultivated the land named after them (cf. pp. 48 and 82). But the celebrated rose-gardens round Bermius, which were called in antiquity the gardens of Midas on account of their luxuriance and the fragrant scent of their roses, preserved the remembrance of the Phrygians once settled there, whose kings were called alternately Midas and Gordius. A remnant of these oldest inhabitants must, however, have remained there, for when Mardonius in the year 492 undertook at the orders of Darius an expedition against Greece his army was attacked in Macedonia by the Thracian Phrygians (Brygians) and suffered severe losses. Still, as the main body of the Phrygians had left these regions, other Thracian tribes occupied them. Without our being able to assign fixed limits, we may say that the Cordæans dwelt afterwards on the Bermius range, the Pierians on the Haliacmon and southward to Olympus, the Edonians in Mygdonia east of Axius, and the Bottiaeans to the west. It is an historical fact that even these nations did not remain in the same regions, but were all pushed further westward by the Macedonians, who pressed on victoriously and gave to the whole country between Olympus and the Strymon their own name — namely, Macedonia.

(*b*) *The Immigration of the Macedonians.*—It is not known when the Macedonians first appeared. They are considered rightly to be a people closely related to the Hellenes. When the Greeks migrated into Hellas the Macedonians remained behind somewhere in the Epirot Mountains, and then, driven out, doubtless, by the pressure of the Illyrian tribes southward, crossed the Pindus range and sought settlements on its eastern side. The ancients were well aware that the Macedonians had migrated into the land afterwards called Macedonia; but the ancient legend connected the royal race of the Macedonians, the Argeadæ, with the Temenidæ in Argos; three brothers of this race (Gauanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas) fled from their home to Illyria and thence came to Upper Macedonia; there they entered into the service of the king at first as common labourers. Dismissed and pursued by their master, they were saved from his horsemen by a swollen river. Subsequently they settled in a district of Lower Macedonia, and finally subdued the rest of Macedonia. This myth may serve to illustrate the connection of the Macedonians with the Hellenes and to throw light on the bitterness of the struggle by which the conquest of the land was accomplished; but it does not solve the mystery which wraps the earliest history of the people.

The youngest of the three brothers, Perdiccas, is celebrated as the first king of the Macedonians. This princely race, which resided in Ægae, succeeded not only in founding a dominion in Lower Macedonia, but also in making their supremacy recognised among the neighbouring tribes of Upper Macedonia. Together with the superior king, there ruled for a considerable time longer, especially in the mountain districts (Lyncestis and Elimiotis), various kings, who were, however, under suzerainty of the King of Macedonia, with whom they had an armed alliance. Macedonian history is full of struggles of the central power against these border-chiefs, who were often rebellious and strove after greater independence until the strong arm of Philip reduced them to order.

The king was not a master over slaves, like the Asiatic despots, but the head of free men, and his sovereignty rested not on power, but on birth and character.

He was the leader of the people in war, the supreme priest and judge; but in criminal cases he did not judge alone, for the assembly of free men decided such matters. Among the Macedonians there were nobles and peasants: the nobility furnished the cavalry, the peasants were only called out in case of emergency, and then formed the infantry. It was only the later kings who initiated regular levies of the peasants and formed them into an army renowned far and wide. In early times there were no manufacturing towns in the country. The people of Macedonia were a peasant and shepherd race, restricted to the interior and cut off from the sea, where the more important towns, Therma, Pydna, and Methone, were Greek settlements.

(c) *The History of Macedonia from King Amyntas to Philip.*—The oldest history of Macedonia is obscure. There is, indeed, a list of kings mentioned, but these are for us little more than names. It is not until Amyntas I. (c. 540-498 B.C.) that the Macedonian kingdom is brought nearer to us; thus first from its connection with world-stirring events we gain a fuller knowledge of Macedonia. Thrace, as is sufficiently well known (see above, pp. 57 and 77), was, after the Scythian expedition of Darius, subdued by the Persian general Megabazus, who was left behind in Europe. Even Amyntas of Macedonia submitted to the Persian king, but remained prince of his own land, and was merely forced to pay tribute and furnish troops.

In this position remained his son and successor, Alexander (498-454 B.C.), who was compelled to follow Xerxes on his campaign against Greece, although in his heart he was favourably disposed towards the Greeks. He proved his friendliness to Greece whenever he could. At Platæa on the night before the attack arranged by Mardonius, he communicated the Persian plan to the Athenian generals and thus contributed to the splendid victory of the Greeks. After the retreat of the Persians from Europe the subjection of Alexander naturally ended. He was from that time an ally and friend of Athens until the formation of the Athenian maritime league firmly established the hegemony of Athens on the Thraco-Macedonian coast and inspired the king with mistrust. At the end of his reign he adopted a hostile attitude towards Athens, and he owed it to the friendship of Cimon that his country escaped a devastating attack of the Athenian fleet. His admission to the Olympian games and the victory he won there were very important for him. By these acts his own origin and that of his race was declared Hellenic, although his people continued to be regarded as barbarians by the Greeks. Macedonia owed to him the acquisition of the district of Bisaltia around Lake Prasias. By this means Macedonia extended her territory to the Strymon and came into the possession of mines, which produced a rich revenue for the king. Under him Macedonia included all the country from the Candavian Mountains to the Strymon and from Olympus northward as far as the mountains of the upper Axius. Of the Greek coast towns, Therma and Pydna, at any rate, were forced then to recognise the Macedonian rule. His son and successor, Perdiccas II. (454-413 B.C.), had during his reign to face a difficult situation. At first he was in alliance with Athens; but when, in 432 B.C., the Athenians concluded an alliance with Derdas, chief of the Elimioti, who was at war with Perdiccas, and with his own brother Philip, from whom the part of the kingdom which lay eastward of the middle course of the Axius

had seceded, Perdiccas joined the enemies of Athens. The rule of Athens weighed so heavily on her subjects that there was no lack of discontented and hostile spirits. Perdiccas availed himself of this state of affairs. Through his exertions the defection of Potidæa and the other Chalcidian towns from Athens was accomplished. By his counsel the Chalcidians destroyed their small places on the coast and went in a body to the newly founded town of Olynthus. This was the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. Athens sent immediately a fleet and troops to Chalcidice. Derdas, the opponent of Perdiccas, and Philip joined the Athenian commander, who, too weak to attack Potidæa vigorously, had invaded Macedonia. They captured Therma and besieged Pydna. A new Athenian naval expedition, bearing troops under Callias, joined the army encamped before Pydna and compelled the king to make terms. When the Athenians subsequently marched away to Potidæa, Perdiccas declared the convention which had been forced from him void, and sent help to the Potidæans. But though they made him leader of their cavalry, he could not undertake the command in person, for his presence in his country was essential. He fought with success against Derdas and Philip. The latter was forced to give way, and fled to Sitalces, King of the Odrysæ, by whom he hoped to be reinstated into power, Athens being allied to Sitalces (cf. above, p. 86). Perdiccas was, however, able to divert the danger which an alliance of Athens, Sitalces, and his fugitive brother threatened; he won over the King of the Odrysæ by promises, which we unfortunately do not know, not to restore Philip and to negotiate a peace between Macedonia and Athens. This was actually completed: Perdiccas received Therma back from the Athenians and was bound in return to support them in their struggle against the Chalcidians. We hear no more of Derdas, who evidently recognised again the suzerainty of the king. A most serious danger threatened when the Thracians invaded (429 B.C.) the land of Perdiccas, who had not carried out his promises to Sitalces, in order to make Amyntas, son of Philip who had died in the meantime, king of all Macedonia and to make the Chalcidian towns subject to Athens. Sitalces entered Macedonia with his powerful army and marched, plundering and devastating along the Axius, down to the coast. Contrary to the preconcerted arrangement, the Athenian fleet was not ready on the spot to attack the Chalcidian towns in coöperation with him. The Odrysæans contented themselves with laying waste the plains, and the fortified towns remained unharmed. When winter began and there came a growing scarcity of food, they withdrew. Perdiccas again extricated himself out of his difficulties by diplomacy; he won over Seuthes, nephew of Sitalces, who had great influence, by the promise to give him his sister to wife with a rich dowry; and he this time really carried out his promise. The pretender Amyntas was given up, and we hear nothing more of him.

Perdiccas had afterwards to sustain a war with Arrhibæus, chief of the Lyncesti, and called in the aid of the Spartans. Since at the same time the Chalcidians desired the help of Sparta, Brasidas marched in 424 B.C. through Thessaly to Macedonia. Athens now declared war against Perdiccas. The expectation which Perdiccas had entertained that Brasidas would subdue the rebellious chiefs of the Lyncesti was, however, not realised. In the first campaign no battle resulted at all, since Brasidas wished to reconcile the two antagonists, and not to strengthen the power of Perdiccas by the subjection of Arrhibæus.

Since a reconciliation, however, could not be effected, Brasidas concluded an agreement with the Lyncestian and withdrew. In the second campaign, however, Brasidas and Perdiccas advanced into Lyncestis and defeated Arrhibæus at first, but without following up or making use of the victory. When, therefore, the Macedonians were seized with panic at the mere rumour of the arrival of those extraordinarily dreaded Illyrians and of their union with the enemy and fled in the night, Brasidas, too, was compelled to retreat. This was the end of the Macedonian alliance with Sparta. Once more Perdiccas made advances to Athens and concluded a second treaty with her; but he did not play a conspicuous part at all in the war between Athens and Sparta that was being fought in Chalcidice. When he died in 413 B.C. he left the kingdom, which he had rescued by foresight and astuteness from the greatest dangers, as extensive as when he inherited it.

By his lawful wife, Cleopatra, Perdiccas left a son, seven years old, for whom the crown was destined, and also a bastard, Archelaus, who is said to have been born to him by a slave of his elder brother Alcetes. He was appointed, it would seem, by the dying king to be regent and guardian of the infant successor to the throne, but this did not satisfy Archelaus. He first put out of his way Alcetes, who, being addicted to drink, had won for himself the surname of the Funnel. He destroyed also Alexander, the son of Alcestes. He invited them to a banquet, and when they were drunk he had them thrown by night into a cart, which drove off with them — nobody knew whither. It was then the turn of the heir to the crown. He was drowned in a cistern. Archelaus told his mother that the boy had run after a goose, had fallen into the water, and had perished there. This was the story told of Archelaus in Athens. It may not be all true, and much may be exaggerated or false. This much is certain that he availed himself of foul means to seize the throne. However, the services he rendered Macedonia justify the supposition that he felt himself called to rule; the advancement and development of the country in the way he thought right and profitable could, he believed, be carried out only by him as king.

Thucydides says that Archelaus did more for his kingdom than all his predecessors combined. Frequently, when the Thracians and the Illyrians had made inroads, Macedonia had keenly felt the want of strong-walled places, where the inhabitants of the plains with their belongings might find refuge and might offer resistance in conjunction with the townsfolk. Now the limited number of fortified towns was increased, and by this means the security of the inhabitants was strengthened. At any rate, when their hostile neighbours raided the land the inhabitants could no longer be carried off equally with their goods. With increased security the industry of the inhabitants was bound to increase. Archelaus promoted the development of the land by making roads and contributed largely towards rendering the interior more accessible. But the more Macedonia came into contact with the Greek civilisation through intercourse with the industrial towns on the coast, the more urgently did it require a suitable reorganisation of its army in order to win a place among the hostile and warlike states. It had repeatedly interfered in foreign affairs during the course of the Peloponnesian War as the ally of one or the other of the warring powers, and the defects of its own military system must have clearly appeared as a result. Archelaus recognised the defects and remedied them. His army consisted no longer, as formerly,

of cavalry exclusively, but he added to his forces infantry, which he armed after the fashion of the Greek Hoplites and drilled in Greek style, whereas previously the national levy, when emergency required it, had been a badly armed and badly drilled rabble. We may assume that the value of his innovations lay in his making the infantry a permanent part of the Macedonian army. The nobility supplied the cavalry, as before, while the peasants, who now were brought into military service, composed the infantry.

What Archelaus aimed at, Philip II. was destined one day to carry on — that is, to liberate the country from its narrow limitations and to conquer a place for it among civilised states.

Besides this, Archelaus was desirous of raising his people to a higher plane of civilisation. He always had Greek artists and poets living at his court in Pella. He founded at Dion, on the slopes of Olympus, a festival in honour of Zeus, marked by musical and gymnastic contests, such as were held in Greece; and Euripides composed for the inauguration of this festival his drama *Archelaus*, in which he treated the history of the ancestor of the royal house of Macedon, whom arbitrarily, out of regard for his patron, he called Archelaus. Cultured himself, he favoured Greek culture and learning when and where he could, so that they gradually spread from the court among the other classes of the people.

There are few warlike occurrences to mention in the reign of Archelaus. In 410-409 he brought back the rebellious town of Pydna to its allegiance and waged a war with Arrhibæus, prince of the Lyncesti, and Sirrhas, the dynast of the Elimioti, who, apparently disturbed by the strengthening of the kingly power, had invaded lower Macedonia: we know no details about this, except that Archelaus gave one of his daughters to Sirrhas to wife and by this means ended the war. His services consist more in his reforms and in his endeavours to exalt his country. He died in 399 by a violent death, as many of his predecessors and followers. A young Macedonian named Crateuas was his murderer. His son, Orestes, a minor, succeeded him under the guardianship of Aëropus, who soon put him out of the way.

The next forty years were filled with struggles for the throne and disturbances of every kind. The dynasties rapidly changed, and the pregnant plans and aims of Archelaus ceased to be carried out. The names, as well as the dates of the reigns of these kings who followed one another quickly, are not certain. Different historians have drawn up different lists of rulers according to the legends they have preferred to follow: Archelaus, Aëropus, Pausanias, Amyntas, Argæus, Amyntas, or Archelaus, Orestes, Aëropus, Pausanias, Amyntas, Argæus, Amyntas. We are here little concerned with the names; the picture of calamitous party struggles, which is shown us by that period, remains the same whether we adopt the longer or the shorter list. And, as very often happens, foreign enemies knew how to avail themselves of the internal distractions of the country.

Olynthus held at this time the foremost position in Chalcidice. Situated in front of Macedonia and projecting with three peninsulas into the Ægean Sea, Chalcidice had been early occupied by the Greeks and possessed a number of flourishing commercial cities and prosperous agricultural towns. Under the influence and guidance of Olynthus the Chalcidian towns had united in a league, which left the individual cities administratively independent, but in other re-

spects was intended to prevent the disastrous splitting up of their strength, since for the common interest the separate states waived all claim to follow a policy of their own, whether in foreign affairs or commercial transactions. In the meetings of the league, attended by delegates from the constituent states, at which the administrative board was chosen, resolutions were passed on the questions of foreign politics, which became binding on the individual states. The same course was adopted in the sphere of commercial policy; just as a war was resolved on by the league and waged by the league, so commercial treaties were subject to the decision of the league. When we add that in the towns, which were members of the league, there existed equality of laws and a citizenship of the league which allowed the acquisition of property and the conclusion of marriages, gave individuals freedom of movement in other states besides their native state, and exempted them from the burdensome barriers which Greek states had formerly erected against each other precisely owing to the citizenship, we can see in this league of the Chalcidian towns a consolidated state, with which the neighbours and even the states of the mother country had to reckon. Potidæa, the most important town of Chalcidice next to Olynthus, had at last joined the league, which directed its efforts towards attaching to itself as many towns as possible, and which did not shrink from forcible measures in order to attain this end. The Bottiæans, just as the Acanthians, Mendeans, and Apollonians were not members of the league, since they were unwilling to surrender their political independence; Amphipolis also, the town on the Strymon, held aloof.

Amyntas (II. or III., reigned from about 390-89) joined this league of the Chalcidian towns soon after his accession to the throne. He concluded with it not only an alliance for mutual help in the event of either party to the treaty being attacked, but also a commercial treaty, in which advantages were conceded to the Chalcidians over other states in articles to be exported from Macedonia. By these measures Amyntas was clearly seeking support against some imminent danger, for he also made concessions of territory to his ally. Unfortunately we are unacquainted with details of the course of events; we only learn that Amyntas was driven by the Illyrians from his land, that Argæus, clearly in concert with these Illyrians, ascended the throne, and that the Chalcidians penetrated into Macedonia in the name of Amyntas and conquered great parts of it, including Pella, the capital. In any case events soon took a favourable turn for Amyntas; supported by the Thessalians he returned after two years of absence with an army, entered his kingdom, and found now that the Chalcidians did not wish to give up the land they had acquired. We hear nothing more of Argæus; he had certainly been quickly deposed.

At this crisis, Amyntas, not being strong enough to face the Chalcidian league by himself, applied to Sparta for help: Acanthus and Apollonia, which had no longer been able alone to defend their autonomy against the encroachments of Olynthus, had already sent envoys there. Sparta, thus solicited for help, consented. In 383 Eudamidas invaded Chalcidice, but with his weak forces (Phœbidas, who was to accompany him had on the way occupied the Cadmea) was unable to undertake any serious operations. Potidæa alone deserted the league and joined Sparta. The next year Teleutias followed him at the head of ten thousand warriors. He had urged Amyntas to spare no efforts to regain possession of his kingdom; to hire troops, since the land that was left

him was too small to yield him an army for the field, and to win over the neighbouring chiefs by presents of money. In accordance with these instructions, Amyntas with a small army and Derdas, chief of the Elimioti with four hundred horsemen joined the Spartan commander in his advance. At the beginning indeed Teleutias gained a victory over the allies under the walls of Olynthus; but after that he sustained a serious reverse and was himself killed. It was left to Polybiades to invest Olynthus by land and sea and to cut it off from all communication. The Olynthians, through stress of hunger, were forced to make terms. The result was that they were obliged to dissolve the Chalcidian league, recognise the supremacy of Sparta, and furnish her with troops. The power of Olynthus, however, was not broken. The city soon revived and stood once more at the head of a powerful confederacy. The conquered territory in Macedonia had of course been given up, and Amyntas thus became again master of all Macedonia.

Chiefly then through the support of foreign powers, Amyntas extricated his kingdom undiminished from its difficulties. The period of distress was followed by years of tranquillity and peace. The political situation of the Greek peninsula was in the king's favour. Sparta, which had just shown her power by the humiliation of Olynthus, was too much taken up by the rise of Thebes and its immense progress under Epaminondas and Pelopidas to be able now to extend her power in Chalcidice. At the same time Athens had succeeded in founding the second Athenian maritime confederacy and in inducing many towns on the Thracian coast as well as on the Chalcidian Peninsula to join it. But Olynthus on the one side, Amphipolis on the other did not enter it. Olynthus, it is true, was for the moment humiliated by Sparta, but still showed a degree of power which commanded respect. Amphipolis, in an extremely favourable situation on the mouth of the Strymon and with a rich *Hinterland* on the highroad from Macedonia and Chalcidice to Thrace, formerly founded by the Athenians from whom it afterwards revolted, was destined to be brought back under the dominion of the Athenians, now that they had again planted themselves firmly in these parts. Athens spared no sacrifices, and equipped fleets and armies to attain that end. Under these circumstances we understand the alliance concluded between Amyntas and Athens, of the terms of which only the aim is preserved to us. Amyntas sought support against the towns of Chalcidice, once his confederates and now his bitter enemies. Athens desired a powerful ally in her endeavour to restore her former power. We know that at the peace congress at Sparta (371 B.C.) Amyntas admitted the claims of Athens to Amphipolis and offered to support her in the reconquest of the town. What indeed can Athens have offered Amyntas as compensation for this proferred assistance? Unfortunately the terms to which the two parties agreed in the proposed alliance have not been preserved. But we shall soon see (cf. below, p. 97) how great a part Amphipolis somewhat later was destined to play once more in the relations of Macedonia to Athens.

An alliance was formed also between Jason of Pheræ and Amyntas of Macedon. Jason had succeeded in suppressing political dissension in Thessaly, and stood as *Tagus* at the head of a united country. In the midst of the numerous unruly and discontented elements, which must have existed there, when the power of this one man could only be developed at the cost of a number of families

accustomed to exercise a tyranny of their own, he thought it advisable to be on a good footing with his northern neighbours in order that Macedonia might not become a *rendezvous* for his foes. Perhaps also he wished to be able to reckon on the firmly re-established power of Amyntas in executing his own ambitious plans, for he aimed at nothing less than at the hegemony of Greece. From all we know, this treaty started with Jason. The circumstance points to the fact that Amyntas at the end of his reign must have once more obtained an important and undisputed position. But before Jason could carry out his great schemes he was assassinated; and almost at the same time Amyntas also died (370).

In Thessaly Jason's power, after the short reigns of his brothers Polydorus and Polyphron, who were likewise assassinated, was transferred to his nephew Alexander. The successors of Jason by their cruelty and tyranny soon roused universal discontent, which they on their side sought to overcome by murder and banishment. Exiled nobles came from Larissa to Pella. Urged by them and other Thessalians Alexander of Macedon, the eldest of the three sons of Amyntas and his wife Eurydice, marched into Thessaly, drove out the garrisons of the Tyrant of Pheræ from Larissa and Crannon and occupied the two towns. This proceeding did not please the Thessalians, who wished to be freed from the yoke of Alexander of Pheræ, but not to have two lords instead of one, and they now solicited the help of the Thebans. Meantime the Macedonian king Alexander had been obliged to return to his country, where Ptolemy of Alorus, the paramour of Eurydice, was grasping at the crown. The garrisons which he had left behind in Thessaly could not long hold out without him and thus his attempt to extend his power beyond the borders of his own kingdom was frustrated. But this was not the worst. In Macedonia itself foreign influence was destined once more to become predominant for some years. The Thebans, called in by the Thessalians, came under the leadership of Pelopidas and arranged matters as best suited their own interests. From Thessaly Pelopidas went also to Macedonia and brought about a reconciliation between Alexander and Ptolemy. But soon after his departure Alexander was murdered by Ptolemy, who became the guardian of Perdiccas, the second son of Amyntas, heir to the throne but a minor. New complications ensued. A certain Pausanias came forward as claimant to the crown, occupied Anthemus and Therma with Greek mercenaries and actually found supporters in the country. Under these circumstances Ptolemy and Eurydice, who were now married, turned to the Athenian general Iphicrates, who at that very time was cruising on the coast of Thrace. Pausanias was driven out of the country by him. But the Thebans, anxious not to lose once more their recently acquired influence in Macedonia sent Pelopidas there again (368 B.C.). He concluded a treaty with Ptolemy, the regent and guardian of Perdiccas, in virtue of which men were to be furnished to the Theban army and hostages given; among these latter Philip, the third son of Amyntas and eventually king, came to Thebes.

The rule of Ptolemy did not last long. In 365 he was murdered by Perdiccas who now ascended the throne as king. He withdrew from the influence of Thebes and openly took the side of the Athenians, lending them assistance in their wars against the newly formed Chalcidian league, which once more was headed by Olynthus. Afterwards, however, he became hostile to the Athenians — we do not know exactly on what grounds. We might conjecture that the capture

of Pydna by the Athenians, which occurred at this time and was connected with the conquest of Potidæa and Torone in Chalcidice, had made Perdiccas an opponent of Athens. The Athenian arms won a victory over the Macedonian forces, and the contending parties made a compromise, the terms of which, it was said at Athens, were too favourable to Perdiccas, and cost the Athenian commander, Callisthenes, his life (362 B.C.). Perdiccas fell in a great battle against the Illyrians.

95-107

(*d*) *King Philip.*—After the death of Perdiccas, Philip, youngest son of King Amyntas, took over the government on behalf of his infant nephew: but soon after (we do not indeed know the exact date) the nobles and national army of Macedonia summoned him to be king, and thus conferred on him the dignity and position for which he showed himself amply qualified from the very outset. Since more than four thousand Macedonians had perished with Perdiccas, the whole land was a prey to consternation and despair. The Illyrians invaded Macedonia and occupied the adjoining parts. Owing to this, their northern neighbours, the Pæonians were likewise emboldened to invade and plunder the adjacent state. And, as had happened so often before on a change of ruler, kinsmen of the royal house appeared as claimants to the throne. Argæus, one of the claimants, found support at Athens, which had long been fruitlessly trying to reconquer Amphipolis and now hoped to realise its object at last. In return for the promise of Argæus to help conquer Amphipolis, the Athenians supported him with troops, which were landed in Methone by their Strategus, Mantias, and then led to Ægæ by the claimant. Another claimant, Pausanias mentioned above, found support in the Thracians. This hopeless and complicated state of affairs showed only too clearly the point at which an energetic ruler must begin in order to lead his country onwards to a prosperous development and a more glorious future. The surrounding barbarian tribes would have to be subdued and brought to respect the power of Macedonia.

And when this was successfully accomplished, Macedonia could not win a more important place in the political system of the old world, until it was economically independent of the Hellenes to whom the coast belonged. Macedonia could only develop its powers, when the export of its natural products by sea was open to it, and when the import of foreign commodities was facilitated. But up till now it had been economically dependent on the cities on the coast — namely, Olynthus, the Chalcidian league, and Athens, which under Timotheus had again obtained a firm footing in Chalcidice, had subdued the rich city of Potidæa and Torone in the Olynthian war, and had actually conquered the originally Macedonian towns of Pydna and Methone on the western shore of the Thermaic Gulf, so that no seaport worthy of mention was anywhere left to Macedonia. In fact this remoteness from the coast had led to the circumstance that foreign states (we may call the reader's attention to the attacks of Thebes, above, p. 94) obtained and exercised political influence in Macedonia. But the success which the previous kings of the country had failed to obtain despite their numerous attempts, was destined to attend the efforts of the young and energetic Philip to free himself from this cramped situation.

As we have already seen, Philip had been surrendered by Ptolemy as a hostage to the Thebans, and had thus early learnt in his own person the im-

potency and weakness of his country. However painful to the young patriot may have been his sojourn in Thebes, it certainly was beneficial to him: for at that time, this town, through the services of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, stood at the zenith of its power. It is not known when he was allowed to return to Pella, but certainly it was before the death of his brother Perdiccas. Beyond this we know nothing of his youth: wherever he appeared afterwards he showed himself to be no rude and unschooled barbarian, but emphatically a man who valued Greek education and culture and knew how to appropriate it for himself. This could not have been due merely to his stay at Thebes. In Macedonia itself progress had in the meanwhile been made on the path pointed out by Archelaus. King Perdiccas, too, loved Hellenic art and Hellenic learning.

Philip undertook a difficult task, when he first assumed the government for his nephew; but he showed natural capacity for it. When Argæus, rejected by the citizens of Ægæ, returned to Methone, he attacked and defeated him. This first success inspirited the Macedonians and filled them afresh with that confidence and courage, which had failed them after their defeat by the Illyrians. But this victory had far more important results: Philip sent back without a ransom the Athenians who were taken prisoners in the battle, and thus paved a way towards a reconciliation with Athens. A secret treaty was arranged with the Athenian envoys, which on their return was laid before the council, but not before the popular assembly. In return for Philip's promise to conquer Amphipolis for them, the Athenians were willing to surrender Pydna to him.

But before this Philip had first to secure his frontiers against his enemies. At the beginning of the summer of 358 B.C. he commenced the campaigns which were necessary partly to secure the frontiers, partly to win back the portions of Macedonian territory occupied by the enemy. Philip turned his arms first against the Pæonians, whose king Agis had died about this time. After defeating them he forced them to submit to the power of Macedonia. He then marched against the Illyrians, whose king Bardylis offered peace on the terms of recognising the *status quo*. Philip could have peace if he waived all claim to the territory occupied by Bardylis. But Philip rejected the conditions. After a fierce battle, in which Philip himself commanded his right wing, the Macedonians were finally victors. The prize of victory for them and their king was the expulsion of the Illyrians from the Macedonian towns which they had previously occupied. Thus triumphant in the North and West, Philip turned his arms the next year (357 B.C.) against Amphipolis, as he had promised in the secret treaty with the Athenians. Strangely enough the Athenians themselves took no steps to secure the capture of the long-coveted town, but even rejected the offer of surrender made by the Amphipolitans to avoid becoming subjects to the Macedonians. Apparently they trusted Philip's promises; yet the conduct of the Athenians is the less intelligible since, after the successful storming of Amphipolis, they had no intention of fulfilling the duty imposed on them by the treaty of giving up Pydna to Philip. Did they think to keep the one town and to acquire the other in addition? The king did not hold this view. The leaders of the Athenian party in Amphipolis were banished, and the town became thenceforth Macedonian, even though its civic independence was left it, and it was compensated by other acts of favour for the loss of the freedom it had so often and so long defended. Not long after, Pydna also was captured and again incorporated

into the Macedonian kingdom, to which it had belonged before its occupation by the Athenians. Philip thus became master of these towns, both of which were strategically important: since the one commanded the road to Thrace, the other the road to Thessaly. Both also opened for the king the way to the sea.

But what made the possession of Amphipolis especially valuable was that, simultaneously with, or shortly after, its capture, the small town of Crenides, which had been founded by the Thasians, being attacked by the surrounding Thracians sought and obtained the help of Philip. Crenides received new settlers and was called Philippi after its new founder. This new town, which soon flourished and found in the kingdom of Macedonia a powerful protection against its barbarian neighbours, presented on its side a favourable base from which to command the mountains of Pangæum, which were rich in precious metals and the well wooded plain of Datus; with the possession of Crenides Philip had acquired possession of all this district. The gold mines were systematically worked and are said to have brought him in 1000 talents yearly. And while Amphipolis at the mouth of the Strymon offered him a port from which his ships might sail, Datus supplied him with the requisite timber and pitch for ship-building.

The Athenians now came to recognise the disadvantages connected with having another pull one's chestnuts out of the fire instead of doing the task oneself. They vented their indignation in high sounding public resolutions. The treaty between them and Philip was of course broken off. Athens at the moment lacked the means and also the strength which proceeds from a definitely directed policy, to be able to carry on the war against the Macedonian king with prospect of success. It had to fight with the rebellious members of its confederation, Byzantium, Chios, Cos and others, and made great sacrifices in order to bring them back to their obedience. The Thracian Chersonese, the possession of which was the more important to them because through it they commanded the passage into the Black Sea, had to be defended by them against the continued attacks of the Thracian princes. And the defects which had often calamitously affected and crippled the conduct of the campaign in the struggle against Cotys and his son Cersebleptes (cf. p. 86, above) during recent years — the indolence and self-indulgence of the Athenian citizens, their reluctance to take the field, the constant fluctuations to which their party-life was subject — were all unfortunately apparent when war was declared on Philip.

It might have been supposed that Athens would now, as a matter of course, have been anxious to come to terms with Olynthus and the league of the Chalcidian towns, in order to obtain a base of operations in the immediate vicinity of Macedonia, and to oppose Philip vigorously in concert with the powerful resources of Olynthus; especially since Olynthus had already sent an embassy to Athens and had taken measures to arrange the matters in dispute, when Philip marched against Amphipolis. Their wish was not then acceded to; and now after the outbreak of the war, we do not hear that Athens sought allies in Chalcidice against Macedonia. On the contrary Philip joined Olynthus and its league. He conceded to them Anthemus, a Macedonian town, and promised to conquer Potidæa for them, which, situated in the immediate vicinity of Olynthus, formed by its position the key to the peninsula of Pallene, and had been made an Athenian possession by Timotheus. Philip now advanced with a strong army

against Potidæa, took it after a long siege, since the Athenian relieving fleet came too late, and sold the inhabitants into slavery, while he let the Athenian citizens, who had settled there, depart without a ransom. The town was destroyed and its territory given over to the Olynthians (356 B.C.). Thus Athens had once more lost a strong position.

About this time the Athenians negotiated a treaty of alliance with Cetriporis, the ruler of the western part of Thrace, who was indignant with Philip on account of the loss of Crenides and the adjoining coast, and with the two princes of Pæonia and Illyria, Grabus and Lyppeius, old enemies of Macedonia (356-355). In the treaty assistance was expressly promised to Cetriporis in order to wrest Crenides and "other places" from the king. The concessions made to Grabus and Lyppeius, and the promises made on their part by the three allies to Athens have unfortunately been broken off the stone on which the treaty is inscribed. This league might certainly have caused trouble to Philip. But before the allies were completely prepared and could proceed to united and vigorous action, they were subdued singly so that there was no longer any serious danger threatening Macedonia.

Athens left alone, showed herself no match for the king; she had always been worsted when opposed to him, and she was destined in the further course of the war to reap no laurels. For in the face of the great losses which she had previously suffered, it is of little importance that in 353 the Athenian general, Chares, inflicted a defeat on a Macedonian detachment of mercenaries at Cypsela in Thrace, and that the newly formed Macedonian fleet could only escape his ships by a stratagem, or that here and there Macedonian harbours were occasionally blockaded. Philip, who accompanied the Theban Pammenes on his expedition to Ariobarzanes, the rebellious satrap on the Hellespont, and pushed on as far as the Hebrus, had taken away from the Athenians Abdera and Maronea, towns on the Thracian coast, which had belonged to the Athenian maritime confederacy since 375: these towns remained in the king's hands even after the victory of Chares. Philip indeed turned back, either because the Thracian chief Amadocus in the district of the Hebrus barred the passage through his territory, or because the king wished to avoid a serious collision with Chares: for this time at any rate the Athenians were freed from their fear of a Macedonian invasion of their possessions on the Thracian Chersonese. In the same year however Athens suffered another loss. Philip, returned from Thrace, marched against Methone, which lay north of Pydna and had up till now remained in the possession of the Athenians; after a gallant resistance the citizens surrendered the town, which was plundered and destroyed, they themselves being allowed to withdraw. On this occasion also, as at Potidæa Athenian aid came up too late. Philip himself lost his right eye by an arrow during the siege. Meantime an opportunity presented itself to the king for interfering in Thessaly. Here Alexander of Pheræ had been obliged to surrender the headship of Thessaly, which Jason had held, and was at strife and variance not only with the Aleuadæ of Larissa, but with the whole country. Even after his death in 359 his successors Lycophron and Pitholaus were not able even to attain the former position of a Jason. By 361 the Thessalians, who had formed themselves into a league, had concluded an alliance with Athens against the attacks of Alexander; but Athens did nothing to secure for herself the dominant influence in

Thessaly. So she lost here also a favourable opportunity, and by inactivity and want of foresight let things go so far that Philip became master of the situation.

In the so-called third Holy War the Phocians, when attacked by the Amphictons, especially by the Thebans and Locrians, had made themselves masters of the Temple at Delphi and of its treasures, and had enrolled an army of mercenaries therewith; by which means they were able not merely to repel their antagonists, but also to interfere in the affairs of foreign states. The Dynasts of Pheræ had joined them; the Aleuadæ on the contrary and the Thessalian league called in King Philip. He immediately started for Thessaly, took over the supreme command of the army of the Thessalian league, defeated Phællus, the commander of the Phocians, and occupied Pagasæ, the port of Pheræ. Onomarch, it is true, advanced to bring help, worsted Philip in two battles and drove him out of the country: but the king was not the man to let himself be deterred by this disaster. In the next spring (352 B.C.) he advanced into Thessaly once more, and this time succeeded in checking and completely defeating Onomarch in a spot admirably suited to the manœuvres of his own and the Thessalian cavalry. The forces of the Dynast of Pheræ came too late to aid Onomarch. The Phocian general himself and six hundred mercenaries were left on the field of battle, the prisoners, three thousand in number, were thrown into the sea, which was near, as being robbers of the temple. Phayllus was able to bring only a small number safely to Thermopylæ, where the detachments of other friendly states, such as Sparta and Athens, joined him. Philip advanced through Thessaly to Thermopylæ: but the occupation of the pass made him turn back. He had indeed no intention of risking the advantages which he had just gained in Thessaly by a defeat at Thermopylæ, a pass most difficult to take; yet the rejoicings, especially at Athens, were great, when it was known that Philip was not advancing into the heart of Greece. This result was willingly ascribed to the despatch of the Athenian troops under Nausicles. The consequence of the victory over Onomarch was the capitulation of Pheræ, and the expulsion of the tyrants there, a success which filled the Thessalians with great gratitude towards Philip and made them permanently his allies. From this time Philip was the leader of the Thessalian confederation and commanded their forces, to the maintenance of which the customs from various ports were applied. Thus he attained the object for which his eldest brother, Alexander, had striven in vain.

Meantime affairs in Thrace had taken a turn, which caused Philip to interfere. We have already learned what exertions and trouble it had cost Athens to maintain for herself the Thracian Chersonese, an old Athenian possession, against the attacks of the Thracian princes Cotys and Cersebleptes (cf. above, pp. 86 and 97). For more than ten years war had been waged there against the Thracians, without sufficient forces and therefore without successful results. Athens was not in a position to reduce her restless and conquest-loving neighbours to a state of permanent tranquillity, so that she might enjoy her possessions. Things seemed likely to turn out disastrously, when about 353 B.C. Cersebleptes made peace with the Athenians, and left the Chersonese to them, after evacuating the places conquered by him. But this reconciliation of the former opponents filled the Greek towns of Byzantium and Perinthus with anxious forebodings. They had won their independence from Athens in the war of the league, had left the Athenian maritime confederation and for the moment

indeed were living at peace with Athens but not exactly on terms of special amity. The two towns had also repeatedly suffered at the hands of Cotys and afterwards of Cersebleptes. This anxiety was shared by the above-mentioned Thracian chief in the Hebrus district, Amadocus. He, as well as Byzantium and Perinthus, sought to join Philip of Macedonia and concluded a treaty with him, which was aimed at Cersebleptes but indirectly at the Athenians also. In fact we find Philip soon afterwards in Thrace, pressing forward along the Propontis, on which the kingdom of Cersebleptes lay: here he besieged Heræontæchus, a stronghold of the Thracian princes. The news of this caused great consternation at Athens; and it was resolved to equip a great fleet. But as on so many previous occasions, notwithstanding their resolutions and their good intentions in the beginning, nothing serious was done. When some months afterwards ten ships put to sea, Cersebleptes had already been overthrown and had been forced to make concessions of territory to the allies, and had given his son as hostage. Charidemus, leader of the Greek mercenaries, who had long been with him, was obliged to leave Thrace, and now entered the Athenian service. It must have been in this campaign that Cetriporis, who ruled the part of Thrace which immediately borders on Macedonia and had finally (356 B.C.) attempted to make war on Philip in alliance with Athens and the princes, Grabus and Lyppeius (cf. above, p. 98), was dethroned and his kingdom confiscated. Macedonia thus extended as far as the river Nestus.

The results of the long war were unusually favourable to Philip; the country from Thermopylæ as far as the Propontis came under his influence, and the last great possession of Athens, the Thracian Chersonese, was now directly menaced. But before this war ended a serious danger was destined to confront the king. As early as 352 B.C., while he was still occupied in Thessaly, Olynthus made peace with its old opponent Athens, contrary to the terms of the treaty entered into with Philip, which enjoined on the allies the joint conclusion of peace with their enemies as well as the declaration of war. Merely Party politics alone induced the Olynthians to take this step: the supporters of Macedonia encountered an opposition which was friendly to Athens, and sought to join the Athenians, and the peace concluded with the latter city was a victory for this party. Besides this, there is no doubt that there prevailed in Athens an intense desire to render the Olynthians hostile to Philip, and that the proper means were employed to create a popular feeling in favour of Athens. But for the time matters rested with the making of peace, and did not go so far as an alliance. Philip first took active measures, when Olynthus received into its walls his half-brother, who sought to gain the Macedonian crown, and refused to surrender him at the king's request. He then advanced into Chalcidice with a strong army, and Olynthus concluded an alliance with Athens (349 B.C.). There Demosthenes delivered his first speech against Philip; and his Olynthic orations sharpened the consciences of his fellow-townsmen, who by their levity and dilatoriness had largely contributed to Philip's successes. He did not, however, succeed in completely rousing the Athenians and making them exert the force which he considered necessary and from which alone he augured success. Chares, it is true, was immediately ordered to Olynthus with 30 triremes and 2000 Peltasts, and under Charidemus 18 more ships with 4000 mercenaries and 150 horsemen sailed for the same destination: but the citizen Hoplites remained

at home. Of these 2000 were at last sent, with 300 horsemen, when Olynthus appealed urgently for help, being hard pressed by Philip, who had subdued one town after another in Chalcidice and, in spite of the preliminary successes of Charidemus, had actually invested the town itself. But they came too late. In the interval Olynthus had fallen. The town was destroyed and the land divided among the Macedonians (in the summer of 348 B.C.). The fall of Olynthus produced consternation at Athens. The ten years' war with Philip had brought a succession of disasters to the Athenians; their possessions in Chalcidice and on the Macedonian coast were lost. The prospect of once more acquiring Amphipolis, which they formerly possessed, was gone completely. Gone too, was the hope they had entertained that by promptly bringing aid to Olynthus and holding it against the king, they might gain there at any rate a firm foothold, from which they might perhaps regain their influence in Chalcidice. Now indeed it seemed dangerously probable that they would lose the Chersonese also and their old possessions Imbros, Lemnos, Scyros through a Macedonian attack. There was the additional difficulty that large sums of money had been already employed in the war (Demosthenes and Æschines estimate them at 1500 talents) and the Athenian finances had thus been considerably drained. Especially after the war of the league, the money contributions of the allied states were much diminished while the expenses of the public treasury, the theatre and law courts had rather increased. The prospect of obtaining help from outside was destroyed, since not one of the Greek states, on the invitation of the Athenians to make common war upon Philip, had shown any readiness. We can well understand the desire for peace that prevailed at Athens.

The revulsion at Athens in favour of Philip was produced by an event quite unimportant in itself. An Athenian citizen, Phrynon of Rhamnus, having fallen into the hands of Macedonian privateers during the Olympian Truce of God, bought his freedom, and on his return to his native town, begged his fellow-citizens to send an envoy with him to Philip, in order if possible to recover the ransom. This was done. Ctesiphon journeyed with him to Macedonia. Philip received the two courteously, refunded the ransom and made it known to the Athenians how unwillingly he was at war with them, and how gladly he would be reconciled to them. The effect of this message was that at Athens a decree of the people passed after the fall of Amphipolis, by which it was forbidden to receive heralds or envoys of peace from Philip, was repealed on the motion of Philocrates. And the good feeling towards Philip was still further increased when, on the application of the Athenian people, he released without ransom two Athenian citizens who had been captured by him. These on their return to Athens praised both the friendly attitude of the king and his strong inclination for peace.

The Athenians therefore resolved to send an embassy to Philip and to enter into negotiations for peace. The terms were settled in Macedonia, and then, after the return of the Athenian ambassadors, and the immediate arrival of two representatives of Philip, were discussed in the popular assembly at Athens and accepted after a warm debate. The recognition of the *status quo*, that is, the abandonment of all claim to Amphipolis, Potidæa and all the other former Athenian possessions on the Chalcidian and Thracian coast was the chief condition of the so-called "Peace of Philocrates"; the possession of the Thracian

Chersonese was on the other hand guaranteed to Athens. A second article extended the peace to the allies on both sides. Under "allies" however Philip understood only the members of the Attic league, while at Athens there was a disposition to include under this term the Phocians and Cersebleptes. This changed the whole aspect of affairs. The king was at the moment in Thrace, waging war against Cersebleptes and was urged by the Thebans to bring them help against the Phocians — the most favourable opportunity that could be imagined for interfering in Greek affairs and for firmly establishing the Macedonian influence on the other side of Thermopylæ. Since his representatives firmly refused to include the Phocians and Cersebleptes expressly in the peace, Demosthenes' contention was agreed to, namely that the Phocians and Cersebleptes were not mentioned in the terms of the peace, and that therefore "allies" meant in Philip's sense of the word only the states represented in the synod. On these terms peace and an alliance were concluded, and the treaty sworn at Athens.

In order that the king might take the oath to it, a new embassy was sent to him, in which among others Demosthenes and Æschines took part. On Demosthenes' motion the council ordered the ambassadors to start without delay and to hasten to the king by the shortest route; for as soon as he had taken the oath the orator hoped he would make no further conquests in Thrace. Demosthenes certainly believed that by his personal negotiations with the king he would be able to obtain the inclusion of Cersebleptes in the peace and at the same time avert the danger threatening the Phocians. But the embassy had to wait for Philip at Pella; and when he at last gave audience to the Athenian envoys, he declared that he neither would nor could abandon his Thracian conquests or desist from war with the Phocians; openly and before the eyes of all (besides Athens, other Greek states had sent embassies to Pella) he made preparations for this war. If Demosthenes had calculated on an alteration of the terms of peace through personal negotiations, he had deceived himself: and if afterwards in his orations he made not himself but his fellow-envoys and the craft of Philip responsible for this disappointment, his conduct is, humanly, quite intelligible. When Philip was actually on the march against Phocis, he signed the peace, with the conditions laid down at Athens.

The Macedonian king was now about to realise the scheme that may long have been floating before his mind, the establishment of his influence in Greece. When he marched against Thermopylæ, Phalæcus, the Phocian general, and 8000 mercenaries laid down their arms. Phocis was in Philip's hand. His request that the Athenians should allow their army to join his, in order to settle the Phocian question in common, was rejected. The feeling in Athens was now changed; and the bitter opponents of Philip, especially Demosthenes and Hegesippus, made their influence felt. Thus the Athenians were obliged to approve and allow things to be done, without sharing in the work, for they were helpless to prevent them, and could not make up their minds to join Philip in his task of reorganising Hellenic affairs. The Amphictyonic Council, summoned by Philip, gave him the two votes of the Phocians and the Hegemony, and decreed the destruction of all the Phocian towns and the settlement of the inhabitants in villages — a penalty which they had well deserved, on account of their violation and plundering of the temple at Delphi, contrary to the law of nations, and

of their numerous cruelties during the ten years' war waged by them. In alliance and amity with Thebes, and in possession of the pass of Thermopylæ Philip could now march at any moment into Greece, as the decree of the Amphictyons allowed him at any time to interfere in Greek affairs. Thus an important step had been taken towards the uniting of Greece, continually disturbed by tribal and party feuds and exhausted by ceaseless wars, under the headship of Macedonia. In the course of this war lasting twelve years, Philip not only made his country immune against the assaults of neighbouring powers that had formerly harassed it so often, but had brought Macedonia as an equal member into the state system of the time, and had actually created for it a leading position among the kindred tribes of the Hellenes. Philip never planned a conquest of Greece, as his opponents falsely said of him, but a Macedonian Hegemony.

In Athens the opposition which existed against the prevailing system of government increased after the peace of Philocrates; the discredit brought by it on the city was finally evident to all. In addition to this, the opposition pointed to the glorious past of Athens, compared the present with it, and managed to remind the citizens from time to time that the headship of Greece belonged to them and not to a "Barbarian" (for as such the radical orators took pleasure in stigmatising Philip). They opposed the ambitious Macedonian Philip by appealing to the spirit of nationality. Indeed it is quite comprehensible that a nation with a great past should stake everything in order to remain in possession of its ancient power, and should refuse to divest herself of it in favour of another without a struggle. Up to this moment, Athens had certainly shown merely weakness where strength might have been expected. Nevertheless she roused herself once more.

This was the work of the great Demosthenes. He and his party had set their minds on a war from the very outset, not merely an Athenian however, but a Hellenic war. He himself, as other orators of his party, frequently visited the Peloponnese, Eubœa and other parts of Greece, in order to effect an alliance with Athens. For the condition of affairs in Greece had driven the states of the Peloponnese (Megalopolis, Elis, Messene) which were continually attacked by Sparta, as well as the foremost towns of Eubœa (which Athens in 348 B.C. had alienated by supporting Plutarch, Tyrant of Eretria) into the arms of Philip. The important point now was to bring over to Athens the states which had gone to the side of Macedonia: in short, the Macedonian influence had here as in other states to be destroyed, and the Athenian once more to be made predominant. And it may well be ascribed to the indefatigable efforts of Demosthenes that four years after the Peace of Philocrates, Athens had concluded an alliance with the Messenians, Argives, Megapolitans, Achæans, and other states (342 B.C.) and that soon afterwards Eubœa, Megara, Corinth and others also joined the league.

It is evident that these conditions could not escape the king's notice. In 344 B.C. he had attacked the Dardanians and Illyrians, those ever restless neighbours of his kingdom, and once more secured his frontiers against them. Then in 343 he had undertaken a campaign in Epirus, in order to depose the Molossian king, Arybbas and to place Alexander, the brother of his wife Olympia, on the throne of his fathers. He had taken this opportunity to subdue for Alexander Cossopia, which adjoins the Molossians on the south, but had desisted from wider operations in these districts, presumably because the Athenians had sent a force to

Acarnania. It is certain that Arybbas found a hospitable reception in Athens and that to ensure his personal safety he was placed under the protection of the council and the generals, but the resolution to reinstate him in his kingdom with an army was not carried out: Philip would certainly not have allowed that, although he showed great consideration towards Athens. For in the same year he sent Python as envoy to Athens in order to negotiate the alteration of the Peace of Philocrates. The Athenians desired recognition of the principle that either party should be restored to its rightful possessions, and opposed the *status quo* principle; in other words, recognition of their old claims on Amphipolis, Potidæa and their former Thracian and Chalcidian possessions. It was easy to comprehend that Philip could not and would not accede to this demand. In the following year he made offers again to Athens to alter the terms of the Peace. This time he conceded to them the freedom and independence of the Greek towns not included in the treaty, and professed his readiness to submit disputed points to arbitration: but Athens replied to this with her former demand that each party should have that which by right belonged to it. Under these circumstances it was hardly possible to avoid a rupture with Philip: and the Athenians soon produced it.

Athens had sent new *Kleruchs* under Diopithes to the Thracian Chersonese which had been guaranteed to her in the Peace of Philocrates. They demanded of Cardia admission into the town and its territory, although by the terms of peace in 346 its independence had been acknowledged. Diopithes obtained mercenaries and commenced an attack on Cardia, which then asked for and obtained a garrison from Philip, its ally. Thereupon Diopithes invaded and pillaged the king's Thracian possessions and sold his prisoners for slaves. Philip demanded as satisfaction from Athens the recall of Diopithes. But this was not done: on the contrary he was supported by fresh funds and munitions of war. This was tantamount to a declaration of war; yet the outbreak of the war did not take place for a considerable time. Philip was busy in Thrace, whither he had marched with a strong army in 342 B.C. His object this time was to check the activity of the warlike chief, Cersebleptes, from whom he had already captured fortresses, some quite lately, as Doriscus, Serrhian and others in 345 B.C. The Thracian chief, notwithstanding his unfortunate experiences, continued to devastate the territory of the Greek towns adjoining Thrace. Philip came forward now as the protector and patron of the Greek towns, of which indeed Cardia, Byzantium and Perinthus were allied with him. And since Cersebleptes was allied with Athens, which came now more and more under the influence of the war-party and seemed disposed to commence hostilities against the king, it may have been satisfactory to Philip to have a good reason for taking decisive measures against Thrace. Cersebleptes, beaten in several battles was deposed, and his territory made into a tributary province of Macedonia. It was on this occasion that Teres also, the son of the Thracian prince Amadocus mentioned above, was deprived of his dominions. The founding of towns, among them Philippopolis, which has preserved the name of its founder to the present day, proves that Philip wished to extend civilisation into the most distant parts of Thrace, and to make the fruitful valley of the Hebrus a permanent possession of Macedonia. By this war Philip became involved in hostilities with Byzantium and Perinthus, which, up till now allied with him, had refused to render aid to

him in the Thracian war. Both towns were besieged; they both, however, held out, being situated on the sea, by which they could get supplies, and being in addition supported by allies; Perinthus by the Persian satrap of the opposite coast, and Byzantium by Athens and other Greek maritime states. The Macedonian fleet could not enforce a blockade in the face of the superior power of the enemy on the sea.

Philip next undertook an expedition northward, in order to attack the Scythians. Though he obviously could have had little hope of their complete subjection and of a conquest of their territory, it seemed advisable to him to show his power, in order to deter them from their repeated raids. The Scythian king Ateas was defeated; unfortunately the immense booty taken was mostly lost on the way back, where the Macedonians had to defend themselves against the attacks of the Triballi. In 339 after an absence of three years Philip returned to Macedonia.

The refusal of the Hellespontine sea-ports Byzantium and Perinthus to support their ally, Philip, and the war that had thus been caused had led in the meantime to a declaration of war by Athens against Macedonia. Since Philip required his fleet for the siege, and this might have been stopped on its passage through the Hellespont by the Athenian general Diopithes who was still present in the Chersonese, he advanced into the Chersonese in order to accompany his ships, doing no more than what Diopithes had previously done. This gave the Athenians the pretext to declare war on Philip (340). By means of appropriate financial measures, on which Demosthenes had so long insisted, they raised the necessary money, prosecuted vigorously the fitting out of the fleet, and sent help to beleaguered Byzantium. If the king nevertheless undertook the campaign against the Scythians first, it was clearly because he was momentarily more concerned with the security of Thrace which he had conquered than with a struggle against Athens.

When Philip therefore, returned to Macedonia he was summoned to Hellas. The accusation of gross sacrilege had been brought at the Amphictyonic assembly against the Locrian town of Amphissa. The levy of the Amphictyons had, however, been able to effect nothing against the town, since the Thebans and Athenians would not permit their detachments to advance; and the Amphictyons therefore resolved to entrust the conduct of the war to Philip. He immediately advanced into Phocis through Thermopylæ, which he had permanently occupied, and took Elatea (autumn of 339). The Thebans and Athenians had long been at enmity. But men like Demosthenes who wished to range against Philip the warlike inhabitants of Bœotia, after long endeavours to reconcile the two cities, succeeded. By this the power of Athens was considerably strengthened. Of her other allies the Eubœans, Megarians, Corinthians and Achæans took the field, while Elis, Megalopolis and Messene had no part in the war. Once more Philip made offers of peace. Unfortunately we do not know what conditions he laid down. But it was of no avail; the war party held the upper hand, and hostilities broke out. The army put into the field by the allies for the protection of Amphissa was completely defeated and the town captured: and their main army, which was in position near Chæronea, at the entrance to Bœotia, yielded to the veteran Macedonians and their skilful leaders after a brave resistance. The losses on both sides were great; the Athenians lost 1000 men, and 2000 were

made prisoners (August, 338 B.C.). This battle decided the war. Thebes surrendered and had to receive a Macedonian garrison into its citadel, the Cadmea; the Union of Bœotia under the headship of Thebes, which had been established by Epaminondas, was destroyed, and the independence of the country towns of Bœotia was recognised. Corinth also received a Macedonian garrison and probably also Chalcis in Eubœa. It is obvious that here as in other towns the leaders of the anti-Macedonian party were banished and Philip's adherents came to the helm: for it was an old established custom that the victors should banish the vanquished. Philip showed himself a well-wisher of Athens. She retained her territory and her independence, actually received Oropus back from the Thebans, and had no garrison imposed on her, but in addition to the possessions on the Thracian and Chalcidian coast which were already lost she had now at the conclusion of peace to give up the Thracian Chersonese as well; of her possessions there only remained Imbros, Lemnos, Scyros, Samos, Salamis and Lesbos. After an expedition into the Peloponnese, in which he invaded Laconia but did not take the strongly defended town of Sparta, Philip went to Corinth, where envoys of all the Greek communities were assembled. The disputes of the Spartans with their neighbours were settled in such a way that Sparta was compelled to concede territory to the Argives, Megapolitans, Tegeans and Messenians. What follows is more important. A league was formed between the Hellenes and Philip, which from the usual place of meeting for the members of it, has been known since as the Corinthian League. The Greek states south of Thermopylæ with the exception of Sparta, which made no peace with Philip, sent their representatives regularly to Corinth; these composed the governing body of the league which had to settle all disputes and to superintend the faithful execution of the terms of the peace. For universal peace was now to prevail in the country and the everlasting feuds were to cease. The states were guaranteed their independence and their constitutions as well as the possessions which they had at the moment when peace was concluded. There was also an important decree passed that no state should aid with money or arms any attempt made by exiles against their own city. The king of Macedonia was the general of the league; the Hellenic states, since they were autonomous, had not to pay any tribute to him but had to furnish troops in case of war. Philip, adroitly seizing on a sentiment that had already been expressed by many learned men and had become popular in Greece, touched upon a common war of all Hellenes against their hereditary enemy, the Persians, and all the members agreed with him. This common war he thought would bring the Greeks closer together, make them forget their hatred and dissensions, show them once more a goal, towards which they might struggle with combined resources, and last though not least, would reconcile them to the leadership of Philip and accustom them to the Macedonian Hegemony. There were undoubtedly germs in this league that promised good fruit. As soon as Philip returned to Macedonia, he made preparations for the war against Persia. An army under Parmenion was to invade Asia in the spring of 336 as an advance guard, while the king in person would follow soon. But before this plan was carried out Philip was slain by the dagger of Pausanias, one of his body-guard, at a festival in honour of the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra with Alexander, King of the Molossians (summer 336 B.C.).

Philip had accomplished a stupendous task. How different was the position

of Macedonia at his death from what it was at his accession! Its coasts were now open, and no obstacles hindered the export of its productions; and naturally the *Hinterland* also was opened up and made important. Material prosperity and culture were everywhere promoted. Philip had founded many new towns and had planted colonies near Mount Pangæus (Philippi) and in Thrace. Even in Macedonia itself Greeks had been allowed to settle, while the territory of Chalcidice which he conquered had been divided among Macedonians. We are everywhere met by his unwearying efforts to advance the growth of his country and to blend its inhabitants together. The country owed its fleet to him. But before everything else Macedonia owed to King Philip the army which had achieved such astonishing results. Archelaus, it is true, had taken the first steps to produce, in addition to the cavalry, a better-trained infantry; but the period which followed his reign had not been favourable to the carrying out of his ideas. Philip first created an infantry, which was equal in effectiveness to the cavalry. His work consisted in raising levies regularly (liability to service had long been universal in Macedonia), and not merely in case of necessity. His work was to drill the levies thoroughly, to arm them well, and to attach them, according to their respective efficiency, to definite regiments, of which there were six of heavy, and an indefinite number of light infantry under his command. He thus succeeded, by indefatigable training, and in part, too, by his many wars, in creating an army which had not its equal in the world. The Macedonian phalanx, with its long spears, formidable in its attack, invincible and impenetrable when attacked, roused the admiration of all antiquity. Notwithstanding its weight and size, it manœuvred easily and correctly, quickly changed its position, and rapidly reformed. Besides this phalanx, the army of Philip, except for a light infantry regiment, which dispensed with the armour and the long spear of the Phalangitæ, and was equipped with helmet, sword, and small shield, consisted mainly of the cavalry, which was recruited among the Macedonian nobility, and of the artillery, as we should term them to-day, with their catapults, battering-rams, and the necessary staff. Thus the nobility composed the cavalry, the peasants and citizens the infantry; both united formed the military assembly, which had the right to judge in penal cases.

One more great service rendered by the king to his country must be mentioned. To him Macedonia owed its political unity. Before his time there were the local principalities of Lyncestis, Elimiotis, and Orestis, which recognised, it is true, the royal house of the Argeadæ as overlord, but frequently waged war with it. Philip deprived these princely houses of their thrones, and their members thenceforth composed the high Macedonian nobility. Men like Perdiccas, Leonnatus, and Antigonus sprang from these once powerful and almost independent families.

(*e*) *Alexander the Great.*—Philip's son and successor was Alexander (see plate facing p. 134, Fig. 1), who in 336 was a man of twenty. Brought up and educated by Aristotle, the greatest philosopher of antiquity, he was familiar with the literature and philosophy of Greece and full of enthusiasm for Homer and his heroes, of whom Achilles was his favourite. The young prince was also trained in all bodily exercises and familiar with the art of war and the whole military system, as indeed was to be expected in a country like Macedonia, where every man was

liable to military service; and the officers and the body-guard of the king were taken from the nobility. Alexander could not have been unmoved by the influence which mighty and glorious deeds exercised on every man of that time. In fact, we hear that at the age of sixteen the crown prince had held the regency, while Philip was occupied with the war in Byzantium and Perinthus, and had during that time fought successfully the neighbouring Thracian tribe of the Mædi. At the age of eighteen he commanded the Macedonian cavalry on the left wing at the battle of Chæronea. Thus trained and familiar from boyhood with the demands of his future position, he entered on his heritage. What he had previously accomplished was naturally eclipsed by the dazzling brilliancy of Philip's exploits; and what chiefly struck every one was his extreme youth. But though every one, especially the Greeks, reckoned on this, Alexander showed himself a man, bold in decision, swift in action. In Macedonia itself, where disputes as to the succession and wars were the usual accompaniments of the death of a ruler, Alexander immediately took vigorous measures and crushed all such attempts in the bud. His cousin Amyntas, whose kingdom Philip had once governed as guardian, and who had gradually sunk into the background, was put to death, since many held him to be the lawful successor: this step was certainly necessary for the tranquillity of the country, though it may seem cruel, since there is no account of any rising led by Amyntas. But on another side preparations for an insurrection had actually been made. In 337 B.C. Philip had married Cleopatra, niece of Attalus of Macedonia, and by this step had caused his former wife, Olympias, and her son, Alexander, to leave the country, the latter returning to Pella shortly before his father's murder. Ever since the marriage feast, when Alexander has chastised Attalus for his wish that Cleopatra might bear a legitimate heir, hatred and hostility existed between them. Now, after Philip's death, Attalus, who meantime had taken over a command in the Macedonian advance guard in Asia Minor, immediately allied himself with the anti-Macedonian party in Athens; but before he had completed his proposed preparations against the young king he was murdered by Alexander's orders. His niece, Cleopatra, shared the same fate. In Macedonia itself, therefore, owing to Alexander's vigorous initiative, no disturbances of any sort resulted.

In Greece, where the unexpected death of Philip and the youth of Alexander had inspired all the enemies of Macedonia with renewed courage and made them think of a restoration of their former uncertain, but still independent, state, it seemed as if a determined rising would follow: at any rate, there was an intense wish to be freed from the hegemony of Macedonia. The town of Ambracia in Epirus drove out the Macedonian garrison; the Thebans made preparations to do the same; in Athens and other parts disturbances broke out. Here also Alexander crushed all attempts by his sudden appearance at the head of a large army, and the Greeks submitted. As he had been received into the Amphictyonic league, the states which took part in the Corinthian league renewed the conventions drawn up by Philip, and nominated Alexander protector and commander-in-chief of the Hellenes in the war against the Persians, the object of which was declared by the congress to be vengeance for the outrages once committed by the Persians in Greece.

In the winter of 336-335 Alexander returned to Macedonia, in order to make final preparations for the expedition into Asia, which his father had already

planned. But before this it was again necessary to make a demonstration in force in the Balkan peninsula and to subdue permanently the independent and irreconcilable tribes of Thrace and Illyria, who, bent on robbery and plunder, were apparently planning fresh inroads. Alexander started in the spring of 335, marched by the high road to Thrace, through Amphipolis as far as the river Nestus (Kara Su), and up the valley of it until in ten days he reached Mount Hæmus (Balkans) through the pass of the Rhodope Mountains. Here he first met with resistance. The pass, which led over the mountains, was occupied by armed men and blocked by a barricade of wagons. But the Macedonians, led by the king in person, pressed on courageously. Even the wagons, which were hurled down the mountain, did not cause the loss that was expected, since Alexander had divined this intention of the barbarians and had given his soldiers timely orders to step out of their way where the road was broad enough, or where that was not feasible to throw themselves on the ground and to make a roof with their shields, held up high and closely locked together. In short, Alexander routed the Thracians and made himself master of the pass over the Balkans. On the other side dwelt the Triballi. They had placed their women, children, and movable property for safety on an island in the Danube, whither their king, Syrmus, had also retired. The warriors allowed Alexander to advance without hindrance as far as the Danube, in order then suddenly to appear in his rear and attack him. But their plan miscarried: the Macedonians cut to pieces all who did not save themselves by flight. On the other hand, Alexander could not carry out his intention of occupying the island in the Danube. Instead of this he carried across the Danube during the night four thousand foot-soldiers and fifteen hundred cavalry on native boats, hollowed out of single tree trunks, and on the tent-skins of the soldiers, sewn together and stuffed with hay. On the opposite bank the Getæ dwelt; they, indeed, were in a position with fourteen thousand men to resist the expected invasion of their country, but were so taken by surprise that they fled into their nearest town; and when Alexander approached they abandoned this also, and fled precipitately with their women and children. The town of the Getæ was destroyed, and on the same day Alexander, richly laden with booty, recrossed the Danube. In consequence, other neighbouring tribes, who had until now been independent, and Syrmus, the prince of the Triballi, sent envoys to Alexander and submitted to him. Even the Celts, who dwelt on the Adriatic (this is the first time we hear of them in these regions, on which they were destined later to play such a part), sent envoys to make assurances of their friendship to the young king.

From the Danube, Alexander marched through the territory of the Agrianes, whose prince, Langarus, had formed a friendship with him and remained loyal to him, and of the Pæonians, and then along the valley of the Erigon up to Pelion, which was held by Clitus, King of the Illyrians. Glaucias, prince of the Taulantii in the *Hinterland* of Epidamnus and Apollonia, had promised him assistance. Since Clitus declined a battle, the siege of the town was determined on by the Macedonians; and when, on the next day, Glaucias appeared with large masses of armed men, Alexander withdrew. The Illyrians, who attacked him in a narrow road when crossing over the Devol (a river in Albania), were repulsed with loss, but his retreat was continued. Rendered confident by this, the Illyrians neglected all measures of precaution, whereupon the king surprised

them on the third night and completely routed them. Pelion was evacuated by Clitus after he had set fire to it. Thus security on this frontier was ensured by Alexander. He was not able to follow up his victory and in his turn to invade Illyria, in order completely to subdue the country, for his presence in Greece had meantime become urgently necessary.

We have seen above (pp. 103 and 108) how unwillingly the Greeks tolerated the headship of Macedonia and how easily they allowed themselves to be driven to premature risings. In the autumn of 336 Alexander had crushed the movement in the bud by his rapid advance: now that he had been for months far away from his kingdom, all sorts of rumours were rife of the evil plight of the Macedonian army, and even of the death of the king. Theban fugitives, of whom there were many, secretly returned to their native town, induced their fellow-citizens to revolt from Macedonia, murdered the commanders of the Macedonian troops on the Cadmeia, and blockaded the garrison itself in the citadel by a double line of circumvallation. In other Greek states also the party hostile to Macedonia held the upper hand, and from all sides the Thebans had good prospects of aid. As soon as Alexander learnt of these occurrences in Greece he advanced by forced marches from Illyria along the eastern slopes of Pindus, through Thessaly to Bœotia, attached to himself on the way the contingents of the Greek states which had remained loyal to him (Phocians and other Bœotians), and appeared before Thebes, where the approach of the hostile army had not been reported until it had already passed Thermopylæ. Alexander delayed to attack the city in the belief that it would send envoys and ask pardon for what had occurred. But the same persons who had urged on the revolt, now in popular meetings counselled the most desperate resistance, while others spoke in favour of a reconciliation with Alexander, but could not carry their point. An attack, therefore, was made; after a bitter struggle the Macedonians forced the gates and joined the garrison of the citadel: and now a terrible slaughter began, in which the Phocians and the other Greeks of Alexander are said to have been conspicuous. By the decision of his allies, to whom Alexander entrusted the settlement of Theban affairs, Thebes was destroyed, its territory divided among its neighbours, and those of the citizens that escaped the massacre were sold into slavery, with the exception of priests and priestesses, guest friends of Philip and Alexander, and such as had been under the protection of Macedonia. In accordance with Alexander's own wish, the house was preserved in which once the poet Pindar dwelt, and his descendants were spared.

The fate of Thebes had a terrible effect on Greece, and clearly placed before the eyes of all the dangers to which they exposed themselves by rising against the Macedonian rule. As quickly as possible envoys were sent to Alexander by the states to testify their submission, and the supporters of Macedonia were recalled to the place from which they had been forced to flee. In other places those who seemed to be responsible for the revolt from Macedonia and for the making common cause with Thebes were put to death; in short, everywhere hasty measures were taken to undo what had been done. And Alexander was forgiving. From Athens, indeed, which had sent congratulations to him by ten envoys on his prosperous return from Thrace and Illyria and on the punishment of the Thebans for their "revolutionary spirit," he demanded at first the surrender of several supporters of the anti-Macedonian policy, such as Demosthenes, Lycur-

gus, and Charidemus; but, persuaded by a new embassy, he withdrew this demand and contented himself with the banishment of Charidemus. Thus peace with the Hellenes was restored, and the Corinthian league naturally was renewed in its earlier terms.

In the autumn Alexander returned to Macedonia and devoted the winter to the necessary preparations for the impending campaign in Asia. When we are told that while still a boy he astonished the Persian envoys at his father's court by his able and thoughtful questions about the state of affairs in the broad Persian realm and made them marvel at his intelligence, it may, indeed, be confidently assumed that his preparations for the campaign were not confined to the collection of auxiliaries from his allies and training them according to Macedonian discipline, or in enlisting mercenaries, or the arrangement of the necessary means for the transport and the feeding of the troops, or the assignment of commands or the like. It is far more likely that Alexander carefully studied the geographical, political, financial, and military conditions of the kingdom of Persia, which were partly already known and partly must have been investigated then as far as possible. In accordance with these results, the plan of campaign was drawn up. We have, unfortunately, no extant account of it. Did the king from the very beginning meditate the conquest of the entire Persian kingdom, or did he merely wish, as the programme drawn up at Corinth in the autumn of 336 ran, to take the field against the Persians on account of the outrages inflicted by them on the Hellenes? The plan of the war is to some extent adhered to throughout; the later events in Persepolis show Alexander considered it executed by the burning of the Persian royal citadel. And the succeeding events show clearly that he then, at least, aspired to the conquest of the whole Persian kingdom. Whether he had, as it almost would seem, formed this plan from the very beginning or only subsequently, his enterprise and bravery will always command our admiration and astonishment.

In Persia after the death of Artaxerxes Ochos (338 B.C.), and after an interregnum filled with bloodshed and atrocities, Darius III. had ascended the throne almost contemporaneously with Alexander (336). Although the authority of the sovereign in the kingdom of Persia had been weakened since the times of Darius Hysdaspes, and Xerxes, and the power of the satraps had become more independent, Darius was still lord of a realm which was thirty times as large as the territories whose resources were at Alexander's disposal. Stored in the royal towns of Susa, Ecbatana, and Persepolis lay at the disposal of the great king enormous treasures of gold and precious metals; and Persia could place in the field from her wide territories an army that outnumbered the Macedonian forces many times. In addition, there was a fleet of 400 warships, manned by Cyprians and Phœnicians, the best seamen of the ancient world.

Opposed to this, Alexander's resources seemed weak. He had to raise 800 talents for his preparations; and no more than 60 were left at his disposal when he commenced the campaign. His fleet comprised 160 warships; his army some 35,000 fighting men, of which 30,000 were infantry and 5000 cavalry. To this must be added the contingent, of unknown strength, already sent to Asia by Philip. In any case, the war against the Persians was not begun with more than 45,000 men. But this well-trained and well-armed force of veterans was precisely Alexander's strength, for the Persians could not oppose any such body to him.

However superior in numbers — in equipment, discipline, and experience of warfare they were far inferior. Might not Alexander also have counted on the support of the Greeks in Asia Minor, who since 378 B.C. were again Persian, but had in no way reconciled themselves to the Persian rule? In short, he must have seen, if he weighed the matter, that his enterprise was not hopeless. Results justified him.

The advance against Asia began in the spring of 334. Antipater remained behind in Europe as administrator of the kingdom with an army of twelve thousand foot-soldiers and fifteen hundred cavalry. Alexander himself marched along the Thracian coast to the Dardanelles, had his army carried over by the fleet, and united it with the troops already sent by Philip to Asia Minor, which, commanded by Calas since the death of Attalus, occupied the coast from Abydus to Rhœteum and covered the king's passage. Neither the Persian land force, which, under the command of the Greek, Memnon, who had enlisted Greek mercenaries for the great king, and of the satraps of Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia, Spithridates and Arsites, was encamped at Zeleia, to the west of Cyzicus, nor the Persian fleet attempted to repel the invader at the very outset: the want of a united command was at once felt.

When Alexander had set foot in Asia Minor the most opposite plans were proposed in the council of war of the Persians. Memnon's advice was to avoid a battle, to retreat and lay waste the land, and gradually to entice Alexander and his army farther into the country; in the meantime, while the Macedonian king must necessarily be weakened by his march forward, the Persians would be able to strengthen themselves with new troops, until, protected by a strong line of defence, they could venture on a decisive battle with some prospect of success. The two satraps opposed him: they did not wish to give up their provinces to devastation and to retreat at the advice of a stranger in the face of an enemy by no means superior. Their views carried the day. Their army advanced westward to the Granicus and took up a favourable position on the steep right bank of this river: their cavalry, twenty thousand strong, were drawn up in a long line on the banks. Behind them was the infantry, equally numerous. It was here, then, that Alexander first met the Persians. On landing he had received news that the enemy was approaching from the East, and had marched along the coast against them. This first encounter at the Granicus showed at once the fiery daring of the young king and the ardor of his spirit, which swept on every one with it. The river was between the two armies. The Macedonian horsemen of the vanguard and a division of the phalanx received the order to cross it, and commenced the attack. But the king himself soon followed with his heavy cavalry. The Macedonians dashed into the river. The Persians rode to meet them. A hand-to-hand fight ensued, and Alexander himself was saved from deadly peril only by the interposition of Clitus. By great efforts the Macedonians gained ground, scaled the steep bank, broke through the enemy's lines, and routed the Persian cavalry. Afterwards their phalanx gradually advanced and deployed, and the Persian infantry was annihilated, with the exception of two thousand prisoners.

At a single stroke the enemy's army had been driven from the scene, and no one was left to resist the advance of the conqueror into the heart of the Persian kingdom. But Alexander secured a firm base for fresh operations before

he marched further East. Here, if anywhere, he showed his farsighted policy.

On the entire west coast of Asia Minor lay Greek towns, which had early attained wealth and prosperity, and were seats of great intellectual and material culture. These had once been independent republics, but since the peace of Antalcidas (378 B.C.) were subject to Persian domination. They paid taxes to Persia and furnished her with troops, were garrisoned partly by Persians and were governed by tyrants, who found their safest and best support in the great king, wherever an oligarchy had not been instituted with the assistance of the Persians in place of the former democracy (cf. above, p. 59). In all the cities there were parties which, hostile to the existing state of things, promised themselves fortune and wealth from a change. Alexander counted on these Greek towns for support. After the battle at the Granicus, the satrapy of Phrygia on the Hellespont had been taken, and Calas appointed its governor. After he had sent the captured Greek mercenaries, who had fought on the side of their hereditary foe against their countrymen, into Macedonia, condemned to hard labour, and had granted immunity from taxation to the families of the fallen Macedonians, and had dedicated three hundred suits of armour to the acropolis at Athens in his name and in the name of the allied Hellenes as trophies, he marched to Sardis, the ancient capital of the Lydian kings and the former capital of the satrapy of Lydia. The inhabitants came to meet him and surrendered their town. The citadel was likewise given up to him by the Persian commander, Mithrenes, and a Macedonian garrison introduced. Asander was nominated governor of Lydia.

From Sardis, Alexander turned towards the coast and marched without meeting any opposition into Ephesus; the Persian garrison had withdrawn on news of the battle of the Granicus. His generals occupied the towns of Magnesia and Tralles in the valley of Mæander and the Greek towns which lay northward of Ephesus. No opposition was met with. Only Miletus and subsequently Halicarnassus, both situated on the coast south of Ephesus, shut their gates before the approaching conqueror. Hegesistratus, indeed, the commander of Miletus, had already negotiated with Alexander about the surrender of the town; but the news of the approach of a strong Persian fleet of four hundred warships induced him to break off negotiations and to prepare to defend the town. But Alexander rapidly came up, occupied the suburbs, and began to assault the walls. The Macedonian fleet under Nicanor had outsailed the Persian fleet, and was anchored at Lade, an island in front of the harbour of Miletus: and co-operation between the defenders of Miletus and the Persian fleet was rendered impossible. When Alexander, therefore, proceeded to storm the town, and at the same moment Nicanor entered the harbour, the Persians turned to flight. Many were massacred by the Macedonians, who pressed into the city. Miletus experienced the clemency of the victor. It received pardon and its freedom. The king had rejected the proposal made by various persons to order his fleet, stationed at Lade, to sail out and attack the enemy's ships, which were anchored off the opposite peninsula of Mycale. He clearly saw that in numbers, as well as in seamanship, his fleet was far inferior to the enemy's. He now dispersed it, retaining only a small part. Its maintenance was expensive, and its utility appeared small, especially as Alexander was master of the coast, and the hostile fleet could do little

towards changing that state of things. We shall soon see that in the hand of an enterprising and far-seeing man this fleet could, nevertheless, threaten Alexander with serious danger.

The young king turned next towards Caria, which was under the satrap Orontobates. The Princess Ada of Alinda, who belonged to the Carian princely house (the most famous member was Maussolus), which had once ruled the whole country, but was now restricted to this one town and citadel, placed herself immediately under the protection of Alexander and adopted him as her son: she thus contributed much to the result that the Carian towns surrendered to him so soon as he approached. Halicarnassus alone offered resistance. This well-fortified town, guarded by two strong citadels, was defended by Memnon, who had thrown himself into the place after the battle on the Granicus, and by an adequate garrison, consisting mostly of mercenaries. The walls were high, and a broad and deep moat had been dug in front of them, which had to be filled up by the assailants before any effective assault of the town could be thought of. Notwithstanding a sortie of the enemy, Alexander succeeded in doing so. He now raised his siege-engines, though often hindered by attacks of the besieged. He at length succeeded in effecting a breach in the enemy's wall. But behind it rose a wall, running from the one tower to the other. Alexander wished to attack it, when Memnon made a final great sortie. Driven back after a fierce fight and with heavy losses, he determined to evacuate the city, and only the two strong castles remained occupied. Alexander destroyed the town, but was obliged on account of the fortresses to leave behind a division of three thousand mercenaries and two hundred cavalry under Ptolemy. Ada received the satrapy of Caria.

Winter was now approaching. Parmenion was sent to Sardis at the head of the contingents of the allies to winter in Lydia and in the next spring to join the king again in Greater Phrygia. All newly married Macedonians were sent home on furlough with orders to join the army in the coming spring and to bring with them the fresh levies: Alexander himself marched without meeting any opposition through Lycia and Pamphylia, where hardly any preparations for defence had been made by the Persians. He then went through Pisidia, where the wild population, which in their almost inaccessible mountains had never submitted to the Persians, created all sorts of difficulties for him on his passage. From Greater Phrygia, where he occupied Celænæ, the capital, with its strong castle, Alexander eventually reached Gordium in the centre of Asia Minor, and stayed a considerable time there.

In barely one year the greater part of Asia Minor had been conquered by Alexander. Hellespontine Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Greater Phrygia were administered by Macedonian governors. The taxes from these provinces flowed now into the Macedonian treasury, and important military points, such as the citadel of Sardis, held Macedonian garrisons. It may well be asserted that Alexander had from the very first contemplated the permanent retention of his conquests. Besides the appointment of Macedonian governors, the fact that, in addition to them, a special official was entrusted with the entire management of the taxation points to the same conclusion. Although this arrangement is mentioned as existing in the province of Lydia only, there is no reason to doubt that it had been introduced in a similar form into all the

satrapies. The only innovation made was that now two royal officials stood at the head of each province; otherwise the extent of their jurisdiction and the amount of taxation remained as they had been under the Persians. It may also be noticed as an improvement that now the royal administrators of the province ceased to be supported by the provinces themselves, and were paid by the king; thus all "tyranny" was obviated.

The Greek towns on the coast were treated differently from these countries. They were proclaimed free—that is, they were made autonomous in internal affairs, were not subjected to the royal governors, and paid no taxes. They also received no garrisons, and, what assuredly was very valuable in the eyes of the Greeks, they were permitted to restore their democratic constitutions, which had been everywhere abolished under pressure from the Persians. These Greeks thus recovered, through Alexander, that independence and freedom for which they had once fought so bravely. The Greek towns on the islands of Asia Minor, at any rate so far as they lay north of Samos and could be freed from the Persian fleet by the Macedonian, underwent the same treatment. We know that they entered the Corinthian league. On the other hand, it is not recorded whether the Greek towns on the mainland also were incorporated in this league or whether they were organised into a union of their own for the maintenance of the universal peace of the country. Undoubtedly, Alexander had created for himself in Asia Minor, as well as on the islands, supporters, who promised to render him profitable services on his march forward. The necessary funds for further operations were drawn from the taxes of the conquered satrapies.

An event occurred at this time which suddenly threatened to bring a disastrous end to the good fortune of the king. Memnon, who but recently had valiantly, though unsuccessfully, defended Halicarnassus against Alexander, had been appointed by the great king to be commander of the fleet, which till now had done nothing noteworthy, in spite of its strength. Memnon now embarked a large force of mercenaries, which he may in part have brought safely from Halicarnassus and in part newly enlisted, and put out to sea. What he planned was a landing in Greece, where, from the strength of the anti-Macedonian and revolutionary party, an insurrection could easily have been excited, and after that an attack on Macedonia carried out. This plan would, indubitably, have presented a most serious danger for Alexander, had it been executed. But first Memnon had to reconquer the islands lying off the coast of Asia Minor. Chios had already opened its gates to him through treachery, the Lesbian towns, with the exception of Mytilene, were once more brought under the Persian rule, and wherever he went tyrants who favoured Persia were installed in place of the democracies. But suddenly, while besieging by land and sea Mytilene, which had refused to surrender to him, Memnon died (333 B.C.).

With the death of this man, who with daring determination and keen foresight was bent on transferring the theatre of war to the enemy's own land, his plan also failed. Autophradates and Pharnabazus, his successors in the command of the fleet, took Mytilene, it is true, and subsequently won back Tenedos for the Persian crown, but they did not achieve any other considerable success. The expeditionary troops on the ships were recalled by Darius to join the main army. Alexander, through Hegelochus and Amphoterus, and Antipater, through

Proteas, collected ships from all the allied states on the Hellespont and in Greece and organised a fleet. Proteas with the ships collected from Eubœa and the Peloponnese succeeded in surprising Datames, who had been sent by the Persian admiral to Siphnus with ten ships, and in capturing eight of his vessels. This first success was followed by others. To anticipate events we may say that in the course of the next few years Hegelochus and Amphoterus freed the islands again from the supremacy of the Persians and the tyrants imposed by them, especially as the Persian fleet was dispersed after the battle at Issus.

In the spring of 333 B.C. Parmenion, with the troops which had been allowed to go home on winter furlough, and with some reinforcements, about three thousand strong, entered Gordium. Here, according to the story, in the temple of Zeus stood the royal chariot, the yoke of which was fastened to the pole by an ingenious knot. Whoever untied it (so the oracle ran) should hold the dominion over Asia; Alexander without much deliberation severed the knot with his sword. This was a good omen for Alexander in the eyes of the Asiatics as well as of many Greeks. Alexander spent a long time at Gordium, chiefly to watch the continuation of Memnon's undertakings; but, on the other hand, he knew that King Darius was collecting troops from his Eastern satrapies, in order to march with these to the West to recover what had been lost. He felt unable to leave Asia Minor without hazarding his conquests, for he did not wish to push on further East without urgent reasons, in order not to be too far removed from Greece, which was probably to be the new theatre of war. Memnon's death left the king to continue his march onward without anxiety.

From Gordium he marched past Ancyra (Angora), where the Paphlagonians, who were governed by their own dynasts, offered their submission, through envoys, to the Halys (Kisil Irmak), and then in a southerly direction to the Cilician gates, a pass over the Taurus Mountains, leading from Cappadocia to Cilicia. This line of march was marked out for the king as soon as he had learnt that Darius with his army, which comprised several hundred thousand native warriors and some thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, had started from Babylon for northern Syria. The Cilician gates, easy as they were to hold on account of their narrowness, were deserted at Alexander's approach by the few Persian troops who had been sent there; and, unhindered, the Macedonians crossed the mountains and descended into the plain. The occupation of Cilicia was accomplished without difficulty. The Persian garrison retired from Tarsus, the capital, and Alexander immediately after entered it. Here he was seized with a violent fever, and his life was in great danger, until the Greek physician, Philip, saved him by a drastic remedy. With this event is connected the frequently related story of the letter of Parmenion, in which he warned his king of Philip, alleged to be bribed by the Persians. Alexander, however, showed confidence in his physician, and drank the proferred medicine, while he gave Philip the letter to read. Restored to health, he subdued the remaining towns in the outlying region, and even undertook a short, but successful, campaign against the wild inhabitants of the mountains, who so often made inroads on the plain. Here he received the news of the fall of the fortress of Halicarnassus.

The Amanian Mountains divide Cilicia from Syria towards the East: two passes, the so-called Syrian gates in the South, the Amanian in the North, lead into Syria. Parmenion was sent in advance to occupy and guard the Syrian

THE BATTLE OF ALEXANDER

THIS, the largest mosaic which has been preserved for us from classical antiquity, formerly covered the floor of an exedra in the Casa del Fauno at Pompeii. It was discovered there on October 24, 1831, and brought to the National Museum at Naples. It is 6.3 metres long, 3.8 metres broad, and is said to have been composed of 1,500,000 marble cubes. A third of the picture has become obliterated; the portion preserved, 22 figures and 16 horses, represents the battle of Issus between Alexander the Great and Darius, at the moment when Darius turns to flight, while the youthful Alexander passes on at the head of his troops. The composition is said to have been based on a picture of Helena, a female Alexandrian artist, which the Emperor Vespasian brought to Rome.

(This reproduction, the most exact that exists, is made from a coloured copy which has been prepared by E. Sommer & Son, art publishers, of Naples.)

London: Wm. Heinemann.

Printed by [illegible], Leipzig.

New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

THE BATTLE [illegible] ALEXANDER.

(After the [illegible] from [illegible] Naples.)

gates. As soon as the news came that Darius was on the other side of the Amanus at Sochi, Alexander started and marched through Issus close along the coast, through the Syrian gates, in order to turn Darius' flank. But, meantime, the great king had advanced through the Amanian gates, abandoning his position in the plain east of Amanus, which was far more favourable for deploying his masses, had occupied Issus, and was marching after Alexander. The latter was, therefore, compelled to march back.

The two armies met (autumn 333 B.C.) south of Issus on the river Pinarus, the Persians being interposed between the Macedonians and the sea, in a country as unfavourable for Darius as it could possibly be. Between the sea and the mountains, which lay somewhat back, stretched a plain, far too small to admit of the vast Persian masses being deployed. Alexander, as usual, commanded his right wing, Parmenion led the left; in the middle stood the phalanx. The king attacked first, broke through the enemy's line of battle and fell on the Persian centre, i.e. the Greek mercenaries, who were pressing hard his phalanx, which had fallen into some disorder in crossing the Pinarus, and forced them to give way. Darius, who was seated in his chariot in the middle of his battle array, turned to flee, and thus gave the signal for a universal flight. A vigorous representation of this event, dating from antiquity, is reproduced on the sub-joined plate, ' The Battle of Alexander.'' The Macedonians now began the pursuit, from which they did not return until nightfall. The loss on the side of the Persians was enormous. The entire camp fell into the hands of the victors. The mother and the wife of Darius were among the prisoners, but were well treated by Alexander in consideration of their rank and dignity.

Once again, and this time against a vastly superior force, the Macedonians had won a splendid victory in the open field. Once again the victor did not turn immediately to the East, but first made Syria and Phœnicia submit to him. This he accomplished without difficulty: the towns of Aradus, Byblus, and Sidon immediately went over to him. The kings, who from old times reigned in the towns there, had their power confirmed, and a Macedonian was placed over the land as governor. Thus Alexander again built himself a strong foundation for further enterprises. The ships of the Persian fleet had up till now been built in Phœnician yards and their crews recruited from the seafaring population. The conquest of this land and the submission of its towns and kings was bound to lead to the breaking up of the Persian fleet, which till now had ruled the sea. This was an invaluable gain for Alexander.

Tyre alone of the Phœnician towns opposed him. The more powerful and important this town was, the less could Alexander leave it unconquered. He therefore determined to besiege it. Tyre lay on an island at a short distance from the mainland, and was entirely surrounded by a high and strong wall. In order to approach it, Alexander had a mole thrown up, for which purpose there was an abundance of stones and wood in the vicinity. So long as the water near the coast was shallow the operations went on smoothly. But the further the Macedonians advanced and the deeper the sea became, the more frequent and serious became the attacks of the Tyrians, who could now bring up their warships and bombard with their heavy artillery the workers on the mole. Alexander ordered, indeed, two high portable towers to be erected for their protection on the extremity of the mole; but these were set on fire by a fire-ship,

which the besiegers skilfully succeeded in bringing up. At the same time the mole itself, together with the war machines, during the confusion caused from the fire, were destroyed by the Tyrians, who came from their warships in small boats.

This setback far from deterring Alexander, only taught him that without a fleet he could not subdue the strong island fortress. The Phœnician towns which had submitted to him placed their ships under the command of Alexander, who himself went to Sidon: the Cyprian kings also made their peace with him and sent their ships to him. With this fleet, consisting of some two hundred vessels of war, he turned once more against Tyre, where, meantime, the Macedonians had begun to throw up a new and broader mole. This time, under the protection of the fleet, which blocked the two harbours of Tyre, they succeeded in bringing the mole right up to the enemy's walls. But the wall still offered a long resistance to the siege machines, which were brought close by means of the mole and also of ships chained together, until at length, by the combined efforts of the fleet and of the artillery, the Macedonians succeeded in penetrating into one of the Tyrian harbours, effecting a breach in the wall and entering the city. This decided the fate of Tyre (July, 332 B.C.). In the fighting in the city some eight thousand men fell. Thirty thousand prisoners were taken and, as usual, sold into slavery.

Alexander started from Tyre in order to reach Egypt through Gaza — which he only captured after a two-months' siege — and Pelusium. This land bore the Persian yoke unwillingly, and had often risen against it. Alexander was here hailed as a liberator, and met with submission everywhere. At Memphis, the capital, the king sacrificed to Apis, and in this way, as in general by his consideration for their religious manners and customs, won the hearts of his new subjects, while the Persian kings, precisely by their contempt for the Egyptian religion and the insults they heaped on Apis, had filled the inhabitants with hatred and resentment.

From Memphis Alexander proceeded downstream on the west arm of the Nile to Canopus and founded a new town at a short distance from this old harbour, which, called Alexandria after him, was soon to attain great prosperity, and is still flourishing. This was the first town which he founded. It was intended to be a centre and a protection for the numerous Hellenes already residing in Egypt and a point of attraction to the newly arrived settlers from Hellas and Macedonia. Difficult to be approached by land, easily defensible, and provided with excellent harbours, Alexandria was fitted for a centre of intercourse and communications between the mother-country and the newly subdued territory, and helped to establish the new supremacy firmly in the land of ancient civilisation. From Alexandria the king proceeded to the far-famed shrine of Ammon in the Oasis of Siwah. He was led to do this chiefly by political reasons. He wished to sacrifice to the god of the country, as at Memphis, and by this diplomatic homage to bind more closely to himself the whole land, on the possession of which much depended. The priests of Ammon welcomed him and addressed him as son of their god, whom the Greeks had long identified with their highest deity, Zeus: an honour for the young monarch, which had nothing unusual in it for the Egyptians, who were accustomed from antiquity to regard their kings as gods. From the oracle of Ammon, Alexander marched

back across the desert to Memphis, twelve days' march distant, and there reorganised the government. He divided the whole of Egypt at first into four districts, but afterwards into three, since one of the Egyptians intended by him as governor declined the post. These divisions were Arabia, Libya (the countries east and west of the Delta, at the head of which Greeks were placed), and Egypt (that is, the Delta and the rest of the land), the administration of which was entrusted to an Egyptian. The command over the fleet of thirty triremes stationed there was given to Polemon; that over the troops left there to Peucestas and Balacrus, one of them commanding the infantry, the other the cavalry. The religion of the Egyptians was left unaltered, as well as their national institutions, such as the division of the land into provinces, which were at the same time districts for purposes of taxation. The appointment of the Egyptian, Doloaspis, as governor over the Delta and Upper Egypt showed clearly enough that Alexander was not bent on the subjugation, but on the peaceful development of the land, and thought to accustom the inhabitants to the new order of things.

What, in the meantime, had happened to Darius? The great king had fled in the night, after the battle of Issus, with some few followers, had on the next day collected round him scattered divisions of his army, and with them, which finally numbered some four thousand men, had continued his flight until he reached the Euphrates at Thapsacus. Not until the broad river separated him from his conqueror did he check his speed. In what a different condition did he come back to Babylon, which a few months before he had left at the head of a mighty army, full of confidence and hope of victory over the far smaller forces of Alexander! Not merely was his army beaten and broken; his mother and wife and children were in the power of the victor; his baggage, which he had sent to Damascus before the battle under the orders of Cophes, had been captured by Parmenion, and at the same time the war-chest and treasures of all sorts were taken, and the families of many noble Persians made prisoners. But the treasuries of Susa, Persepolis, and Ecbatana still held large quantities of gold and silver, and a fresh army could be recruited from the provinces which would far outnumber the Macedonian forces — in short, with some energy and circumspection, resistance could still be offered to the enemy and an attack on the heart of the kingdom repelled. Ample means for the purpose stood at the disposal of Darius, yet the blow at Issus had been so stunning that he at first thought of coming to a friendly understanding with Alexander. While the latter was still waiting at Marathus a Persian embassy had petitioned for the release of the prisoners and proposed a treaty to the king. In his answer Alexander demanded complete submission and the recognition of his supremacy, on which conditions Darius might obtain what he wished. During the siege of Tyre an embassy came for the second time, this time with definite offers of peace; 10,000 talents were to be paid as ransom for the captured women, all the land between the Euphrates and the Ægean Sea was to be ceded, friendship and alliance were to be concluded between the two rival monarchs, and to be sealed by the marriage of Alexander to a daughter of Darius. These terms also were rejected: once more the absolute submission of the great king was demanded.

Then Persia broke off negotiations. Darius assembled an army afresh, in order to repel the attack of the Macedonians on the very centre of the empire.

In the course of the years 332 and 331 B.C. troops from Persia and Media, from Cappadocia and Bactria — in short, from all the satrapies which were still left to Persia — flocked into Babylon, were assiduously drilled there and prepared for the campaign. The cavalry was more efficiently armed, being provided with shields and longer lances; two hundred scythe-bearing chariots were introduced, and even elephants equipped. In the summer of 331 Darius was able to leave Babylon and take the field with an army, the strength of which is estimated at a million effective men.

In the spring of the same year (331) Alexander had started from Memphis. He halted at Tyre, where his fleet was waiting for him. Here a festival was celebrated in honour of Hercules with contests in music and gymnastics, to which Greek artists in large numbers were attracted. From here Amphoterus, the admiral, was sent with his fleet, which the Phœnicians and Cyprians were to strengthen by one hundred ships, to the Peloponnese to co-operate with the regent, Antipater, in crushing the Spartans, who, aided by money from Persia, under their king, Agis, declared war against Macedonia, and to support the Peloponnesians who had remained loyal against the intrigues of Sparta. The Macedonian army then started eastward, avoided the Syrian desert by a wide detour, and reached the Euphrates at Thapsacus. The advance guard had already begun the construction of two bridges, but had been prevented by the enemy's cavalry from carrying them across to the left bank. When Alexander himself appeared the cavalry withdrew; the bridges were, therefore, completed, and the Euphrates was crossed without hindrance. From Thapsacus he first marched upstream in a northerly direction, then eastward past Nisibis on the southern slopes of the Armenian Mountains, through districts which furnished ample food to the army and sufficient fodder for the horses, and exposed the troops less to the heat than if they had marched from Thapsacus directly eastward through the plains of Mesopotamia. The enemy, it was reported, was awaiting him on the Tigris.

On the news of the advance of Alexander, Darius had started from Babylon, crossed the Tigris, and occupied a position on its left bank on the far side of the Lycus (the present Great Zab), near Gaugamela, choosing advisedly a wide, level country, which allowed scope for the operations of the great masses of his army. But Alexander met with no opposition on crossing the Tigris. After a rest on the other bank he proceeded downstream, and after four days' march came on the enemy's cavalry sent out to reconnoitre. He learnt at the same time that Darius was not far from there, at Gaugamela. On October 1, 331, a battle was fought there, which, in spite of the numerical superiority of the Persians and their more favourable ground, ended in their complete overthrow. Darius fled with his body-guard and some cavalry from Arbela (now Erbil) over the mountains to Ecbatana, and left to the conqueror the lower half of his kingdom.

Soon after the battle Alexander entered Babylon without encountering any resistance. Here also, as in Egypt, he understood how to win the good will of the population. He sacrificed according to the injunctions of the Chaldæans, and directed that the temple of Belus, which is said to have been destroyed by Xerxes, should be rebuilt. In the organisation of the satrapy we see the same principles followed as in Egypt: here again a native, named Mazæus, was

chosen governor, but along with him were Apollodorus of Amphipolis as military governor and also a Greek, named Asclepiodorus, as chief collector of the revenue. Armenia also received a noble Persian as satrap in the person of Mithrenes, the former commander of the citadel of Sardis. He organised the satrapy of Susa with its capital of the same name, whither he had gone from Babylon about the end of November, 331, in the same way as Babylon. A noble Persian, by name Abulites, became governor, while the command over the troops of the garrison was entrusted to Macedonians. Susa, where town and castle immediately surrendered to the victor, was during winter and spring the residence of the Persian kings. Here the treasure of 50,000 talents of silver (£12,000,000) fell into the hands of Alexander. Spoils from the Greek wars of Xerxes were found there. The king gave the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton back to the Athenians. Reinforcements from home arrived here, in all some eight thousand men, and were enrolled in the army, filling up the gaps that had been made. The real capital, with the sepulchres of the kings and their residence on especially solemn occasions (coronations and the feast of Norus), was Persepolis, southeast of Susa and separated from it by lofty and impassable mountains. This mountain district was inhabited by the Uxii, who had preserved their independence of Persia, and were accustomed to receive a present of money, even from the great king, when, marching through their land, he crossed the pass that lay in their possession; practically, then, they exacted tribute. They demanded this tribute from Alexander also as he approached their pass; but the king with picked troops, led by guides from Susa, avoided the pass by taking difficult paths, attacked the mountain settlements of the Uxii, amassed rich booty, returned by forced marches, and now attacked them assembled on the pass. The Uxii had to surrender and to furnish immediately as tribute a definite number of cattle, horses, and sheep. The Macedonian army now divided. Parmenion with the heavy infantry marched further on the great road which leads past the western slopes of the mountains; Alexander himself marched through the mountains. The second pass, the so-called Persian gates, which must be crossed on the route from Susa to Persepolis, if a march is made through the mountains, was occupied by the satrap Ariobarzanes, who had walled across the narrow road and with his forty thousand men repulsed Alexander's attack. Here also the king, who had left his general, Craterus, in front of the pass, succeeded with a light detachment in turning the flank of Ariobarzanes, who, attacked in front and in the rear, was forced to give way and leave open to the conqueror the passage through the Persian gates and the road to Persepolis. This town now fell into Alexander's hands without offering further resistance; the treasure that was taken as booty, far exceeding that in Susa, is said to have amounted to 120,000 talents, or £25,000,000. At Alexander's orders the royal castle with its large and splendid palaces was set on fire — a satisfaction exacted for the outrages which the Persians had once committed in Greece by the destruction of towns and shrines. Thus the programme laid down in the meeting of the league at Corinth in the autumn of 336 was carried out. The importance attached to the burning of the royal palaces in Persepolis is borne out by the fact that Alexander soon afterwards at Ecbatana (to mention it at once in this connection) dismissed the contingents of the Thessalians and Greeks belonging to the league to their homes, continuing their

full pay until their arrival at their destination and distributing among them a present of 2000 talents. Only a part of the Thessalians remained with the Macedonian army and entered the service of the king.

From this time the king conducted the war only with his Macedonians and the mercenaries he had enlisted: and the conquest of the entire Persian kingdom, an idea which may well have hovered before his mind from the first as his ultimate object, was now approaching completion. The great king still lived; the Eastern satrapies still obeyed him. (See map facing p. 124.) Alexander's next task was to crush him finally.

Darius had withdrawn after the battle of Gaugamela with some few troops, which had escaped with him, to Ecbatana (now Hamadan), the summer residence in Media of the Persian kings, and here awaited developments. Ecbatana, in fact, was favourably situated for the purpose, owing to its easy communication with Babylonia and Persis, as well as with the East, whither the great road led past Ragæ (now Rei near Teheran), and through the Caspian gates (now Pass of Serdarra), between the mountains and the salt desert, through a well-cultivated, fertile country. He had either to await fresh troops from the still unconquered Eastern satrapies or retreat further in that direction, if the reinforcements did not come at the right time. Unfortunately, the latter happened. Alexander was more rapid. At the news of his advance Darius fled East, having taken the precaution to send ahead his baggage and his harem to the Caspian gates.

Alexander left Persepolis in the spring of 330 B.C. After a short halt at Ecbatana, where he left Parmenion at the head of seven thousand Macedonians to guard the treasure which had been brought from Persepolis and Susa to Ecbatana, and had been entrusted to Harpalus, and to protect the Median capital and satrapy, he followed the flying king by forced marches along the great road past Ragæ. Thence he advanced swiftly with only picked troops through the Caspian gates. His speed was redoubled when Alexander learnt that the satraps round Darius, Bessus of Bactria and Barsaëntes of Arachosia had seized their monarch and were taking him about with them as a prisoner, and that Bessus had been proclaimed general by the troops of Darius: only Artabazus of the Persians and the Greek mercenaries had remained loyal to their master, and since they were powerless to rescue him, had separated from Bessus. More and more of the Macedonians remained behind as their strength failed them in the mad pursuit, until at last the king had only five hundred horsemen with him. Finally, on the sixth day, Alexander overtook the conspirators in the vicinity of the later Hecatompylus. The exploit of marching two hundred and fifty miles in six days has always evoked astonishment, and deserves the reputation of miraculous which it possessed in antiquity. The sudden appearance of Alexander made such an impression on the Persians under Bessus that, without thinking of resistance, they sought safety in a general flight and murdered Darius, whom they were taking with them in a chariot. If the followers of Bessus, who thought themselves secure from any attack, had suspected with what a small and exhausted force Alexander was coming to meet them, they would certainly have found courage to oppose him; but the suddenness of his appearance robbed them of all reflection. Bessus fled with six hundred horsemen. Alexander ordered the body of the great king to be buried

of Pasargarda (July, 330 B.C.); he looked upon himself now as the lawful successor of Darius. (See Fig. 1 of the plate facing p. 134.)

After he had given his exhausted troops some rest he rejoined the army on its advance, and then subdued the satrapy of Hyrcania, situated on the south shore of the Caspian Sea. On this occasion he took into his army a great part of the Greek mercenaries, who after separating from the conspirators, had taken the route to the mountains of Hyrcania. Only those who had entered the service of Persia before the conclusion of the Hellenic league were set free.

Many noble Persians, too, went over to his side, such as Artabazus, whom we have already mentioned; the chiliarch, Nabarzanes, and Phrataphernes, the satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania. The envoys of Greek towns who had been with Darius, but had withdrawn with the Greek mercenaries after his capture, were treated variously by Alexander: he imprisoned the four Lacedæmonians and one Athenian, while he liberated the envoys from Sinope and Chalcedon, since their towns did not belong to the Corinthian league. Sparta did not actually belong to it, but at this time had waged war against the regent, Antipater. We find envoys from Greek states with Darius to the very last: only by his death and the transfer of his monarchy to Alexander were the hopes the Greeks cherished of Persian aid annihilated.

Meantime, the instigators of the capture and subsequent murder of Darius had separated: Bessus fled to Bactria (now Balkh), the capital of his satrapy, placed the tiara of the murdered king on his head there, took the name of Artaxerxes, and organised an army afresh, in doing which he chiefly counted on the support of the warlike nomad tribes of the neighbourhood, the Scythians; Satibarzanes, on the other hand, the satrap of Areia went to his own land, but submitted when Alexander approached from the Caspian Sea. He confirmed Satibarzanes in his office, left with him some Macedonian cavalry under the command of Anaxippus, and started eastward to attack Bessus, attempting to reach Bactria through the desert by the shortest way, past the present Merv. But the revolt of Satibarzanes in support of Bessus and the murder of Anaxippus and his men compelled him to turn back, in order first to subdue Areia with its capital, Artacoana (which is supposed to be near the present Herat), the rebellious satrap having fled at the news of Alexander's advance. He afterwards made an attempt to come back at the head of two thousand horsemen and to induce the province to revolt, but paid the penalty with his life. The Persian, Arsames, received the satrapy.

This incident may well have determined the king not to carry out his original plan of marching through the desert past Merv, but first to conquer the country of the Drangi, who bordered on Areia (the present Seistan), and then to proceed thence through the valley of the Etymandrus (Hilmend) and Arachosia (Candahar) to the foot of the Parapanisus (Hindu-Kuseh). He clearly wished to deprive Bessus of the possibility of obtaining support and reinforcements from these districts. He founded the town of Alexandria at the foot of the Parapanisus. He then crossed the mountains in midwinter, in deep snow, suffering every kind of privation, and found when he reached the plain, after an equally laborious descent, that all the country had been devastated by Bessus. In spite of hardships of every kind, he advanced into Bactria. Bessus had fled before

him over the Oxus (Amu-darja) to Sogdiana, clearly because he believed that his opponent would not dare to follow him thither, since Sogdiana was surrounded on the south, west, and north by waterless deserts. Alexander did not let himself be deterred: after a fearfully severe march of four hundred stadia (forty-five miles) through the desert of Bactria, where the lack of water, together with the red hot sand, made the march almost unendurable for the soldiers, he reached the river, which, swift, deep, and very broad, presented still greater difficulties in crossing, because Bessus on his retreat had burnt all the boats. Alexander overcame this obstacle, too; the leather tent-covers of the soldiers were sewn together into bags, filled with reeds, and used to ferry the men across the river. The march was then continued in a northerly direction, in order to overtake Bessus in his flight. His companions, Spitamenes, the commander of the cavalry of Sogdiana, and the Persian, Dataphernes, made a proposition to Alexander to surrender the murderer of Darius into his hands if he would send them troops; upon which Ptolemy was sent forward with a division of horsemen and light infantry. He succeeded in coming up with Bessus, and as there were only few soldiers with him, took him prisoner. Fettered and bound, Bessus was brought to Alexander (in the beginning of the summer, 329); the king ordered him to be scourged and to be taken as a prisoner to Bactria and afterwards to be crucified.

Two full years were to pass, however, before Alexander could leave Sogdiana. Spitamenes, who on Ptolemy's arrival had departed with his Sogdian horsemen, organised a rising in Sogdiana and Bactria, and won over the nomad tribes of the desert, whose horsemen supported him. Alexander soon after the capture of Bessus marched past Maracanda (Samarcand) for the Jaxartes (Sir-darja), founded on that river a town, Alexandria, with the additional name of Eschate (the "Farthest"), and drove back by a swift, forward movement the Sacæ, assembled on the other bank of the river, and received from them the oath of obedience. Then the insurrection broke out. It was a war carried on at many points simultaneously, and repeatedly caused considerable losses to the Macedonians. But the persistence of Alexander eventually prevailed, especially after Spitamenes, the soul of the revolt, was murdered by the Massagetæ.

At last, in the summer of 327 B.C., when some mountain strongholds, situated in the East, were captured after fierce fights and great exertions, the whole country up to the Jaxartes, which Alexander recognised as the boundary of the empire (see the inserted map, "Empire of Alexander the Great"), as it had been under the Persians, might be considered subjugated and pacified. Among the prisoners who fell into the hands of the conquerors after the storming of one of these mountain fortresses was Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, a woman of great beauty. She so stirred Alexander's passion that he married her. By this he satisfied the long-cherished desire of his people to see their king married.

To these years belong some events which allow us a glimpse of the inner life at the court of Alexander.

The first incident concerns Philotas, son of Parmenion, the leader of the Macedonian household cavalry. Even in Egypt he had awakened Alexander's suspicion by his dangerous intrigues and treasonable plans; but the king had given no credence to the information for old friendship's sake. When the Macedonians were in Drangiana (autumn, 330) a conspiracy against Alexander

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was discovered, and its members were immediately arrested. Philotas also was seized, and brought by the king before the assembled army, which had to judge in such cases. Whether Philotas had himself taken any share in this conspiracy or not is undetermined; but this much is certain, he knew of a plot against the king's life and gave no information of it, although he daily went in and out of Alexander's presence. The assembled army condemned him and the men accused with him, and immediately put them to death. His old father, Parmenion, was involved in his fate. Alexander sent a message to Ecbatana with orders to kill the old general, either because he saw in him an accomplice to the conspiracy or considered him, on account of his great influence, to be dangerous after the death of Philotas. However little Alexander may be excused for such high-handed justice, yet it is apparent that a certain degree of justification existed for his acts. Later we will make these still clearer.

On a subsequent occasion Alexander was holding a banquet in honour of the Dioscuri, in which Clitus, who stood in peculiarly intimate relations with the king, also took part. When the wine had heated the feasters' heads, and flatterers struck up songs, which with scoff and scorn disparaged the old Macedonian kings and extolled Alexander to the skies, Clitus rose up, lauded Philip and the other kings, and told Alexander many unpleasant things, which deeply wounded him. An altercation ensued. Alexander sprang up suddenly and snatched the spear from one of the body-guard standing near. The guests threw aside their beakers and leapt up in terror, but Ptolemy had sufficient presence of mind to push Clitus out of the door. He came back, however, by another door, and once more insulted his master. The latter, losing all self-control, struck him down with his spear. Immediately after this wicked deed remorse and grief seized on the king. He was carried to his chamber, where he lay, waiting and lamenting until the exhortation of his friends and the impulse of his nature brought him back to consciousness. The act had been done in anger and passion; and his remorse certainly proves most clearly how far removed Alexander was from the bloodthirsty and revengeful nature of an Oriental despot.

In the spring of 327 a new conspiracy against Alexander's life was discovered at Bactria. A page, by name Hermolaus, had been punished for misconduct by his master, had vowed revenge, and with other pages determined the murder of Alexander on a certain night. The king by chance did not come home, and the plan of the conspirators miscarried. One of them then revealed the plot, and the others were arrested and executed. It is certain that purely personal, and not political, motives lay at the bottom of this conspiracy; but it was not devoid of high political importance.

Callisthenes of Olynthus, a nephew of Aristotle, accompanied Alexander on the campaign as one of the philosophers and men of letters, of whom there were several in the royal camp. He wrote a history of the war; and several fragments of it, which are preserved for us, show that he had attained a marvellous facility in the use of flowery language. But his attitude towards the king had gradually changed. He now played the part of a lover of freedom, a hater of tyranny, and railed at the flattery which his rival, Anaxarchus of Abdera, only too lavishly bestowed on the king. According to the story, he is said to have denounced especially the *proskunesis*, or act of prostration, before the king, which had been

introduced into the court ceremonial; to have consorted much with the young men, and not to have shown the necessary caution in his language before them. When Hermolaus and his companions were arrested, Callisthenes was charged with having prompted them to their crime. Alexander ordered him to be arrested and crucified: according to another account, he died in prison soon after his arrest.

It thus became clearly evident that between Alexander and a part of his followers a misunderstanding prevailed, which the altered position of the king had produced. As lord of the Persian realm he had to appear to his new subjects in the full splendour and majesty of an Oriental monarch, to assume actual Oriental attire and to employ the Oriental ceremonial on festive occasions and state levees. Among the Macedonians secret dissatisfaction existed in many forms and only required an opportunity to burst out into a raging conflagration. The opposition subsequently died out.

In the summer of 327 B.C. Alexander departed with his army from Bactria, where he left behind a strong division, crossed the Hindu-Kusch, strengthened and enlarged the town of Alexandria, which he had founded there (cf. above, p. 123), and then began the conquest of the country of the Indus. He had raised thirty thousand Bactrians and Sogdians, armed and drilled in Macedonian fashion, and these were now to fight under his standard, side by side with the Macedonians. But Alexander did not undertake this Indian campaign, as has been supposed, chiefly for the purpose of attaching to his person the conquered peoples and blending the old and new elements in his army by new victories. There were other reasons which certainly determined him to do so. Above all, the former kings of Persia, a Darius Hysdaspes and a Xerxes, had already ruled over the Indus territory, and Alexander wished to rule over an empire of the same extent as it had been under those monarchs (cf. above what has been said about the Jaxartes). The Indus territory, the eastern Punjaub, as well as the mountainous parts in the west (now Afghanistan and Cashmir), was divided into many separate principalities, and had not yet been formed into a political unity. The different princes were at war with each other, and some formed friendly relations with Alexander and had invited his help. Little as was then known of India, and little though it had been explored, its profusion of valuable products of all kinds was known. Long before Alexander, Indian wares had been brought over the pass of the Hindu-Kusch to Bactria and thence to the Black Sea into the Greek colonies and the rest of Europe. A motive that certainly helped to decide the king on his Indian campaign was his wish to open up these rich territories more effectually to trade, to make them more accessible to his newly conquered lands, as well as to his own country, and thus to make new paths for traffic and commerce. The way from the southern slopes of the Hindu-Kusch to the Indus leads through the valley of the Cophen (now Cabul) and through the Khyber pass, which has once more become famous in English colonial warfare. Perdiccas and Hephæstion advanced on this road with a part of the army with orders to throw a bridge across the Indus as soon as they reached it. Alexander himself marched through the mountainous region watered by the northern tributaries of the Cophen, the present Kafiristan and Chitral. The warlike tribes of the country, the Aspasii, Guræi, and Assaceni, offered a vigorous opposition and could only be subdued after many battles. Alexander

nominated Nicanor governor, ordered many of the existing towns to be fortified, and rebuilt others, which the inhabitants had burnt on his arrival, placing garrisons in them. He thus regarded the complete subjugation of the land as necessary for the lasting peace and prosperous development of his territories lying to the south and north of the Hindu-Kusch. Since, as there is no room to doubt, he wished to retain the Indus territory, its permanent and secure union with the more distant districts of his monarchy was indispensable.

Not until the spring of 326 B.C. was Alexander able to effect a junction with Perdiccas and Hephæstion and to cross the Indus on the bridge which they had erected. The prince of this district, Taxiles, who had already come to Alexander at Sogdiana and had asked him for help in the war with his neighbours, offered his submission and was confirmed in his possessions, which were soon largely increased. Other Indian princes likewise submitted; but Porus, who ruled on the other side of the Hydaspes, sent no envoys to Alexander, and awaited him on the river, which bounded his kingdom, with a well-equipped army. When Alexander arrived at the Hydaspes it was swollen by the summer rains, and was difficult to cross: Porus also was carefully guarding the banks. Craterus was ordered to remain on the bank, opposite the camp of the Indian king, and by all kinds of manœuvres to direct his attention to himself, while Alexander at some little distance accomplished the crossing of the river unnoticed by the enemy. The Macedonians won the battle, notwithstanding the elephants of the enemy. Porus surrendered and retained his kingdom, henceforth as a loyal ally of Alexander, who soon afterwards, on the defeat of a second Porus on the other side of the Acesines, entrusted the subjugated kingdom to him. On the site of the battle against the first Porus a new town, Nicæa, was founded; and on the scene of the passage of the Hydaspes another, Bucephala, so called after Alexander's war horse, Bucephalus. Besides this, he ordered a fleet to be built on the Hydaspes, where there was abundance of timber for ship-building, in which to sail down the Indus. While this was being constructed Alexander marched forward over the Hydraotes, but wheeled round at the Hyphasis, being forced to turn round, it is said, by his own soldiers, who, exhausted by their intolerable hardships, clamoured to return.

After the construction of the fleet the return westward was begun. Alexander sailed down the Hydaspes, the Acesines, and lastly the Indus. Divisions of the army on both sides of the rivers accompanied the fleet. The king had frequently to halt, in order to fight the tribes inhabiting the country round. At the storming of the town of the warlike Malli on the lower Acesines, where the king himself was the first to scale the wall, and thence leapt down into the middle of the enemy, he was severely wounded and only saved by the heroic bravery of his followers. At last they reached the town of Pattala at the beginning of the Delta, and eventually the mouth of the Indus. Alexander sailed out into the open sea, and as the first of the Hellenes offered a sacrifice to Poseidon in the midst of the waves of the newly discovered Indian Ocean. Here the Greeks to their intense surprise saw for the first time the ebbing and flowing tide. Everything points to the conclusion that Alexander intended to maintain the Indus as a boundary. To the west of the river he had organised two satrapies: to the east of it lay the two vassal states of Taxiles and Porus. Besides the already mentioned towns of Nicæa and Bucephala, a town was founded on the Acesines,

and Pattala, at the beginning of the Delta of the Indus, was fortified and provided with docks and a harbour.

At the end of the summer of 325 Alexander started from Pattala, whither he had returned after his voyage to the sea and an exploration of the two arms of the mouth of the Indus, marched through Gedrosia (Beloochistan) towards the West, and after an indescribably difficult march through the desert, entailing heavy loss, arrived in Persia. He had ordered his admiral, Nearchus, to sail down the Indus with his fleet and then to put to sea, with instructions to look for the means of communication between the mouths of the Indus and the Euphrates and to collect everywhere information as to the land and its inhabitants. Nearchus executed his task brilliantly: he discovered the sea route from India to Babylonia through the Persian gulf. Thus the rich and costly treasures of India were opened to the commerce of the Western nations, and the towns founded by Alexander himself on the Indus became serviceable to the new and flourishing trade.

When Alexander reached Persepolis he found his presence urgently necessary. A usurper had arisen in Media and assumed the title of Great King; his treasurer, Harpalus, had fled, guilty of immense embezzlements and breaches of trust; some satraps were oppressing their subjects in the old Persian way, others had enlisted mercenaries and taken them into their personal service. Alexander acted promptly and with merciless rigour, and in a short time restored order.

The next years were devoted to the concerns of the internal administration, the perfecting and strengthening of the new government, and the task of blending the conquerors with the native population. In the spring of 324 Alexander married two princesses of the royal Persian house, Statira and Parysatis. At the same time many Macedonian generals celebrated their nuptials with noble Persian women; Alexander also gave a feast and a wedding present to the soldiers who married Persian wives. This was a wise step towards amalgamating the two races.

The same idea was served by the incorporation into the Macedonian army of thirty thousand Persians, who had been raised by the king's order, armed in Macedonian fashion, and trained according to the Macedonian tactics. The Macedonian army was mortified at the creation of these new troops, but Alexander appeased it by paying the soldiers' debts out of the royal treasury. After the exploration of the two rivers and the removal of hindrances to navigation on the Tigris, in the summer of 324 B.C. Alexander came to Opis, whither Hephæstion had previously led his army. There he dismissed to their homes, under the command of Craterus, ten thousand veterans, in whose place the Persian levies were to step. Discontent in the army broke out and ended in open mutiny. But Alexander's appearance in person had a great effect on the disobedient soldiers; for when the king withdrew from their sight and entrusted his person to the Persians they were filled with remorse and entreated forgiveness. The ten thousand veterans marched homeward without murmuring; the thirty thousand newly levied Persians were enrolled in the army and united with the old army into military units. In the company, sixteen deep, the first files and the last were Macedonians, the intermediate lines Persians.

From Opis Alexander marched to Ecbatana. Here he lost his friend and general, Hephæstion. He lamented for him a long time and paid his memory extravagant honours. He then went on further to subdue the Cossæi, a people that, like the Uxii, had remained independent and led a life of pillage in the middle of his empire. Alexander compelled them to settle and become agriculturists, and founded several strong forts in order to keep them in check.

His career was ended by his death at Babylon (summer, 323 B.C.). He had busied himself to the last with great plans: the country at the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris, as well as the east coast of the Persian Gulf with its islands, were to be colonised, and Phœnicians to be settled there; Arabia was to be circumnavigated, starting from the Persian Gulf; the communications and commerce by sea of these Eastern lands and of the Indus valley with Egypt were to be restored. Alexander was intent at all times and all places in pointing out new paths for trade and intercourse and in promoting civilisation.

Macedonia was no longer the petty inland state of former kings. Freed from its chains and narrow limits by Philip, it became a world-empire under Alexander. Whether the empire would have become permanent if its creator had lived longer, and whether the intention of its bold builder to amalgamate the various nations of that gigantic empire and to unite them into a flourishing political entity would have been realised, are idle speculations.

(*f*) *The Decay of Alexander's Empire.*—A gloomy silence reigned in Babylon during the night after Alexander's death. The inhabitants kept in their houses and did not even venture to kindle a light. The Macedonians, who felt the insecurity of their position, stood under arms. In reality the situation was extremely uncertain and complicated, since there was no heir and successor; and yet some one had to undertake the conduct of affairs. The foremost generals met in council. After long debate it was decided to await the expected confinement of Roxana and till then to have affairs carried on by a council of regency, consisting of four members.

The infantry, however, under the influence of one of their leaders, Meleagrus, nominated as king Alexander's stepbrother, Philip Arrhidæus, who was of feeble intellect. The cavalry sided with the generals. In this dispute, which broke out among the Macedonians immediately after the death of the great king, and in the open war which followed, the generals with the cavalry evacuated Babylon and encamped before the town. After long negotiations the contending sides were reconciled. Peace was concluded by the two parties on the terms that Philip Arrhidæus, as well as the expected child of Alexander, if it proved to be a son, should be clothed with the purple and should reign. Perdiccas was to be entrusted with the conduct of affairs as the highest officer of the realm. Now came the epilogue. At a review and inspection of the army before the gates of Babylon the infantry stood opposite the cavalry and elephants. King Arrhidæus rode up to the infantry and demanded the surrender of the mutineers and ringleaders, threatening to attack them if they refused compliance. The chiefs of the insurrection were given up, thrown before the elephants and trampled to death. Meleagrus, too, was killed. The position of Perdiccas was powerful, for he completely ruled King Arrhidæus. Thus order

was once more restored, and the continued existence of the empire seemed secured by the nomination of Philip Arrhidæus as king and by the subsequent birth of a son to Alexander's widow.

But of the two kings, one was a suckling, the other a man of feeble intellect. The generals and commanders, who mostly belonged to the high Macedonian nobility and in some cases (e.g. Leonnatus, Perdiccas) were related to the royal house, had submitted to their great king, and under his rule had been obliged to suppress their ambition and desire of power in the interest of the common good; but the matter now stood thus: Perdiccas was only the equal of most of them in rank and dignity, and yet was to exercise the royal power in the name of the kings; and just as Perdiccas on his side would only be too glad to have the generals go as far away as possible from Babylon, in order that he might not be hindered in the administration of the affairs entrusted to him, so, on the other hand, it was for the interests of the generals to obtain a province where, far removed from the central government, they might hope to find a field for their restless energy and ambition. Thus it was with profit to all that soon after the restoration of order a division of the satrapies was arranged. Antipater received Macedonia and Greece, and Antigonus Greater Phrygia, where he had long been satrap: and to mention only the most important of the others, Ptolemy received Egypt; Leonnatus Hellespontine Phrygia; Lysimachus Thrace, and Eumenes Cappadocia, which he had first to conquer for himself with the help of his two neighbours, Antigonus and Leonnatus. We have, first of all, to deal with Macedonia and Thrace. While Alexander was conquering the Persian power in Asia, his general, Antipater, had remained behind in Macedonia as regent. The Hellenic states were subject to his direction; they were, indeed, free and bound only by treaties with Macedonia; but they no longer ventured to assert any policy of their own, since the charge of the common interests and the settlement of disputes and feuds were undertaken by the council of the league at Corinth under Macedonian influence. Macedonia had also a seat and a vote in the Amphictyonic council, and thus acquired a most important means of exercising pressure and influence on Greece. In Athens, no less than in other Hellenic states, there was probably no lack of an anti-Macedonian party; but it kept quiet everywhere. The hope of a rising, as at Philip's death and a year afterwards, faded away in proportion as Alexander's victories were known, and thus the help which so many looked for from Darius became impossible.

Sparta alone had made no peace with the Macedonian king. Her king, Agis, who in 333 B.C., aided by money and ships from the Persian admirals, had been able to take possession of the important island of Crete, continued later his intrigues against Macedonia. In the spring of 331 B.C. he was able to ally himself with other Greek states, such as Elis, Achaia (except Pellene), and Arcadia, with the object of freeing Greece from the Macedonian yoke. The allies besieged Megalopolis, which did not wish to go over to them, and remained loyal to Macedonia.

Antipater had now to intervene. But he was confronted in his native country by a difficult situation, of which we have very scanty information. We only learn that the general commanding in Thrace, Zopyrion, perished with his entire army on a campaign against the Getæ, who dwelt north of the Danube.

and that in Thrace itself the native prince, Seuthes, clearly in connection with Zopyrion's overthrow, organised a rising against Macedonia, in which a Macedonian general named Memnon seems to have taken part. Antipater had to take the field against the Thracians, and since Agis soon afterwards revolted was compelled to try to end this war as rapidly as possible by concluding peace; it appears that he surrendered at least a part of Thrace, probably in the hope of reconquering it later.

At this moment his presence in the Peloponnese was urgent. Antipater succeeded in defeating Agis and the allies in a decisive battle before Megalopolis. The Spartan king fell, and the insurrection was crushed. Elis and Achaia had to pay 130 talents to Megalopolis, and even Sparta submitted.

By these means peace was restored in Hellas to outward appearance; but the hope of liberation from the Macedonian yoke, as the supremacy of Macedonia in Greece was called by many, was by no means quenched. It required only a spark to make the smouldering fire blaze into bright flames. This time the insurrection broke out in Athens. Here excitement was caused by the presence and the arrest of Harpalus, Alexander's treasurer, who had fled with vast riches from Ecbatana to avoid the punishment threatened by the king. Next came his escape from Athenian custody and the trial, connected with this circumstance, of Demosthenes, who was condemned. It is true that Harpalus' object, namely, to hurry the Athenians into a war against Macedonia, was not immediately realised; but the money which they took from him on his imprisonment — computed at 700 talents — was destined to be very useful to them. The excitement grew higher when in 324 Alexander, by a decree, permitted the return to their native town of all Greek exiles, with the exception of common criminals and of the expelled Thebans. Athens and the Ætolians did not execute this order. Then Alexander died suddenly, and with his death the desired liberation from the power of Macedonia seemed to the patriots to have arrived. Hyperides stood at the head of the movement. Since Alexander had ordered his satraps to dismiss their mercenaries, there were many unemployed soldiers who gladly enlisted. And as Athens had money enough and obtained a skilful general in Leosthenes, an army was soon brought together. An alliance was made with the other Greek states, in order to make the movement general in all Hellas; Ætolia especially sent troops and played an active part in the war, which at first took a favourable course for the confederates.

Antipater, who had advanced from Macedonia at the news of the revolt of Greece, was, after a disastrous fight at Heracleia, surrounded and besieged in Lamia. This is, therefore, called the Lamian war. During a sortie of Antipater, Leosthenes fell and with him the real soul of the revolt. When Leonnatus, the governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, came to the help of Antipater, the Hellenes abandoned the siege and advanced against them. In a disastrous battle for the Macedonians, Leonnatus fell; but the junction of his army with Antipater, who came to meet them, was achieved. The latter, strengthened by the army of Craterus, who was leading back the discharged veterans of Alexander, soon afterwards defeated near Crannon the Greeks, in whose ranks disaffections had already appeared, and some contingents of whom had already gone home, and concluded a separate peace with the Greek states. Athens had to consent to alter her constitution and make the possession of a fortune of 2000 drachmas

a qualification for full citizenship, by which means out of twenty-one thousand citizens only nine thousand remained entitled to full rights. Hyperides, Demosthenes, and other men connected with the revolt were condemned to death; and Antipater marched on to Ætolia in order to subdue that country also.

(*g*) *Macedonia up to the Fall of Alexander's Empire.*—If Perdiccas, when he took over the administration of the empire, had hoped that the central authority would be strong enough to punish any insubordination of the governors and to frustrate their ambitious plans by the imperial army under his command, he was mistaken; it was too soon apparent that there was an impassable gulf between the efforts of the governors to obtain more power and freedom, on the one side, and the supreme authority, representing the unity of the empire, on the other.

This led immediately to the war of Perdiccas against the two governors of Asia Minor, Leonnatus and Antigonus, who had not carried out the commands given them by the administrator of the empire to assist Eumenes in conquering the province of Cappadocia assigned to him. Eumenes joined the side of Perdiccas; Antigonus (for Leonnatus, as we have just seen, had, meantime, fallen in Thessaly) was supported by Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy of Egypt. Antipater and Craterus had to cross into Asia Minor to fight Eumenes. Craterus was killed in the war. Perdiccas himself went to Egypt, and after carrying on unsuccessful operations, which cost the lives of many men, was murdered by his own soldiers (321 B.C.). His army was led back to Syria. It here joined Antipater, who was now appointed regent of the empire. At Triparadisus, for the second time, a division of the provinces was made (cf. further on, p. 145). In Europe, Antipater kept Macedonia with Greece, and Lysimachus Thrace. Antigonus was nominated general of the empire and entrusted with the war against Eumenes, who had been declared an enemy of the empire on account of his taking the side of Perdiccas. Antipater, after the discharge of the most urgent business with the kings, went to Europe and took up his residence at Pella; Babylon, which lay in the very centre of Alexander's empire, was abandoned as capital.

Another still more important step, which was fated to contribute much to the disintegration of the mighty empire, was likewise taken by Antipater. Before his death, which took place in 319 B.C., he had nominated an old comrade in arms, by name Polyperchon, to be regent. His own son Cassander, who had been passed over by his father, deeply hurt at this slight, fled to Antigonus, who was governor of Phrygia, and at the same time in the name of the kings as *strategus* was conducting the war in Asia against Eumenes.

Polyperchon, who till now quite unknown and possessed of no authority, had been suddenly placed at the head of the empire, naturally looked for supporters. At his advice King Philip issued a decree that conceded to the Greeks the reintroduction of the constitutions which they had had at the time of Alexander, and allowed the Greek exiles to return to their native cities. This was an appeal to the democrats of Greece, for Antipater as far as possible had favoured the oligarchs, and Cassander likewise had maintained the oligarchic institutions. What Polyperchon wished to attain by this proclamation, namely, to bring over to his side the Greek communities, especially Athens and the Peloponnese, was not effected. Disturbances broke out at Athens: an attempt was made to intro-

duce the democratic constitutions abolished by Antipater; but the Macedonian garrison in Munychia, commanded by Nicanor, was in favour of Cassander. And when Nicanor seized the Piræus, and when afterwards Cassander himself came to Athens, the town was obliged to content itself with the governor set over them by him, Demetrius of Phalerum. In the Peloponnese also Polyperchon achieved nothing. He failed to get possession of Megalopolis, which was under oligarchic government and had long favoured Macedonia. Thus he was restricted to Macedonia.

But another measure by which he thought to make his power more felt seemed more successful. He joined forces with Olympias, mother of the great Alexander, an enemy of Antipater and his house. Olympias, however, was at enmity with Eurydice, the wife of King Philip, who must have felt herself deeply injured by this arrangement between her and Polyperchon. These two allied themselves with Eumenes, who, having been nominated *strategus* in Asia with ample resources, was still fighting against Antigonus, and undertook to defend the rights of the kings. Eurydice allied herself with Cassander, who, through her agency, had been appointed regent by King Philip. The empire thus had two administrators, neither of whom had been appointed, as their two predecessors, by the really competent and popular representative body, the army, and both of whom were only partially recognised and at war with each other.

Events in Macedonia were determined by the two hostile women, Olympias and Eurydice. Olympias, who had stayed in Epirus, availed herself of the absence of Cassander from Macedonia to make an inroad. Eurydice marched against her with an army; but it went over to her foe, since the Macedonians would not fight against the mother of their great king. So Philip and Eurydice fell into the power of the cruel Epirote princess, who caused both to be mercilessly tortured and miserably slain, and wreaked her fury equally on the kinsmen and adherents of Cassander. But when Cassander arrived from Greece and appeared in southern Macedonia without Polyperchon's being able to hinder his crossing the mountains, Olympias shut herself up in Pydna; and when provisions gave out and the ship in which she wished to escape was taken away, she had to surrender. Impeached before the army by the friends and relatives of the many Macedonians killed by her, she was condemned to death; and as the old soldiers refused to slay the mother of their king, she was stoned by her accusers.

Roxana and the young king, Alexander, had fallen into the hands of Cassander at Pydna, and he kept them in strict custody. After the fall of Pydna, Pella surrendered to the conqueror, and soon afterwards the strong fortress of Amphipolis. Thus Cassander was in a short time master of Macedonia. Polyperchon, it is true, maintained his position in the Peloponnese and some other places of Greece; but his post of administrator had lost all possible significance since the one king was dead and the other in the power of Cassander. Eumenes also, the ally of Polyperchon, and the most zealous protector of the royal rights, had been betrayed in the war against Antigonus by his own troops and murdered by his enemy. In fact, matters were in a favourable position for Cassander. His marriage with Thessalonice, daughter of Philip, who had been at Pydna in the suite of Olympias, was sure to increase his importance with the Macedonians

and even to give him claims to the Macedonian throne when Alexander's son was no longer alive. For the time being, indeed, he *was* alive and universally recognised as king. But some years later the young Alexander was murdered by his keeper, Glaucias, at the command of Cassander.

134-104

(*h*) *Macedonia as a Member of the Empire of the Diadochi.*—With the death of Alexander's son the empire of Alexander the Great became only a geographical conception. In fact, it was split up into separate parts, and the central power, continually weakened since Antipater's death, had completely vanished. The generals now regarded the provinces, which had been originally assigned to them by a higher power merely for administration, as their own dominions. It was, therefore, only natural that after 306 B.C. they styled themselves "Kings," for kings they had been for years. However much Cassander may have striven at first for the possession of the Macedonian throne, in no case did he contemplate any schemes of world sovereignty and try to reorganise the empire of Alexander in its full extent. On the contrary, he opposed efforts such as Antigonus, for instance, made after the death of Eumenes, and was on the side of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus in their struggles against Antigonus, which lasted until his schemes of conquest were ended by the battle which the allies won at Ipsus (301 B.C.). Cassander's influence in Greece, which had been allied with Macedonia since Philip's time, and did not exist apart from Macedonia, no longer extended so widely, and was no longer so firm as it had been in his father's time. Demetrius of Phalerum, it is true, governed in his name at Athens; and Bœotia also, where Thebes had been rebuilt and repeopled by him, stood under his influence, so did Epirus and other districts. But Polyperchon still opposed him in Greece, and the feeling in Ætolia was very hostile to him. The importance of Polyperchon waned, indeed, rapidly. In the year 310 he dragged Heracles, bastard son of Alexander, out of his retirement at Pergamus and declared him his heir with the intention of striking a heavy blow at Cassander; but he suddenly entered into negotiations with Cassander and bought for himself the sovereignty over the Peloponnese by the murder of Heracles. From that moment the last imperial regent vanishes from history without leaving a trace.

A far more important antagonist in Hellas confronted Cassander in the person of Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus. (see Fig. 2 of the subjoined plate, "Portraits on Coins of Alexander the Great and Hellenistic Princes"), who in 307 B.C., starting with Athens, subdued for himself other Hellenic communities and territories. Cassander saw himself freed from a great danger, when in 302 Demetrius was summoned by his father to Asia, in order to take part in the great struggle that was to end with the battle of Ipsus and the death of Antigonus. This forced Demetrius to abandon his plan of wresting Macedonia from his opponent. Now for the first time Cassander was able to subdue the Hellenic states, such as the Bœotians and others, which in the interval had been subject to Poliorcetes.

Though Cassander's power was disputed in Hellas, in Macedonia itself his throne was firm. We have, unfortunately, little account of what he did for his country. He rebuilt Potidæa, the town in Chalcidice which Philip II. destroyed, and called it Cassandria. He considerably enlarged the former Therma, situated

ALEXANDER THE GREAT OF MACEDONIA

DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES, KING OF MACEDONIA

(From Imhoof Blumer's "Portrait Heads on Coins of Hellenic Nations.)

MITHRIDATES THE GREAT, KING OF PONTUS

TIGRANES, KING OF ARMENIA

(From Th. Reinach, "Mithridate Eupator.")

PORTRAITS ON COINS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE HELLENISTIC KINGS

on the gulf of that name, and called this new and more extensive foundation Thessalonica after his wife. The town has kept this name to the present day. Cassandria and Thessalonica, supported in every way by the king, became the most important seaports of Macedonia. A proof of his desire to improve the country, which had been greatly depopulated by the large levies and long wars, and to attract new inhabitants is the settlement of twenty thousand Autariates on Mount Orbelus. These Autariates, an Illyrian people, being pressed by other and stronger tribes, invaded Pœonia, where the king, Audeleon, applied to Cassander for help. Instead of slaughtering them, he settled them in his land, and by this means helped both parties.

Cassander died in 297 B.C., and his son and successor. Philip III., did not long survive him.

The two other sons, Antipater and Alexander, divided the power between them. Now began for Macedonia a time of terrible struggles and great revolutions. Antipater killed his mother, Thessalonice, and expelled his brother, Alexander. The latter sought help from Pyrrhus of Epirus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, while Antipater solicited the aid of Lysimachus. Demetrius was occupied by Greek affairs, and could not immediately furnish the desired help; but Pyrrhus, to whom Alexander as a reward had conceded Tymphæa and Parauæa, besides Athamania, Ambracia, and Amphilochia, succeeded in driving Antipater back and restoring Alexander to power. Lysimachus did not, it is true, make any armed intervention in Macedonian affairs for the support of Antipater, but mediated a peace between the two brothers and induced Pyrrhus, by a bribe of 300 talents, to desist from helping Alexander, clearly because he wished to keep his enemy, Demetrius, away from Macedonia. He failed to do this; in fact, Demetrius Poliorcetes appeared now, when he was no longer welcome, resolved to use this opportunity and to make himself master of Macedonia. Alexander went to meet him as far as Dion on the southern frontier of Macedonia, in order to make it evident that his interference was no longer necessary. In spite of feigned friendliness, the two princes regarded each other with great mistrust, since one was secretly plotting against the life of the other. In fact, Alexander was murdered while leaving the banquetting hall, where he had dined with Demetrius, and his army declared Demetrius, who justified himself before it, to be King of Macedonia. Antipater, who had made himself hated by the murder of his own mother, was banished without trouble.

Demetrius was now King of Macedonia (294-287 B.C.). His restless spirit did not content itself with firmly establishing supremacy in Macedonia and Hellas, but wished to reconquer Asia, which Seleucus and Lysimachus had divided between themselves after the death of Antigonus. The mighty preparations made for this purpose aroused the anxiety of these kings so that they formed fresh alliances. Pyrrhus joined them. Demetrius proposed to open the campaign with 98,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and 500 ships. The kings advanced against him simultaneously from different directions. Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from the Thracian side, but was defeated near Amphipolis. Pyrrhus advanced from the west, and Ptolemy appeared with his fleet on the coast of Hellas. Demetrius was fated to learn now how detested his rule was. An insatiate love of war and the imposition of heavy taxes cannot win the hearts of subjects. As he was encamped opposite to Pyrrhus, his army

went over and proclaimed the Epirote king. Demetrius had to flee his kingdom in disguise. He died in Asia 283 B.C., a prisoner of Seleucus, while his son, Antigonus Gonatas, held his own in Hellas. In Macedonia, Pyrrhus came to an agreement with Lysimachus, who naturally claimed his share in the booty on the conditions that the western districts with Edessa fell to Epirus, the eastern to Thrace. But this state of affairs did not last long. Pyrrhus, who was only king by a temporary arrangement, was driven out by Lysimachus.

In the previous years Lysimachus had united under his rule a great part of Alexander's empire. At the distribution of satrapies at Babylon, Thrace had fallen to his share. When he came into his new province he was absolutely unpopular. During the government of Antipater, as we have seen above (p. 131), the Odrysæ, under Seuthes, had already risen and, as it appears, had won their independence. When Lysimachus came, the same Seuthes had succeeded in rousing his fellow-countrymen to war, and marched against him with a strong army of 20,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry. Lysimachus, notwithstanding his far inferior numbers, did not avoid a battle, which, thanks to the excellent discipline of the Macedonians, remained indecisive. Seuthes was afterwards conquered and forced to submit. Thus it was only by fighting that Lysimachus acquired possession of his province. But once in possession of the country of the Odrysæ, the fertile and favoured valley of the Hebrus, he extended his power gradually over the Hæmus up to the Danube.

Here, on the coast of the Black Sea, were Greek colonies, Odessus, Callatis, Istrus and others, which, like the Greek towns of Asia Minor, were proud of their freedom and sought to retain it by force of arms. Lysimachus evidently succeeded at first in making himself master of these towns and occupying them with garrisons. In 313 B.C. Callatis expelled the garrison, declared itself free, and liberated Istrus also and other neighbouring Greeks. This was the signal for the outbreak of a war, in which Lysimachus very soon retook Odessus and Istrus, but was compelled to besiege Callatis for a considerable time. When the Scythian and Thracian tribes also encroached and Seuthes again revolted, Antigonus supporting the hostile movements by sending troops, Lysimachus required all his skill to defend himself against the different enemies. But the Scythians were beaten, Seuthes was overcome in battle, Antigonus' general was conquered, and Callatis finally surrendered. From that time, it appears, the Greek towns on the coast of the Black Sea were permanently subject to Lysimachus.

In 306 B.C. he, like the other governors, assumed the title of King; and in 301 B.C. he was, next to Seleucus, the chief participator in the decisive fight against Antigonus at Ipsus. Lydia, Ionia, Caria, and Hellespontine Phrygia fell to the kingdom of Thrace. Notwithstanding its magnificence, it was not securely founded. The Thracians themselves were difficult to pacify and always inclined to rise, especially the unruly and unmanageable Getæ and Scythians in the North. Lysimachus once marched against the Getæ over the Danube, but got among the barren steppes between the Danube and the Pruth, and, continually surrounded and harassed by the bands of the enemy, was finally forced to surrender unconditionally to their king, Dromichætes. The conduct of the barbarian king was, indeed, noble and magnanimous: he let his prisoner go free on the promise to give up the portions of Getic territory which he possessed and to give him his daughter in marriage. In 287 B.C. Macedonia

also fell to Lysimachus. From 285 on he was king there, but in 281 B.C. he was defeated and killed in battle against Seleucus.

Neither Thrace nor Macedonia was destined to enjoy quiet during the ensuing years. Ptolemy Ceraunus, who, abandoning the prospect of the Egyptian throne in favour of his younger brother, according to the wish of his father, Ptolemy Soter, had left his fatherland, struck down the old Seleucus, placed the double diadem of Macedonia and Thrace on his own head, and married the widow of Lysimachus, Arsinoe, who was his own sister. He then killed her children of the first marriage, who had claims on Thrace. But fate soon overtook himself.

In the first quarter of the fourth century B.C. appear the earliest signs, for us at least, of a movement which, coming from the Northwest, convulsed Thrace and Macedonia. On the south bank of the Danube there dwelt in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. the Getæ, between the sea and Mount Hæmus. To the west of them were settled some smaller tribes, which in turn the Oscius (now Isker) divided from the Triballi, living in modern Servia. About 340 B.C. the Getæ had to a large extent left the south bank of the Danube and had crossed over to the other bank of the river, while the Triballi, pushed further westward, occupied the districts between the Danube and Mount Hæmus, abandoned by them. Diodorus relates that the Triballi, compelled by hunger, marched out with bag and baggage (about 370 B.C.) and in their invasion of the neighbouring Thracian territory reached the town of Abdera, situated on the coast of the Ægean Sea, defeated all its effective forces, and besieged the town itself. The Athenian, Chabrias, liberated the beleaguered town and drove the enemy from the land. We know nothing more of this expedition, except that it clearly did not have the desired success: as a fact the Triballi only changed their abode by an expedition made towards the East.

This was no ordinary marauding expedition, as Diodorus thinks, for the point was that, being pressed by other stronger tribes, they were forced to leave their old homes. It was, indeed, through the Celts, who from the northern side of the Alps and from the plains of the Danube pressed southward on the Illryians and there produced revolutions (twenty thousand Autariates, who had abandoned their homes, had been settled on Mount Orbelus by Cassander), just as they strove to spread eastward and thereby pushed the Thracian tribes onward. The Celtic Scordisci pressed on as far as the valley of the Morawa, where formerly the Triballi dwelt. These are the first discernible traces of a flood of nations which was destined to break with fury over Macedonia and Thrace. Powerful rulers, indeed, like Philip, Alexander, Antipater, Cassander, and Lysimachus, had kept the surrounding nations in check and, in any case, protected their own territories. An expedition into Thrace for plunder and conquest by the Celts, or, as they are mostly called, the "Galatians," under their leader, Cambaules, must, indeed, come within the time of these last-named rulers; but that expedition did not at the time assume formidable proportions.

On the fall of Lysimachus the Galatians poured in three separate bodies over the Balkan peninsula: the bands of Belgius turned towards Macedonia, demanded money from King Ptolemy Ceraunus in case he wished for peace, and when he refused, invaded the land, ravaging and laying it waste. The king was defeated and killed. The whole land was at the mercy of the barbarians. The

inhabitants fled into the fortified towns, where the Galatians could not attack them with any prospect of success. At last, after some months, Sosthenes was able to drive the unwelcome guests out of the land. The army then placed him on the throne. The next year the Galatians made another expedition, attracted by the rich booty which their comrades had brought home, but also with the intention of conquering new settlements. They divided their forces; Lutarius and Leonnorius overran Thrace, Brennus marched into Macedonia. Sosthenes fell; once more the inhabitants had to fly, if possible, into the strong towns, and once more the villages and settlements were plundered and laid waste. Brennus marched further into Greece. There fate overtook him: the united forces of the Greeks, whom Apollo himself helped, so it is related, succeeded in defeating the Galatians at Delphi and in nearly annihilating them. Those who escaped from the disaster, as well as the hordes which, meantime, had plundered other parts of Greece, withdrew to Macedonia. While a part of them returned home and another part went into Thrace to join Lutarius and Leonnorius, the third remained in Macedonia, in order completely to ravage the disorganised country. At this crisis Antigonus Gonatas, the son of the king, Demetrius Poliorcetes, appeared with a strong fleet and a well-equipped army. He succeeded in defeating the Galatians, who offered him peace in return for money, as they had once offered Ptolemy Ceraunus; and the people, at last set free from the oppression of the invaders, welcomed him with acclamations of joy.

But Thrace, which Philip and Alexander and lately Lysimachus had ruled, together with Macedonia, became for the ensuing period the prey of the Galatians. Thither also had fled those able to escape from the battle with Antigonus. When Lutarius and Leonnorius, who had made Byzantium and the whole coast of the Propontis tributary, conquered Lysimachea and the Thracian Chersonese, and crossed over in 277 B.C. to Asia Minor, in order after many random expeditions finally to found a kingdom (cf. above, p. 64), the hordes of Brennus which had escaped from the disasters at Delphi and in Macedonia remained behind in Thrace and entered, as it were, on the inheritance of their brethren who had gone to Asia. Under their leader, Comontorius, they brought into subjection the Thracians, who often endeavoured to shake off the yoke and had again to be conquered, and saw their valour yield to the greater valour of a still ruder people. Thrace thus became the spoil of strangers, who organised a state there and made their leader, Comontorius, the first king. The capital of the kingdom was Tylis; from its situation we may conclude that its dominion extended as much over the territories north as over those south of Mount Hæmus. The conduct of the Galatians is shown by their treatment of Byzantium, the rich Greek emporium on the Bosphorus. This town, to have peace from these pests, was forced to pay yearly first 3000, then 5000, later 20,000 pieces of gold and finally 80 talents. And the other seaports the Galatians treated in the same way. The rule of the Galatians in Thrace lasted several generations. About 213 B.C. the Thracians succeeded in shaking off the yoke. King Cavarus was, indeed, peaceful and sensual, weaknesses which aided the Thracians. Perhaps also the tendency of the Galatians to enlist as mercenaries may have stripped the land too completely of men capable of bearing arms.

As we have seen above, Antigonus I. Gonatas had become King of Macedonia after his victory over the Galatians. In Hellas he exercised sovereignty over

Thessaly, Bœotia, Eubœa; and in the Peloponnese, Corinth, Argos, Sicyon, Megalopolis, and Messenia were subject to him. In the North the task to which he first devoted himself was tremendous, for not only had the swarms of the Galatians cruelly wasted and impoverished the land, but pretenders, who since the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus and Sosthenes were forever rising up and fighting, kept Macedonia in a perpetual state of disorder and prevented all prosperous development. Antigonus put an end to this confusion. First of all, he secured the frontiers of his kingdom by taking, after a long siege, Cassandria, where the cruel Apollodorus had seized the power, and deposed the tyrant. When he soon afterwards celebrated his marriage to his niece, Phila, by festivities, to which Greek philosophers, men of letters, and poets were summoned, he wished to show to the world not only that his power was firmly established, but that he, like Archelaus (cf. above, pp. 90, 91), wished to foster the development of the moral and intellectual powers of his people and to make room for poetry at his court.

Antigonus was not fated long to enjoy quiet and peace; for in 275 B.C. Pyrrhus of Epirus, who had just returned from Italy, undertook a war of conquest against Macedonia. His pretext was that Antigonus, in spite of his requests, had not sent troops to his assistance in Italy. In reality he wished to avail himself of the present situation of his opponent, who was not prepared for a war, in order to break into the neighbouring country with his veteran troops and to reconquer his old possessions. In point of fact, this preliminary success answered the expectations of the king. Antigonus with his hastily levied troops and Gallic mercenaries could offer no resistance to the attack of Pyrrhus. Beaten, he was forced to withdraw to Thessalonica, and saw his power limited to this town and some towns on the coast, while Thessaly and the whole of Upper Macedonia with the old royal town of Edessa fell to the Epirote. It was brought as a reproach against Pyrrhus even in antiquity that he allowed the sepulchres of the kings there to be plundered by his Gallic bands without interfering or at least punishing the miscreants. He also treated the inhabitants harshly. These were not means calculated to secure the possession of the land, which had hardly been conquered and had never been entirely subjugated.

Shortly afterwards Pyrrhus' army advanced into Greece, in order primarily to expel the garrisons of Antigonus from the towns of the Peloponnese, and thus to deprive his adversary of his bases of operation and supplies in that country. At the same time it was not unwelcome to him that Cleonymus, son of King Cleomenes, who had been forced reluctantly to renounce his claim to the Spartan throne in favour of his nephew, Areus, placed himself under his protection and hoped with his help to bring about his accession to the throne. If this succeeded, Pyrrhus would have a devoted friend in the King of Sparta, who must stand or fall with him, while otherwise he had only opposition to look for in Sparta, should he wish to win the Peloponnesian towns for himself. After marching through Laconia and laying waste the country, Pyrrhus attacked the capital, but was repulsed. Meantime, Antigonus Gonatas had reconquered Macedonia and had then advanced with an army into the Peloponnesus. At the news of his approach Pyrrhus went as far as Argos to meet the enemy. There Pyrrhus was killed in a street fight at night (272 B.C.). Antigonus ordered his body to to be burnt with every token of respect, and gave the ashes of it to his son Hellenus, who led the Epirote army back home.

In this manner Antigonus Gonatas rescued Macedonia and restored his influence in Greece. This powerful position, however, was soon to entangle him in a new war, in preparation for which the Kings Ptolemy of Egypt and Areus of Sparta, together with Athens, formed a confederacy. The old catchword of the liberation of Greece was used here: and yet nothing is more certain than that every one of the kings taking part in this war understood by freedom merely the destruction of the Macedonian influence and aimed only at the widening of his own sphere of sovereignty. This war, usually called the Chremonidean War (after Chremonides, the leading statesman in Athens, under whose archonship the alliance for the freedom of Greece was concluded), was mostly fought round Athens, which was besieged by Antigonus and at last captured in 263 B.C. The attempt of the Spartan king to relieve Athens was unsuccessful. Areus himself fell in a bloody battle (265); even the expected help from Ptolemy failed, the Egyptian fleet having been completely defeated near Cos. Athens was forced to surrender to Antigonus, who treated it with leniency. He placed garrisons on the Museum and in Munychia and Piræus. So Athens, after it had been free for some twenty-five years, was once more dependent on Macedonia, as formerly in the first years of Cassander (cf. above, p. 132). But the rest of Greece withdrew itself more and more from the influence of Macedonia. In 280 B.C. four Achæan towns had united into a league, which six others soon joined, the professed object being the expulsion of the Macedonian garrisons and the overthrow of the Macedonian supremacy. Its importance was insignificant at first. Yet in 251 B.C. Aratus liberated his own town of Sicyon from tyrants and induced it to enter the Achæan league. Acrocorinth was then wrested from the Macedonian garrison, and Corinth likewise joined the same league. At last Megara, Troezene and other towns were won for the Achæans and withdrawn from the Macedonian hegemony. And just as in the Peloponnese the Achæan league gained ground and with set purpose checked Macedonia, so the Ætolian league was founded in central Greece, which, gaining ground more and more, attached towns and districts to itself, and in 245 B.C. compelled the country of Bœotia to join it. When Antigonus Gonatas died in 239 B.C. at an advanced age, the Macedonian supremacy over Greece had thus suffered great loss. Only in Macedonia was the throne of the Antigonides firm.

Demetrius II. (239-229 B.C.) failed to evoke in Greece any important reaction in favour of Macedonia. Of the so-called war of Demetrius, which he carried on against the allied Ætolians and Achæans, we know little, except that the Macedonian king inflicted various defeats on the Ætolians and ravaged their land, the result of the war being the recovery of Bœotia.

The attitude of Demetrius towards the Illyrians was fated to bring about most weighty consequences in the future. The Macedonian kings had been forced to fight these neighbouring tribes. It is true that they had been sometimes conquered, but still oftener had they driven out and disheartened the enemy, who were always ready for inroads. It was admittedly to the interest of Macedonia, as of Greece, if all these Northern barbarian tribes were as much as possible kept in check. But Demetrius, far from attacking and attempting to weaken the power of Agron, prince of Scodra, who with his large pirate fleet rendered the Adriatic Sea unsafe, made raids as far as Elis and Messene and

harassed the Greek settlements on the Illyrian coast, actually supported him with money in order with the assistance of the Illyrians to rescue the Acarnanian town of Medeon, which was besieged by the Ætolians. He attained, indeed, his immediate object. In order to check the growing insolence of the Illyrians and to prevent the subjugation of the Greek colonies, Rome had to interfere. Illyria was humiliated and its fleet of corsairs broken up. Corcyra, Epidamnus, Apollonia, and the Epirote tribes of the Parthini and Atintani became allies of Rome. Rome had broken the power of the Illyrian princes, deserved the gratitude of the Greeks, and opened the way for the establishment of her influence in Greek affairs, thus undertaking the duty which once Macedonia was accustomed to discharge, of protecting the civilised world from the wild barbarians of the North.

On another part of the frontier of the kingdom the prospect was also gloomy. East of the Illyrians and north of the Macedonians dwelt the Dardani, who from old times were accustomed to make raids from their mountains on the fertile lands below them, until Philip and Alexander by vigorous methods secured the frontier against them, as against the other barbarian tribes. But in the confusion after Alexander's death and, above all, in the gloomy times after Cassander the Dardani, just as other barbarian peoples, had broken away from Macedonia, had increased their strength under native princes, and were now again disposed, as formerly, to make inroads into the country. On one such invasion, which occurred in 229 B.C., Demetrius advanced against them, but lost the battle, and was either killed in it or died soon afterwards.

A near relation of the royal house, Antigonus, surnamed Doson, took over the government for Philip V., the infant son of Demetrius, just as Philip II. had once ruled for his infant nephew (cf. above, p. 95). The circumstances under which Philip II. and Antigonus Doson assumed the government also were similar; in both cases, difficult as they were, there was need of a grown man. In the North the Dardani had overrun Macedonia. In central Greece, it is true, Demetrius had by the recovery of Bœotia restored the Macedonian influence; and even Athens, still a very important town, submitted, so long as Macedonian garrisons occupied Piræus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium. But now Athens, too, was lost for Macedonia, since the commander of the garrison, bribed by Aratus, the general of the Achæan league, gave up the places to the Athenians. Athens did not, indeed, join the Achæan league, as Aratus and the Achæans had hoped; but Macedonia had forever lost a strong base of operations. Thessaly, too, which since Philip's time had been allied with Macedonia, revolted; and the Ætolians, the old enemies of Macedonia, were successful in extending their power there.

Doson secured his frontier for the time by driving out the Dardani. He then brought back the greater part of Thessaly to its allegiance. He also won successes in Greece. The progress which Sparta made under King Cleomenes, and the expansion of the Spartan power in the successful war with the Achæan league, compelled Aratus, general of the Achæan league, finally to seek help against Sparta from Macedonia, the very power by combating which the league had grown strong. Antigonus naturally granted the request, came with an army to the Peloponnese (223 B.C.), once more took possession of the citadel and city of Corinth, and defeated Cleomenes so decisively in the battle at

Sellasia (221 B.C.) that he was forced to fly to Egypt for safety. The newly acquired power of Sparta was crushed at one blow; the supremacy of Macedonia in the Peloponnese, from which it had since Antigonus Gonatas been forced to retreat step by step, was restored, and in most states of Hellas the Macedonian overlordship was again recognised. For besides the Achæans, in whose interests Doson had come, the Acarnanians, Arcadians, Phocians, Bœotians, Thessalians, and Epirotes concluded a league with Antigonus, the hegemony in which rested with Macedonia: the members were not allowed to send letters or embassies to any other king contrary to the will of the leading state, and undertook to pay and maintain Macedonian garrisons.

An inroad of the Illyrians summoned Doson back to Macedonia: he defeated them, but soon afterwards died from apoplexy, 220 B.C. Philip V., son of Demetrius, for whom Doson had been regent, now became king. The Ætolians, fearing Doson, had for some time kept quiet, but now, despising Philip's youth, they recommenced their old raids; they invaded and ravaged West Achaia and Messenia and inflicted a defeat at Caphyæ on the Achæans, who, under Aratus, had resolved to help the Messenians. Philip now appeared in the council of the league at Corinth. Here the combined action against the Ætolians was determined on, which is commonly called the war of the confederates (220-217 B.C.). After marauding expeditions into the enemy's territory without decisive blows had been made, peace was at last concluded at Naupactus (217 B.C.), which recognised the *status quo* of the belligerents. Philip would, indeed, have done better to have staked everything in order to humiliate the Ætolians, these old enemies of his country, and to put an end to their ceaseless attacks and disturbances. But here, as elsewhere, the king showed a want of prudence in his actions.

In the meanwhile, Rome had been reduced by Hannibal to a perilous situation. Philip, in order to satisfy his hatred of the Romans, which he had inherited from his father, concluded peace with the Ætolians and an alliance with Hannibal, according to which a Macedonian army was to be landed in Italy; in return the Roman possessions in Epirus were to be given to Philip. Thus the first Macedonian War broke out (216-208 B.C.). Philip, however, did not rouse himself to vigorous action. He began, it is true, with an attack on the towns in Epirus which belonged to the Romans or were allied with them; but the appearance of a Roman division on that coast was sufficient to take from him Oricum, which he had captured, and to set free the town of Apollonia, which he was besieging (214 B.C.). Moreover, the plan of landing a Macedonian force in Italy waned in proportion as the position of the Romans gradually improved and that of Hannibal grew less favourable. In 210 B.C. Rome concluded a treaty of alliance with Ætolia, Sparta and other states, so that Philip was again occupied in Greece and involved in a war, in which the Achæans stood on his side, and the movements of his opponents were supported by a Roman fleet. Just as in the war of the confederates, the chief incidents of the campaign were incursions into the enemy's territory and the capture of individual towns; no decisive blows were struck. After he had come to terms with the Ætolians and the other Hellenes, Philip concluded a peace with Rome also, which had no intention of carrying on the war against Macedonia without Greek help: Rome kept her possessions in Epirus; Philip took the territory of the Atintani.

But this was, after all, only a truce between Macedonia and Rome; a decisive

settlement between the two was reserved for a later time. Philip turned his attention for the moment to affairs in the East, since Rome was still fully occupied in the West. The death of Ptolemy Philopator of Egypt (204 B.C.), who was succeeded on the throne by a minor, led to a treaty of alliance between Philip and Antiochus III. of Syria. The two allied monarchs had no meaner schemes in view than the partition of the possessions of the Lagidæ. While Antiochus immediately set about the conquest of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, Philip crossed to Asia Minor, took Chalcedon, stormed Chios, and sold its inhabitants into slavery. Lampsacus also fell, and Thasus, which was taken by the Macedonian fleet, suffered the fate of Chios. Such acts justly incensed the Greeks. Byzantium, Rhodes, and Pergamus, whose prince, Attalus, had already fought in the first Macedonian War on the side of the Romans against Philip, and was now indignant at a destructive invasion of the Macedonians, concluded an alliance and declared war on Macedonia. Philip claimed the victory in two sea battles; at any rate, he landed on the Carian coast and began to reduce the Carian towns. In 201 B.C. he returned to Macedonia, leaving garrisons behind him in Caria.

Attalus and Rhodes sought help from the Romans. At first they hesitated; finally the invasion by Philip of the territory of their allies, the Athenians, who had put to death two Acarnanians, his supporters, gave the pretext for war. The Second Macedonian War then began. In autumn, 200 B.C., the consul, P. Sulpicius Galba, landed at Apollonia with two legions and one thousand cavalry, while a Roman fleet surprised Chalcis in Eubœa, one of the Macedonian strongholds. In the spring of 199 B.C. Galba invaded Macedonia from Epirus, being supported by simultaneous attacks of the Dardani and Illyrians on the North and of the Ætolians and Athamenians on the South. Philip was in a critical situation, but he repelled his opponents: Galba withdrew, and the Ætolians were beaten on the Peneius. The year 198 B.C. also brought no decisive result. Philip marched into Epirus and encamped in the narrow valley of the Aous, opposite the Roman general, T. Quinctius Flamininus, who now held the chief command in Galba's place; but he had to retire, defeated. The peace negotiations here commenced and continued during the winter led to nothing.

In the summer of 197 B.C. the decisive battle was at length fought near Cynoscephalæ (the Hills of the Dog's Head) in Thessaly: Philip was totally defeated, and accepted the conditions of peace to which he had not previously been able to consent. He had to give up to the Romans, who left them once more free, all the towns recently taken or previously possessed by him in Asia Minor and Greece. He was also compelled to surrender his fleet and to pledge himself to keep up only five thousand armed men and to wage no wars outside Macedonia. In this way Macedonia was struck out of the list of great powers. In the war of Rome with Antiochus III., that broke out shortly after, Philip stood on the side of Rome, but was disappointed in his hope of being permitted to hold some of the conquered Thessalian and Thracian towns. He did not, however, give up his hatred of Rome and the expectation of better times. He contrived skilfully to evade the command not to keep more than five thousand armed men. He was continually training the young men (of whom he certainly never had more than five thousand under arms at the same time — we may compare the Prussian "Krümpersystem" after 1807), so that he left behind a well-disciplined army of thirty thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry. He also knew

how to make skilful use of the royal powers of taxation, he revived the working of the mines and made them profitable to the state coffers. At any rate, at his death in 179 B.C. there was money in the treasury sufficient to keep ten thousand mercenaries for ten years, and in the state granaries a supply of corn also for ten years, while the arsenals were full of weapons of every sort.

His son Perseus tried to carry out his father's unaccomplished plans, directed against Rome. In spite of a favourable start, the third Macedonian War (171-168 B.C.) only ended in the overthrow of the Macedonians at Pydna by Æmilius Paulus. The Macedonian monarchy was abolished. Macedonia was divided into four independent departments. Representatives of the towns and village communities discharged public business, meeting in departmental synods. This state of things was not permanent: after a pretender (Andriscus) had come forward and had been defeated by a Roman army, Macedonia became a Roman province (146 B.C.).

The task of the Macedonian kings, to keep guard against the barbarians and to protect civilisation and culture from their attacks, now fell to Rome. The Roman governors of Macedonia fought almost uninterruptedly against the Thracian tribes and the Dardani, until at last under Augustus, Roman legions pressed on victoriously from the upper course of the Danube and from the shores of the Adriatic. After various campaigns the Thracian tribes were subdued, and even the kingdom of the Odrysæ in the valley of the Hebrus, which towards the end had been a close ally of Rome against its neighbours, was incorporated into the Roman empire (46 A.D.). From the Adriatic Sea, from Apollonia and Dyrrachium, the Egnatian Way (Via Egnatia) went eastward to the Propontis. From Byzantium, past Adrianopel and Philippopolis, a great road led along the Danube to Sirmium and connected with the high road leading from Italy over the Alps. Thus new towns and settlements sprang up, and the old towns flourished under a long peace.

Rome first and then Byzantium protected and guarded these parts until the Goths, the Huns and other barbarians broke into the Balkan peninsula. They ravaged and destroyed all that flourished, and annihilated the conquests won through long years by a higher civilisation (cf. Vol. VI.).

4. THE EMPIRE OF THE SELEUCIDÆ AND THE GRÆCO-BACTRIAN EMPIRE 144-160

A. The Origin and the Growth of the Empire (from Seleucus to Antiochus the Great) 141-153

When Alexander died his mighty empire fell to pieces. In the West, in Europe, Asia Minor, and Egypt, independent kingdoms were formed, the history of which is told in another place. We shall here occupy ourselves with the destinies of the Eastern countries extending between Asia Minor and Egypt from the Phœnician coast to the Jaxartes and from the slopes of the Taurus to the Indus, those lands which once owned the sway of the Achæmenidæ and formed the flower of their dominions until conquered by Alexander and incorporated into his monarchy. The death of the great king brought no great immediate

changes to these districts; Babylon remained the capital of the empire, and the provinces continued, for the most part, under their previous governors, excepting Media. At the partition of satrapies at Babylon, Media fell to Pithon, son of Crateuas, while its former possessor, the Persian, Atropates, was restricted to the northwestern part of Media, the province later called Atropatene after him: Syria, which we include here, was on this occasion given to Laomedon of Mytilene.

A great change in the affairs of the East took place at the death of Perdiccas (321 B.C.). Babylon ceased to be the capital; the new regent, Antipater, took the kings with him to Europe. In this way the centre of gravity in the empire was removed from the middle to the edge of it, and the connection between individual parts and the whole, already loose, became looser still. The new partition of satrapies at Triparadisus, which had been taken in hand by the new regent, Antipater, affected the East much more extensively than the former partition. Laomedon, indeed, retained Syria; Peucestas, Persia, and Peithon, Media; but Parthia received a new governor in Philip, as did Bactria and Sogdiana in Stasanor, Mesopotamia in Amphimachus, Susiana in Antigenes, and, what is most important for the ensuing period, Babylon in Seleucus.

Seleucus was born c. 356 B.C. A member of the Macedonian nobility, he, like all his companions, entered early into the army and followed Alexander into Asia. He owed it not merely to his birth, but also to his courage and capabilities, that he belonged to the more intimate circle around the king. We are told, as an instance of his great strength and his courage, that one day in the presence of Alexander he brought a raging bull to the ground. He distinguished himself in the Indian campaign and in the battle against Porus, commanding a part of the infantry, the so-called royal Hypaspists. At the great wedding festival at Susa he received Apama, daughter of Spitamenes, as wife. After Alexander's death, he assumed the command of the household cavalry in place of Perdiccas, now regent: Alexander had attached peculiar distinction to this post, and the holder of it, who was then called Chiliarch, filled, according to Persian precedent, at the same time one of the highest places at court. In this office he made the campaigns of Perdiccas against the insubordinate governors, first against Antigonus and later against Ptolemy of Egypt. When the Egyptian campaign failed, he was among those generals who abandoned their commander; and it is to him and Antigenes, leader of the Argyraspides, that the murder of the regent is ascribed. He was appointed at Triparadisus governor of the province of Babylonia. Since he had, on his accession to office, been removed from the Chiliarchy and the command over the household cavalry, he had to make it his first concern immediately to create an army for himself: Alexander's principle that no satrap should keep an army had been disregarded directly after his death. Seleucus was very soon drawn into the whirlpool of events. Eumenes, who had sided with Perdiccas, had been declared an enemy to the empire at Triparadisus; Antigonus had been appointed strategus and entrusted with the conduct of the war against Eumenes. This war took a new turn when Eumenes, after the death of Antipater, had been appointed strategus in Asia by the regent, Polyperchon, and by Olympias, mother of Alexander, and had been amply provided with funds (cf. above, p. 133). To this alliance Eumenes owed the transference to his side of the excellent body of Argyraspides under Antigenes. The

theatre of war was shifted to the East, where he at once found support from the governors of the easterly provinces. These were still with their troops in Media, where they had expelled Peithon, who had killed Philip, satrap of Parthia, had placed his own brother in his place, and had thus roused the suspicions of other satraps.

But Seleucus neither took part in the combination against Peithon nor did he then join the side of Eumenes. He expressly declared that he could not make common cause with the enemy of the empire. On the contrary, he joined Antigonus, who came to the East in order there to prosecute the war against Eumenes. Fortune, indeed, seemed to smile on Seleucus at first. He received the province of Susiana, the former governor of which, Antigenes, fought on the enemy's side; but fortune proved fickle. When Antigonus had put to death Eumenes, betrayed by his own troops and handed over to his enemy, he behaved as an absolute despot, and arbitrarily appointed and deposed governors. When he was in Babylon, he required from Seleucus, from whom he had already taken away Susiana, an account of his administration: the latter refused. Seleucus felt himself no longer safe, and fled from Babylon. He escaped to Egypt and found a hospitable welcome at the court of Ptolemy.

The great power of Antigonus, as well as his despotic behaviour, led to an alliance of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, to the consummation of which Seleucus contributed his share. Wars then ensued, which continued almost without cessation from 315 to 301 (cf. also above, pp. 134 *et seq.*). Of these, only the struggle for Syria and Phœnicia, with which the first war began, is important for us. Ptolemy had occupied these countries: Antigonus drove him out, and when he himself went back over the Taurus, in order to be near the scene of war in Asia Minor, he left behind his son Demetrius there. The decisive defeat of the latter at Gaza and the reconquest of Syria by Ptolemy allowed Seleucus to return to Babylon (312 B.C.). Seleucus had undertaken the march with only eight hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry; but the population, whose love he had known how to win previously, welcomed him back. As most of the garrisons, too, went over to him, he was able without great trouble to re-enter on the possession of his province.

When Seleucus, together with Lysimachus of Thrace, appeared in Asia Minor for the last decisive passage of arms with his old opponent, Antigonus, he had extended his power far over the borders of Babylonia and created for himself an empire, which went from the Euphrates eastward to the Jaxartes and comprised all the so-called upper satrapies. It would be interesting to be able to follow the distinct steps of this expansion of his power, but our sources fail here. We only hear that Seleucus unexpectedly by night attacked Nicanor, who had been placed by Antigonus as strategus in Media and the upper satrapies, and had advanced upon the news of Seleucus' return to Babylon; in this night attack many distinguished leaders fell, among them the satrap of Persia, and the greater part of the troops went over to Seleucus. Nicanor was forced to fly. Susiana, Media, and Persia fell to Seleucus, who thus won a powerful position. The feeling of the upper satrapies was not favourable to Antigonus, which was to Seleucus' advantage. The governors of those parts either voluntarily submitted or, as in Bactria, were forced into submission. Similarly he tried to make the Macedonian power once more felt in India, where it had been destroyed

since the establishment of a strong native empire by Tschandragupta. Seleucus crossed the Indus to fight him, but concluded a peace on favourable terms for the Indian prince. In return for a tribute of five hundred elephants he confirmed Tschandragupta in his former dominions, and a subsequent alliance by marriage established permanent friendly relations between both empires.

Seleucus had thus in a few years founded an empire and sufficiently strengthened his power to be able to interfere vigorously in the affairs of the West. Following the precedent of the other potentates, he placed the royal diadem on his head (306 B.C.). The advance of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Hellas, which has been related in another place (p. 134), and his pressure on Cassander induced the latter immediately to turn to Antigonus, in order to make his peace with him. Antigonus demanded complete submission, and thus unequivocally asserted his claims to the overlordship. Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, to whom Cassander communicated this answer, saw the common danger: all four kings concluded a new treaty of alliance and began the war against Antigonus. But only Lysimachus and Seleucus took active part in it. When the former marched across the Hellespont to Asia Minor, Seleucus went to join him with his army in Phrygia, and in conjunction with Lysimachus offered Antigonus battle at Ipsus (301 B.C.), where Antigonus was defeated and slain.

The allies divided the spoils among themselves. The chief share in it, as was fair, fell to the two actual conquerors: Lysimachus received northwestern Asia Minor (Caria, Lydia, Ionia, and Hellespontine Phrygia), Seleucus had Greater Phrygia and Syria. Ptolemy, who as a member of the alliance against Antigonus had invaded Syria, but had again evacuated the land on the false news of a victory and further advance of Antigonus, was forced to waive his claim on Syria, for the possession of which he had long striven. The expedition of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who had lost Macedonia, into Asia (286 B.C.) was without noteworthy influence on the affairs of Asia Minor, for he soon fell into the power of Seleucus and died a prisoner (282 B. C.). But once again Seleucus had to take the field. Lysimachus had caused his son and successor, Agathocles, to be killed on the malicious accusation of his wife, Arsinoe, and her brother, Ptolemy Ceraunus, who had fled from Egypt to Macedonia, because his younger brother had been appointed successor. Lysandra, widow of Agathocles, fled with her children to Seleucus in Syria: thither also resorted Ceraunus, who no longer felt himself secure in Macedonia, and another son of Lysimachus, by name Alexander. Seleucus received them all with friendly hospitality. This was the cause of the war which broke out in 281 B.C. between Lysimachus and Seleucus. They met at Corupedium: Lysimachus lost the battle and was killed, and Seleucus entered on his inheritance in Asia Minor and Europe.

Seleucus appointed his son Antiochus, who had for a long time administered the upper satrapies, regent of Asia, desiring himself to reside in Macedonia, in order to end his days in the land of his birth, while he intended Thrace for the children of the murdered Agathocles. He had already landed in Europe when the dagger of Ceraunus, the very man who had shortly before fled to him, beseeching help, struck the unsuspecting old king (281 B.C.). The murderer made himself master of Macedonia and Thrace.

In a long life Seleucus had, indeed, learnt the uncertainty of all things, but towards the end had enjoyed permanent prosperity and had attained greatness.

Shortly before he died the greater part of Alexander's empire was in his hands. But he was not merely a fortunate conqueror, who forced large tracts of land to his own rule, and might with justice style himself Nicator ("Conqueror"), but he resembled Alexander the Great in having done all that lay in his power to disseminate Hellenic culture, while he promoted trade and traffic in his own dominions and opened new sources of prosperity. He continued on a magnificent scale the policy of colonisation commenced by Alexander. The founding of seventy-five towns is ascribed to him, including Seleucia on the Tigris, which, rapidly flourishing, contained soon after the Christian era six hundred thousand inhabitants; Antioch on the Orontes, which flourished even in later antiquity; Seleucia Pieria, the port of Antioch; Seleucia on the Calycadnus in Cilicia; Laodicea on Lebanon, and Apamea on the Orontes. In the East also numerous towns were founded, as Hecatompylus and Europus in the vicinity of the Caspian gates on the great road from West to East. These towns were organised on a Greek model, had a senate and a popular assembly, were endowed with magnificent temples and shrines, and soon became centres of culture and growing prosperity.

When Seleucus I., Nicator, died, the empire established by him had attained its greatest expansion. The power of the Seleucidæ (the name usually given in honour of its creator and founder to the dynasty which, through Seleucus, became lords of these dominions) stretched then from the Bosphorus and the western coast of Asia Minor to the Indus and from Syria to the Jaxartes and Pamir. Those who wish to designate the empire of Seleucus no longer by the reigning dynasty, but by a geographical term, are accustomed to call it, in accordance with the true position and the real fulcrum of the power of its rulers, the Syrian empire; this designation is, indeed, less appropriate for the period of Seleucus and his immediate successors than for the later Seleucidæ.

But while the two other great empires which had arisen from the monarchy of Alexander after the wars of the Diadochi, namely, Egypt and Macedonia, composed either a completely separate geographical unity (Egypt) or, at least, an ethnographically united aggregate (Macedonia), the Syrian empire was a conglomeration of different countries, inhabited by the most heterogeneous nations. In this lay its weakness. Seleucus at first resided in Babylon, at about the centre of his empire. He afterwards removed his residence to Antioch on the Orontes, that is to say, almost to the western border. This shifting of the centre of gravity of the empire from its central point to the circumference was clearly due to the fact that Seleucus had entrusted his son Antiochus with the administration of the upper satrapies; but Antioch remained the capital even after his death. The choice of the royal residence was a very important matter for the empire, which, badly defined and devoid of natural coherence in all respects, as it was, found its ideal unity only in the person of its monarch. Although the Seleucidæ obviously did not renounce any claim on the Eastern satrapies by this arrangement, these became, in fact, far removed from the heart of the empire and withdrew more and more from the influence of the central authority.

The first successor of Seleucus was his son Antiochus, surnamed Soter, who even in his father's lifetime had administered as co-regent the countries lying east of the Euphrates. He had taken to wife Laodice, daughter of Demetrius

Poliorcetes. Laodice was originally married to his father, but had been voluntarily surrendered by the latter to the son, who was wasting away with love for her, an occurrence which soon became a fertile subject for the Greek writers of romances. He followed his father's example and nominated his two sons as co-regents; first the elder, Seleucus, and after his murder, the younger, Antiochus.

The history of the next two generations, which are taken up by the reigns of Antiochus I., Soter (281-261), Antiochus II., Theos (261-246), and Seleucus II., Callinicus (246-226), is marked by the relations of Syria to Egypt and by the wars which the Seleucidæ had to wage with the neighbour state. The position of Syria as regards the states of Asia Minor was not less important. In addition, there was the defection of the countries on the Oxus and Jaxartes, for now began the subjugation of the important province of Parthia by the neighbouring inhabitants of the steppes and the formation of a new empire, the Parthian.

Complications with Egypt began directly after the death of Seleucus. The first question at issue was that of the possession of Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, countries to which Ptolemy Soter laid claim on the ground that he had conquered them in 318 B.C., had lost them through Antigonus, but had demanded them once more on the occasion of the last alliance of the kings against Antigonus as a prize of victory for his share in the war. Since, however, the battle at Ipsus had been fought without Ptolemy's assistance, Syria had been granted to Seleucus in the distribution. For this reason Ptolemy's son and successor, Ptolemy Philadelphus, soon after the death of Seleucus began the first Syrian War. We know little of its course. Philadelphus conquered Cœle-Syria, the southern part of Syria, and by means of his fleet brought strips of the coast of Asia Minor under his rule, so that Egypt firmly established herself on the coasts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, and Ionia.

But besides the Lagidæ, other foes to the Seleucidæ had arisen in Asia Minor. In the northwestern corner, between the rivers Rhyndacus and Parthenius, in the district watered by the lower Sangarius, lay Bithynia, which had been able under native princes to preserve its independence throughout the whole of the period of the Diadochi. Even the attempt made by Antiochus immediately after his accession to subdue Bithynia had failed. To the southwest of it, in the valley of the Caicus, lay Pergamus, a strong fortress, the commander of which, Philetærus, revolted from his new masters, the Seleucidæ, after Lysimachus' death, and, being amply provided with funds, was able skilfully to lay the foundations of an important empire (cf. above, p. 62). In addition, the Galatians had come into Asia Minor as a new power. They had been invited in 277 B.C. by Nicomedes of Bithynia to come over from Thrace, and had remained here. They occupied the country on the upper Sangarius and middle Halys, and as far as political influence went greatly contributed to the disintegration of Asia Minor. Against them also Antiochus had to fight to protect his territory. It is recorded that he defeated the Galatians. This victory indisputably helped to confine them to the district called Galatia after them, but it did not effect their subjugation. Antiochus was still more unlucky in the war against Eumenes of Pergamus, in which he was defeated at Sardis (cf. p. 63). Soon afterwards he died (261 B.C.).

His son and successor, Antiochus II., surnamed Theos (261-246 B.C.), was

not in a position to alter the state of affairs in Asia Minor and to win back the districts torn from his kingdom. With Egypt he waged the Second Syrian War. We know nothing more of it than that its objects, the recovery of Cœle-Syria and the driving out the Egyptians from the coast of Asia Minor, were not realised. The *status quo* was recognised in the subsequent peace; and to seal and confirm it, Ptolemy Philadelphus gave his daughter Berenice to Antiochus in marriage. Antiochus' first wife, Laodice, who was disgraced and divorced for the sake of the Egyptian princess, in revenge poisoned her husband and instigated her eldest son, the new king, Seleucus II., surnamed Callinicus, to the murder of his stepmother. To avenge this crime, Ptolemy Euergetes, who in 246 B.C. had followed Philadelphus on the Egyptian throne, began the Third Syrian War. While Euergetes marched to Syria at the head of his troops his fleet sailed from Cyprus to Cilicia, where many Seleucid officials, as well as many Cilician towns, voluntarily joined the Egyptians; the officials, devoted to their old lord, had to fly, and the towns who favoured him were besieged. The fleet then sailed for North Syria. Seleucia, the important coast town, and later Antiocheia, the capital, which lies a short distance from it, were occupied. Euergetes himself crossed the Euphrates with an army, made himself master of the upper satrapies, and brought back the treasures and relics which the Persians had in earlier times carried off from the Egyptians. In spite of such astounding successes, the Egyptian king suddenly concluded peace, because, it was said, uproar and revolt in his own country summoned him back. Seleucia and the Cilician coast remained in the Egyptian power: with this exception, Ptolemy abandoned all the conquered provinces.

The reign of Seleucus II. was extremely stormy and disturbed; but the records are very fragmentary, and the isolated facts that have been handed down lack internal coherence. His brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, disputed with him the dominion over Asia Minor (cf. above, p. 63 *et seq.*) and rose against him, relying on the independent states of the Bithynians, Cappadocians, and Galatians. But in the war of the two brothers against each other and in that with Attalus, prince of Pergamus, who conquered and routed Hierax, the country as far as the Taurus was lost to the Seleucidæ. Hierax was murdered in his flight by robbers (circa 227 B.C.).

Even in the East the dominion of the Seleucidæ fared badly. In the time of Antiochus Theos, the Bactrian governor, Diodotus, had revolted. He proclaimed himself King of Bactria, and was recognised in Sogdiana and Margiana (250 B.C.). About the same time the brothers Arsaces and Tiridates, chiefs of the nomadic tribe of the Parni, whose pasturing-grounds were on Bactrian territory, had moved further West and had occupied the Seleucid territory of Astabene. Arsaces was immediately proclaimed king there. Thence they invaded Parthia and, after defeating the governor, made themselves masters of the country. The attempt of Seleucus Callinicus to expel Arsaces failed, and the Parthian empire of the Arsacidæ became established more firmly (it only disappeared in 226 A.D., after a duration of 480 years).

When Callinicus died (226 B.C.), the Seleucid empire comprised only northern Syria (without the important seaport Seleucia Pieria), Cilicia, with the exception of the coast, and the land eastward from the Euphrates as far as Media, Susiana, and Persia. Asia Minor this side of the Taurus and all the land

east of Media was in the hands of the enemy: Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, for which battles had so often been fought, belonged, now, as formerly, to the Egyptians.

Seleucus III., surnamed Soter, eldest son of Callinicus, reigned only a short time (226-223 B.C.). He was assassinated while on a campaign over the Taurus against Attalus of Pergamus. He was followed by his brother, Antiochus III. (223-187 B.C.), aged twenty, to whom the surname Megas, or the Great, has been given. At first he was a pliant tool in the hand of his first minister, Hermeas, an intriguing Carian. The settlement of affairs in Asia Minor, where after 227, as we have seen, Attalus had extended his territory up to the Taurus, and, above all, the war with Pergamus was entrusted by him to his cousin, Achæus. He himself planned a war against Egypt, in order to bring once for all under his power the long-disputed Cœle-Syria. And in this plan he still held firmly to the counsel of Hermeas, when in 222 B.C. news was brought him of the revolt of the Median satrap, Molon, and his brother, Alexander, who governed Persia. There was, it is true, no lack of voices among the companions of the king advising him to march in person against Molon; but they were disregarded. Antiochus himself only marched out when Molon had conquered several of his generals, placed the diadem on his head, and, starting from Apolloniatis after the capture of Seleucia on the Tigris, had actually taken Babylonia. In 220 B.C. Antiochus crossed the Tigris and pushed into Apolloniatis, in order to cut off his enemy's retreat into Media. A battle was fought, Molon was defeated, and died by his own hand. As a warning example his corpse was crucified and displayed on the highest point of the Zagrus Mountains, over which the road from the West into Media led. Antiochus settled affairs with leniency and moderation. Seleucia alone was severely punished. He then invaded Atropatene. Here the prince, Artabazanes, who had taken Molon's side, was terrified by the sudden invasion, and made a treaty favourable to Antiochus. Hermeas, the powerful minister, was murdered at the instigation of some friends of Antiochus.

Antiochus on his return to Syria began extensive preparations for the Egyptian War. The campaign of the year 219 B.C. opened favourably. Seleucia Pieria, the port of Antioch, which had been Egyptian since Ptolemy Euergetes, was taken. The Egyptian governor of Cœle-Syria, Theodotus, an Ætolian, went over to Antiochus and delivered up the seaports of Ptolemais and Tyre. Other towns also surrendered to him. But what was universally expected did not happen. Instead of attacking Egypt, which was ill-prepared for war, the king marched back from the Phœnician coast to Seleucia. Now began negotiations by Ptolemy's ministers, Agathocles and Sosibius, while they were busily arming; and in the winter of 219-218 the conclusion of a four months' truce was actually obtained. In the summer of 218 Antiochus was again in Cœle-Syria, and defeated the Egyptians; but when Ptolemy in 217, after mighty preparations, took the field in person, he was beaten at Raphia on the borders of Syria and Egypt and was forced to relinquish the conquered districts. Ptolemy made no further use of his victory.

Meantime, in Asia Minor, Achæus had, it is true, again forced the Pergamenes back, but had revolted from Antiochus and had been proclaimed king. Antiochus took up the war with Achaius. In 216 he marched over the Taurus, and in a number of successful engagements forced the enemy back to Sardis.

After a siege of two years he took the town by a stratagem. The citadel, where Achæus was, still held out until a Cretan delivered Achæus into the hands of Antiochus, who caused him to be executed. In this way all the portion of Asia Minor which Attalus had taken away from the Seleucidæ, was won back.

There now followed a series of successful operations. In 209 B.C. Antiochus undertook a campaign of several years' duration in the East. He first invaded the territory of the Parthians, where the Arsacid dynasty was compelled to recognise the supremacy of Syria. He then marched to Bactria: Euthydemus encountered him on the Areius, but had to retreat after a gallant fight. Bactria, the capital was besieged; and Euthydemus, reduced to great straits, threatened to call the nomads into the country and to give up Greek civilisation to their mercy. The Seleucid, whose house had disseminated Greek culture everywhere, did not refuse to listen to such arguments. On the conclusion of peace Euthydemus was confirmed in his royal title, and Antiochus' daughter was betrothed to his son Demetrius, in return for which the Bactrian war elephants had to be given over and the Syrian army supported. The parties then concluded an offensive and defensive alliance (206 B.C.). Antiochus now went over the Hindu-Kusch into the valley of Cabul and renewed with the Indian king, Subhagasêna, the friendship which Seleucus Nicator had formed with Tschandragupta. Subhagasêna also gave him elephants and furnished his army with provisions. He commenced his return through Arachosia and Drangiana and wintered in Carmania. From there he made a digression towards the opposite Arabian coast to the rich trading nation of the Gerrhæi. In return for confirming their independence he was presented with 500 talents of silver, 1000 talents of incense, and 200 talents of myrrh-oil. Thence the king returned to Seleucia. This campaign brought the Seleucid name once more into honour in the East and won for the king among his contemporaries the surname of "the Great."

In the meanwhile, the young Ptolemy Epiphanes had come to the throne in Egypt (205 B.C.). The kings Antiochus of Syria and Philip of Macedonia concluded, therefore, a treaty with the avowed object of seizing the Egyptian possessions and of dividing them among themselves. Philip crossed into Asia Minor, but was there entangled in a war with Pergamus, Rhodes, and lastly with Rome herself. Antiochus sought to realise his former intentions against Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. The diplomatic interference of Rome in favour of her ward, Epiphanes, was not able to check the king in his successfully commenced project of subjugating Cœle-Syria; and it was completed by the defeat of the Egyptians under Scopas on Mount Paneum near the sources of the Jordan (198 B.C.). Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia thus became once more Syrian. As Antiochus wished to have a free hand for Asia Minor and Europe, he concluded peace with Egypt and sealed it by the betrothal of his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy Epiphanes. His ally, Philip, had been compelled to relinquish the conquest of Asia Minor. The war with Rome took a course unfavourable for Philip. Vigorous support by Antiochus would have, perhaps, given another aspect to affairs, but the Seleucid clearly did not contemplate that. As Philip had retired from Asia Minor, he considered it a favourable opportunity to reconquer there what had once belonged to his forefathers. In 197 B.C. he began the campaign of conquest in Asia Minor with a strong army and a fleet. In the peace Philip had ceded to Rome the towns taken by him in Asia Minor, and

Rome had left them free. This incensed Antiochus, but did not disturb him in the execution of his plans. In 196 he crossed over to Europe, occupied the Chersonese, rebuilt Lysimacha, made this town his arsenal, and set about the conquest of Thrace, as if all belonged to him, which his great ancestor, Nicator, would have ruled if he had not been suddenly murdered.

At Lysimacha a Roman embassy asked him to leave the Greek towns of Thrace and Asia free, and not to rob the king of Egypt. To this he answered that he was availing himself of his right in what he was doing, and that the Egyptian king did not complain of him. On the contrary, he was his ally, and would soon be connected with him by the closest bonds of relationship. Strained relations with Rome were thus produced, and these were intensified when Antiochus hospitably received Hannibal, Rome's greatest foe. But Hannibal's plans to attack Rome in Italy itself found no approval, and were not carried out. After further diplomatic negotiations, war with Rome finally broke out, when Antiochus at the instigation of the Ætolians crossed to Greece (192 B.C.) and now began to subdue Hellenic towns and provinces. But to meet Rome on the field of battle, Antiochus had absolutely insufficient forces: he had landed with ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. He attempted to bar the advance of the Roman army at Thermopylæ, but was eluded and defeated. With few followers he fled to Asia Minor (191 B.C.). The Syrian fleet also had been defeated at sea: first in 191 by C. Livius at Corycus (between Chios and Ephesus), then in 190 by Æmilius at Myonnesus. The king's consternation at this reverse was so great that he evacuated Lysimacha, his fortified and important arsenal on the Thracian coast, and thus left the road to the Hellespont free to Cornelius Scipio, the Roman general, who was advancing by the land route, and rendered his crossing possible. The decisive battle took place at Magnesia on Mount Sipylus: Antiochus was completely defeated (190 B.C.). By the terms of the peace he had to cede Asia Minor as far as the Taurus, to surrender his elephants and his fleet, except ten ships, and to pay a war indemnity of 15,000 Euboeic talents (£4,800,000), of which 3000 were to be paid at once and 12,000 in the course of the next twelve years. The effect of this disaster was apparent elsewhere: both satraps of Armenia revolted and founded independent kingdoms: Artaxias in the North (valley of the Araxes) with Artaxata, and Zariadres in the South (Sophene on the Tigris). Soon afterwards Antiochus was killed by the Elymæi on an expedition to the East, where he wished to plunder the temple of Belus, in order to fill his empty coffers (187 B.C.).

B. The Disruption and Fall of the Empire (from Seleucus IV., Surnamed Philopator, to Antiochus XIII.)

Antiochus was succeeded by his sons, Seleucus IV., surnamed Philopator (187–175 B.C.), and Antiochus IV., surnamed Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.). Seleucus, who reigned in difficult circumstances and had to struggle with the financial distress caused by the payments to Rome, was murdered by his minister, Heliodorus. The latter attempted to usurp the throne, but could not hold it. Antiochus came to the throne, supported by Pergamus. Demetrius, son of the murdered Seleucus, the infant heir to the crown, lived as a hostage at Rome, whither

he had been sent by his father in place of Antiochus shortly before the latter's death. Antiochus IV. Epiphanes was immediately entangled in a war with Egypt, of the causes of which we have no exact information. His sister Cleopatra had married Ptolemy Epiphanes (193 B.C.) and had received as a bridal gift the assignment of the taxes from several towns in Cœle-Syria. In 181 Epiphanes of Egypt was murdered, and Cleopatra, who had undertaken the guardianship of Ptolemy Philometor, died in 173; and disputes arose over the dowry of Cleopatra. The Egyptians claimed the aforesaid towns, from which money had flowed into the coffers of Cleopatra, and demanded the continuance of the payments even after the death of the queen: Antiochus did not concede that, since the Syrian claim of supremacy had never been relinquished there. In short, war resulted. A victory at Pelusium delivered this important town into the hands of Antiochus and made his road to Egypt open. The king, Ptolemy Philometor, fell into the power of the enemy; and at the wish of the people his brother Physcon undertook the government in Egypt. Epiphanes was repulsed, but kept Pelusium. Philometor having regained his freedom, came to an agreement with his brother. Epiphanes now attacked Egypt afresh and besieged Alexandria.

C. Popillius Lænas appeared in the camp of the king there with an order from the Roman senate, in which Antiochus was summoned to leave Egypt at once. When Antiochus asked time for reflection, Lænas drew a circle with his stick in the sand round the king and said, "Before thou steppest out of this circle, tell me what report I shall take to the senate." The king declared himself ready to fulfil the wishes of the senate. He marched out of Egypt and gave up Pelusium, but kept Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia (168 B.C.). The peremptory command of Rome had been enough to destroy Epiphanes' prospect of conquering Egypt. Not strong enough to wage a war with Rome, and enlightened by the calamitous issue of his father's struggle, he was compelled to recognise the foreign power and submit himself to it: in the course of a generation, then, Syria had sunk from the position of a world power which it held under Antiochus III. Henceforward it never attained a similar place in the political system of the world. The influence of Rome now was prominent in many ways even in the internal affairs of Syria.

We have just related that Armenia and Sophene had formed themselves into independent kingdoms under their own monarchs. The next campaign of Epiphanes was directed against Armenia (166 B.C.). He penetrated far into the land, took King Artaxias prisoner, but replaced him in his kingdom, just as once his father, notwithstanding successful campaigns, had in the end recognised the Kings of Parthia and Bactria. Armenia must certainly at this time have recognised the supremacy of Syria, but it did not again become a Syrian province. From Armenia, Epiphanes turned to the Persian Gulf, where he rebuilt a town founded by Alexander at the mouth of the Tigris, which had fallen to ruins, and called it Antioch. Alexander had formerly restored the Babylonian canal system here, by means of which the devastating effects of the floods of the Tigris and Eulæus were obviated and excellent means provided for the sufficient irrigation of the land. Epiphanes did the same when he found everything neglected and ruined. The new Antioch at the mouth of the Tigris having been again destroyed by the floods, was rebuilt afresh by the satrap, Hyspaosines, secured by strong dams, and called Charax. It soon afterwards became a

flourishing commercial town and capital of a small kingdom. On the way to Persia to suppress a revolt, Antiochus IV. Epiphanes died at Tabæ (164 B.C.) of consumption. When he rebuilt Antioch and restored the canal system of Babylonia, Epiphanes followed the good old tradition of his house, to pay attention to the promotion and dissemination of civilisation; and he was impelled by the same thoughts, and was equally desirous of securing the victory of Hellenic culture and of his own belief in the Olympian Zeus as opposed to the system of the East, when he interfered in the affairs of the Jews. This attack has brought hatred and contempt on him in no scant measure. In modern times an impartial and fairer judgment of his policy has at length taken the place of that condemnation. But the narrative of the events themselves, the measures of Epiphanes in Jerusalem, as well as the consequent rising of the Jews under the Maccabees, will appear in a more proper place later (Vol. III.).

After the short reign of Antiochus V. Eupator (164-162), Demetrius I. Soter came to the throne (162-150 B.C.), the son of Seleucus IV., who was living in Rome as a hostage when his father was murdered and his uncle, Epiphanes, became king. From the outset he had to contend with the hatred of Rome. Timarchus, satrap of Media, renewed the attempt of Molon, revolted from Demetrius, and with the consent of the Roman senate assumed the diadem. In alliance with Artaxias of Armenia he soon subdued the neighbouring lands and became master of Babylonia. But when Demetrius took the field against him, he was defeated and slain (160 B.C.). Thus Media and Babylonia were again saved; and the grateful Babylonians, who hated Timarchus, gave to Demetrius the splendid and honourable title of Soter, "the Saviour."

But Rome created fresh difficulties for him and effected an alliance of the neighbouring countries against him, in accordance with which a certain Alexander Balas, who was given out to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes and set up as a rival king, invaded Syria. Demetrius fell in the war against him (150 B.C.). The new king, who styled himself Alexander Theopator Euergetes, was totally incapable. Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt, who had joined in supporting him, now put forward Demetrius, son of Demetrius I., against him. After long struggles, in which Alexander was worsted, Demetrius II. became king (145 B.C.). But against him also a certain Diodotus rose as a rival under the name of Tryphon, and succeeded in driving Demetrius out of the greater part of Syria. The effect of these calamitous civil wars was soon apparent. The rich and fertile provinces of Media and Babylonia, which had just been won back by Demetrius I., were now lost and passed into the power of the Parthians. Seleucia on the Tigris, the proud creation of the first Seleucidæ, was taken by the Parthians. The inhabitants of these districts, which had hailed Demetrius I. as saviour when he liberated them from the yoke of Timarchus, did, indeed, call in his son, but Demetrius II. was defeated by the Parthians and taken prisoner (138 B.C.).

His brother, Antiochus VII. Sidetes, who took his place in Syria, succeeded in ending the civil dissensions, after removing Tryphon, and in re-establishing the royal power. In 130 B.C. he undertook a campaign against the Parthians. The latter, being defeated on the Lycus, now released his brother Demetrius from captivity, probably in the hope that he would begin afresh the civil war and thus draw off Antiochus from Parthia. But before that happened the

Parthians once more confronted Antiochus, and this time he was defeated and slain (129 B.C.). Henceforth the dominion of the Seleucidæ was limited to the countries west of the Euphrates. When Demetrius, after nine years of captivity among the Parthians, returned to his home, he found his land in mourning for the death of Antiochus and the loss of his army. Nevertheless, he began a war immediately with Egypt, just as if his own and his brother's campaign against the Parthians had had a glorious ending. The Syrian towns, especially the capital, Antioch, and Apamea, revolted; and Ptolemy of Egypt set up against him in Syria the son of a merchant, who received the name of Alexander and was passed off for an adopted son of the fallen Antiochus. Alexander, who, apart from this, found a great advantage in the strong aversion of the Syrian towns for Demetrius, knew how to use adroitly the arrival of Antiochus' corpse. His eagerness for an appropriate and honourable burial of the body, as well as the mourning robes he displayed and the tears he copiously shed, won for him the hearts of the inhabitants. He succeeded in defeating Demetrius, although the latter was amply supplied with means by his mother-in-law, Cleopatra, who had fled to him from Egypt. After his defeat, Demetrius went to Tyre and was killed there as he disembarked from his ship (125 B.C.).

Demetrius II. had two sons by his marriage with Cleopatra. Of these, Seleucus was killed by his own mother soon after the father's death, because he had assumed the diadem without her consent: the other, however, mounted the throne. A disturbed reign was the lot of Antiochus VIII. Grypus ("Long Nose"), as it had been that of his father. The rival king, Alexander (Zabinas), rendered presumptuous by success, thought that he could dispense with his patron, Ptolemy of Egypt, and exercise his dominion independently of him. This led to a breach between Ptolemy and Alexander and to closer relations between the Egyptian and Grypus, in consequence of which the latter received not only ample assistance from Egypt, but also the hand of the Egyptian princess, Tryphæna. This open help from Egypt brought many Syrian towns to the side of Grypus, who thus, being supported on all sides, could confront his rival. Alexander was worsted in the battle: a fugitive and without funds, he arrived at Antioch and there robbed the temple of Zeus, first of the golden statue of Niké and then of the figure of Zeus himself, likewise in gold. By so doing he stirred up the people so much against him that he had to fly. Seized by robbers, he was brought to Grypus and killed.

Thus Grypus was lord and ruler of his father's realm. The intention of his detestable mother, Cleopatra, who wished now to kill Grypus, in order to reign alone, was frustrated. The son compelled his mother herself to drain the cup of poison presented to him. Grypus did not long enjoy the sole rule. His stepbrother, Antiochus IX. Cyzicenus, opposed him. The war between the brothers led eventually to a partition of the realm. Grypus obtained Syria proper and Cilicia, Cyzicenus had Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. In the year 96 B.C. Grypus was murdered. His son, Seleucus VI., repulsed, indeed, the attack of Cyzicenus, but had to fight with his four brothers. In Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, after the death of Cyzicenus, his son, Antiochus X. Eusebes, "the Pious," reigned. He married — an event which throws light on the morality of family relations at that time — his own mother, Cleopatra Selene, who had been the

wife of Grypus, then of Cyzicenus, after having been previously wedded to Ptolemy Lathyrus of Egypt.

A greatly diminished empire, torn by fraternal wars and civil dissension, divided between two lines of princes and a royal house, whose history teemed with murder and horrors of every kind — that is the unedifying picture of the conditions of the Seleucid dynasty about 100 B.C. There was no longer any thought of accomplishing the great task pointed out by Seleucus, that of making the powerful empire into a state which should spread the blessings of civilisation and should find its most honourable work in the dissemination of Hellenism. Antiochus III. had ultimately given back to the empire for a brief moment the position which it had held under the first Seleucidæ, although none of the successors had ruled an empire as wide as that which Seleucus had bequeathed to them. Antiochus Epiphanes and Antiochus Sidetes strove earnestly to re-establish the former power, but all that they created or founded soon fell to pieces again. Under their successors the empire was abandoned to the influence of the neighbouring powers. The intervention of Rome or Egypt in Syrian affairs proved too often fateful and calamitous to the house of the Seleucidæ.

In this helpless condition of the empire King Tigranes of Armenia (see Fig. 4 of plate facing p. 134) was able to conquer first Syria proper (83 B.C.) and then the greater part of Phœnicia with Ptolemais (74 B.C.). The Roman, Lucullus, prepared the death blow to his supremacy in these regions. The new king, Antiochus XIII., the son of Antiochus Eusebes and of the repeatedly married Cleopatra Selene, was soon murdered. Shortly after, in the year 64 B.C., Pompey, who had conquered Mithradates of Pontus, appeared in Syria and put an end to the Seleucid rule. Henceforth Syria is a Roman province. The land ceases to have any history of its own. Its destinies depend on Rome. Roman legions compose the garrisons and guard the frontiers towards the East. Syria flourished under the strong arm of the Roman emperors: the towns and communities created by the Seleucidæ prospered, as did the old towns on the Phœnician coast, and became seats of vigorous and extensive manufacturing activity and of busy trade. Rome carefully continued all that the Seleucidæ had accomplished by the extension of Hellenic culture. Districts were then prosperous and thickly inhabited where nothing remains to-day, except ruins in a dismal, deserted country. The rule over the land passed from the Romans to the Byzantines, and from them to the Arabs (cf. Vols. III. and V.).

C. The Græco-Bactrian Empire

(*a*) *Physical Characteristics and Earliest History of Bactria.*—North of the Hindu-Kusch, west of the Pamirs, and east of Iran there stretches towards the Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral a wide region, which in its southern and western parts is crossed by mountain ranges, but otherwise consists of steppes and deserts, broken only by large, fertile oases. Two streams, the Oxus (Amu-darja) and the Jaxartes (Sir-darja), flow through this region. In antiquity the country on the upper course of the Oxus was called Bactria, on which Sogdiana bordered in the direction of the Jaxartes, towards the north, while the country on the lower courses of these two rivers, which stretched to the Caspian and the Sea of Aral, was usually called Chorasmia.

As this desert in the North is connected with the South Russian steppe, we find in old times here, as in Russia, among the inhabitants, nations of the Iranic stock, which are usually comprised under the general name of Scythians (cf. above, p. 73). The different nature of these wide regions produced a different method of life among these Iranic nations. While the inhabitants of the highlands and the great fertile and well-watered oases, which are scattered over the desert, were settled and were occupied in agriculture, the raising of vegetables, and cattle-breeding, the nomadic Scythians, like the Turcomans of to-day, roamed over the deserts with their herds and all their belongings, continually looking for new and fresh pastures, but always inclined to make predatory attacks on the permanent settlements. A natural contrast was thus formed between the nomads, on the one hand, and the settled inhabitants of the fruitful oases and of the highlands, on the other; and, therefore, there existed among the latter, who had always to be ready to repel the attacks of the nomads, a military nobility capable of bearing arms, from whose midst, as in Bactria and elsewhere, arose the hereditary princely and kingly power. These military nobles were at the same time landowners, since the mass of the peasants were dependent on them.

The Bactrian kingdom, the rulers of which are said to have fought for many centuries against the Turanians (i.e. against the nomads) and to have won great victories, was of immense antiquity. But the kings in the accounts handed down are mere mythical figures. The wars against the Turanians are taken from the legends of the War of the Gods of Light against the Demons, and similarly the wars have given rise to legends about the gods. For this reason it is, unfortunately, impossible to write a history of the more ancient period.

(*b*) *Bactria under Hellenistic Influence.*—The Bactrian kings ended when Cyrus on his great expedition to the East subdued Bactria and gave the administration of the land to his brother, Bardija. Under Darius Hysdaspes, Bactria belonged to the twelfth Persian circuit for purposes of taxation, and paid annually 360 talents. The Chorasmians, who were also subjugated by Cyrus and Sogdians, belonged to the sixteenth circuit and contributed 300 talents.

The supremacy of Persia over the Iranic East was maintained until Alexander the Great, as heir of the Persian empire, which had been destroyed by him, subdued Bactria and Sogdiana. The wars fought by him here have been already related (cf. above, p. 122 *et seq.*). Alexander endeavoured, by founding towns, eight of which are mentioned here (among them Alexandria Eschate on the Jaxartes, cf. above, p. 124), to ensure the obedience of the conquered country and to win it over to Greek civilisation. He settled Macedonian and Greek soldiers here; and these, doubtless, were joined soon by merchants and enterprising persons of all sorts, since the country, through which of old the wares of India were brought to the Black Sea, promised rich profits. Now, when India also was open, and the Punjaub, at least, was attached to Alexander's empire, trade and traffic would necessarily take new life and receive a great encouragement; to enterprising spirits — and of these there never was a lack in Greece and Asia Minor — splendid prospects of gain were presented.

On the tidings of Alexander's death, the Greeks settled by him in the military colonies (twenty thousand foot-soldiers and three thousand horsemen) marched

out, wishing to force their way to their old home; but, at the orders of the regent, Perdiccas, Pithon, governor of Media, went against them, defeated them through the treachery of one of their leaders, and his victorious troops put them and their generals to the sword, in order to seize their property. Notwithstanding this, the Macedonian supremacy remained unshaken here. In the distribution of satrapies at Triparadisus, Stasanor, from Soli in Cyprus, received Bactria and Sogdiana.

When Seleucus became governor of Babylonia and founded round it a great empire for himself, Bactria and Sogdiana formed part of the empire. The first Seleucidæ spared no precautions to secure these Eastern dominions. Alexandria Eschate was strengthened, and a new town, Antioch, founded in the same district. The fertile oasis, Margiana, was surrounded in its complete extent with a wall, and by this means protected from the raids of the nomads. An abandoned town on the river Margus was also restored. The circumference of the new city, Antioch, measured seventy stadia.

These countries remained provinces of the Seleucid empire until in the year 250 B.C. the governor, Diodotus, revolted and caused himself to be proclaimed king. Margiana and Sogdiana belonged from the first to the new kingdom. The times had been peculiarly favourable for the revolt. The successors of Seleucus Nicator had been so occupied in Asia Minor and by the wars with Egypt that their attention had been completely diverted from the far East. Besides that, Antiochus Theos, under whom Diodotus made himself King of Bactria, was a weak man and, it is said, addicted to drink. Then came the time of the war between the brothers, Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax, and the hard struggles of the former with Ptolemy Euergetes: Callinicus did not once succeed in wresting Parthia back from the Arsacidæ. The Bactrian empire was able, in the meanwhile, to strengthen itself. The treaty that Diodotus II., the son and successor of the first king, made with Tiridates of Parthia against Callinicus, shows that both rulers recognised their common danger. Diodotus might enjoy his possession undisturbed so long as the Parthian empire lay between him and his former masters.

But the dynasty of Diodotus was soon dethroned by a Greek from Magnesia in Asia Minor, named Euthydemus. When Antiochus III. had brought the Parthians at least to recognise the Seleucid supremacy, and marched against Bactria (208 B.C.), Euthydemus ruled there. We have already related (p. 154) that this campaign ended with the recognition of Euthydemus as king, and with the betrothal of his son Demetrius to a Seleucid princess. Euthydemus, hard pressed by Antiochus and finally besieged in Bactria, had made a deep impression on the Seleucid by the threat of calling the nomads into the country and giving up Hellenic civilisation to their mercy. And to keep in check these very Scythians (as all these Iranic nomads were comprehensively called), to protect civilisation from them, and to secure the trade from India to the Black Sea from their attacks, formed the chief duty of the Bactrian empire. The threat of Euthydemus shows, on the one side, that he was aware of this duty; on the other side, the discontinuance by Antiochus of the siege and his recognition of the Bactrian empire proves that he, as his forefathers, fully admitted his obligations towards civilisation. Both parted as friends, united in an offensive and defensive alliance.

The same Demetrius, to whom Antiochus III. had betrothed his daughter while his father still lived, crossed the Hindu-Kusch and extended the Bactrian rule as far as the Indus and the Punjaub. Alexander had conquered these districts and incorporated them into his empire; after his death the Indian prince, Tschandragupta, had founded a kingdom in the Ganges Valley, and by successful campaigns and wars had expanded it over the Indus as far as the Parapanisus. Thus the valley of Cabul and the Punjaub, which Alexander had once possessed, were won back to Hellenism. The old town of Sangala, henceforth called Euthydemea, was made the capital of the Indian possessions. About the same time Arachosia (where the city of Demetrias, so called after Demetrius, was founded), and probably also Aria and Drangiana were made subject to the Bactrian supremacy. This is the period of Bactria's greatest power. Demetrius succeeded his father, Euthydemus, in the government, but was fated to see Eucratidas successfully contest with him the rule. Eucratidas also fought against the tribes inhabiting Aria, Drangiana, Sogdiana, and Arachosia. We have no details about these internal wars, but only hear that the Parthians, under Mithradates, at this time became masters of Aria (the country round the present Herat), and that Eucratidas on his return from India, which he had conquered in the war against Demetrius, was murdered by his son.

But in addition to him there were other kings. The civil war had thus had ruinous consequences. Numerous royal names have been handed down to us on the coins, and the empire was clearly broken up into separate portions, the respective kings of which were at war with each other. But however little we are able to give with certainty the order of succession among the recorded kings or the period of their reign, or the country where this or that king ruled, stil it is very certain that this empire, weakened by intestine wars and manifold divisions, must have continually become more alienated from its chief task, namely, that of keeping the barbarians far from its frontiers and in protecting civilisation and culture from them. At any rate, these conditions greatly simplified the conquest of Bactria by the barbarians.

When about 140 B.C. the Yue-tshi, nomads akin to the Thibetans, driven by the Turkish people of the Hiungnu from their abodes, appeared on the Bactrian frontiers, in order to seek new homes for themselves there, they found no opposition. The land as far as the Oxus fell to them. This sealed the fate of Greek culture north of the Hindu-Kusch. South of the Hindu-Kusch the Greeks maintained themselves a century longer. Among the numerous kings, handed down to us on coins, who seem to belong to this era and this country, only Menander is known from other sources also. He extended his dominion over the Punjaub up to the middle course of the Ganges, but ruled also up to the mouth of the Indus and east of it in Syrastene (the present Gujerati). He is said to have been a Buddhist, and was renowned for his justice. This Greek dominion in India was ended by Kieu-tsieu-Kio (Cadphises in the Greek legend on the coins), the prince of Kuschang, one of the five tribes into which the Yue-tshi were broken up. After he had united all these nomads into one aggregate, he conquered Cabul and Cophene south of the Hindu-Kusch. His son, Cadaphes, added India. This Scytho-Indian empire lasted to the end of the fourth century A.D.

III

THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY AND ITS SPREAD IN THE EAST

By PROF. WILHELM WALTHER

1. THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

A. The Entrance of Christianity into the World

"LAND and sea enjoy tranquillity, and cities flourish in concord and peace." This was the boast of the famous inscription in honour of the Emperor Augustus in whose reign He was born who was destined mightily to convulse not only the whole Roman world-empire, but the nations beyond its borders, and in the succession of centuries to stir new countries into commotion. "I am the light of the world. Go hence into the whole world and make all nations my disciples!" This unexampled declaration and command, which Jesus gave his followers, had destroyed that "concord."

How about the religious "peace" when Jesus declared, "I am not come to bring peace, but the sword. For I am come to excite men"?

An almost incalculable number of religions and cults were observed in the Roman empire. But, united under one emperor, the originally heterogeneous nations underwent a continuous process of blending. Before this, nationality and religion had stood and fallen together. As a member of this or that nation a man worshipped this or that god, for through religion people had sought some sympathy of the divinity with the fortunes of the nation. Thus the disintegration of nationalities was bound to lead to a disintegration of popular religions. The greater the increase in the number of cults flourishing in one and the same city, the more feebly must they flourish. At the same time the enlightenment which dawned in Greece spread victoriously everywhere. Educated men, at any rate, learnt to ridicule the old stories of the gods. Philosophical systems took with them the place of this religion; and as one contradicted the other, they could not bring absolute conviction, but steadily and completely undermined the ancient belief.

And yet "sooner may a town exist without houses and soil than a state without belief in the gods. This is the bond of the community, the pillar of all legislation." (Plutarch.) But if the state cannot dispense with religion, then it is the duty of every member of the state to adhere to it. But how could it be possible to unite in one cult all men imbued with such different religious conceptions and, in addition, those that in reality despise all religion? Well, there

is one power which can and must be sacred to all who enjoy the benefits of the state, namely, the state, personified in its supreme head, the emperor. Precisely because reverence for the heavenly powers vanishes, we find the highest power ascribed to the emperor. Thus the state religion becomes more and more a Cæsar cult, either because people submit to the cult which the Cæsar demands as *Pontifex Maximus*, or because divine honours are paid to the Cæsar himself. Boundless was the licentiousness into which many of these emperors let themselves be swept, from the thought that their power was divine and absolutely unlimited. Even the total violation of the sentiment of "natural abhorrence," innate in mankind in regard to sexual relations, attracted them, in order to show that all is allowed them. Yet the considerations of the state required this cult. Men follow the fashion and laugh in their sleeves.

The religious craving is not satisfied with such a thoroughly unreal practice of religion. Men seek, therefore, novelty. To-day, they try this cult; to-morrow, that philosophy. They mix together the various ideas, and would gladly strip away the rotting shells and keep the sound kernels. Thus from the surging chaos the germs of new ideas sometimes force their way upwards. Nothing in all this is clearly defined and strong enough to render it impossible for men to practise a state religion in which they have no faith. There are only vague tendencies, yet tendencies towards something really new. We observe, on the one hand, the effort to comprehend the manifold and the seemingly contradictory in one single principle. In many cases the place of polytheism is taken by a sort of monotheism, the conviction that there is one divine Being over all gods, one original Being ruling everything. There appears, likewise, an inkling of the fact that among the distinctions between nations, ranks, and individuals, the equality of mankind cannot be overlooked; that there is a "human race;" that man has an importance as man, and can claim sympathy from man. On the other side rises individualism. The individual wishes to be a distinct being, not merely a part of a larger aggregate. The welfare of the state is no longer to be the only and all-decisive consideration. The individual wishes to have happiness and peace in himself. Some seek it in knowledge, others in pleasure, others in self-denial. For disappointments they knew, indeed, no better consolation than *patet exitus* — the exit from this life is open to us. But the right of the individual to inner contentment is dimly felt. If it is not found in this life, the looks are then turned towards the future life. To the ancients the present was the land of light and joy, the state after death a joyless world of shadows. Now, the case is reversed; men speak of the limitations and the worthlessness of all earthly things and await in the other world peace, freedom, and happiness. Indeed, who shall say whether it be true that "great souls are not extinguished with the body?" But hope ever flickers up anew. And the question arises, Who will reach the presence of the blest? The consciousness is awakened of a divine prohibition and of man's guilt before God. A quite new complaint sounds. "The human spirit is by nature refractory, and strives after the forbidden. Our defects are not out of us, but in us and rooted in our inmost being." (Seneca.) Man stood in need of purification from sins.

No wonder that so many persons at that time sought satisfaction for their religious wants in that nation which considered most of these beliefs revealed by God Himself. The Jewish people, distributed throughout the Roman empire,

spoke of one God, who governed heaven and earth; spoke of a divine law, of the sin of mankind, of reconciliation with God, of a life after death. But would this monotheism ever be able to become a world-religion? Did it not feel itself incapable of this? To prevent its being covered up by the shifting sands of paganism it had been made the religion of a single people, fenced off from the rest of the world by a high wall of laws and ceremonies. Could it, if freed from these barriers and thrown into the raging sea of heathen conceptions, display such invincible tenacity that no contradiction, no dispute, could destroy it? Would it be ready to cast aside its national restrictions? Would any power be able morally to force its representatives, who now boast that *they* are the people of God, but that the heathen are "dogs," to wish that every man should have brought near to him that which has given spiritual satisfaction to them?

The moment, indeed, was unusually favourable for such an undertaking. The peace which the Roman world enjoyed after so many wars not only allowed the freest movement in every direction, but made men's spirits more susceptible to religious influences. Well-constructed highways and active navigation facilitated communication with the most distant countries. The Greek language, with which all educated people were familiar, not only rendered possible a quick exchange of thoughts in the whole empire, but brought even the countries in the East, which have never bowed to the Roman eagle, into intellectual contact with the empire. Trade and commerce flourished so well that new ideas, conveyed to any one spot, of themselves spread further. The new religious movement was rising among the Jews. Members of this people were settled everywhere in the empire and far beyond its borders. The apostles of the new teaching could turn at once to these their countrymen. And the close connection with the Jewish belief into which so many heathen then entered, must have greatly facilitated the transmission of the movement to the heathen.

Brought up at Nazareth, Jesus came forward in his thirtieth year as a teacher among his people. For three years He preached throughout the land of Judæa that "the kingdom of Heaven was come." He devoted special instruction to those Jews who had resolved never to leave Him again. These "twelve" were some day to continue his work. What new thing did He intend to teach? What did He mean by saying that with Him the kingdom of God was present on earth? In order to settle this point rightly, we must not overlook the fact that very much of that which He taught was intended to be, one may say, elementary instruction, and was only spoken on account of the special needs of His chance hearers. Thus many of His sayings are directed against a distortion or disregard of such truths as were already to be found in the sacred writings of the Jews, against the Pharisaical transformation of the law as the will of God into a number of separate ordinances, the outward observance of which was effectual in gaining the approbation of God. He spoke against pride in the mere outward membership of the race of Abraham, which made it impossible to be excluded from eternal salvation. If such errors were refuted, it was only to clear away obstacles to the reception of the absolutely new teaching given by Him.

"No one comes to the Father, but through Me." That is the claim which He asserts. He will not adduce new ideas. He wishes rather to place men in such a position towards the God who is objectively present that they may hold Him actually as a father. What every religious craving, however unconscious,

strives for at bottom, and by which it can be completely satisfied, He wishes to give, and this He says He can give. "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Does any one seek rest from the accusations of his conscience? "I am the way" to this. Does any one seek certainty of belief? "I am the truth." Does any one seek a real life, raised above all that is miserable and transitory? "I am the life." He thus intensifies the idea of the "kingdom of God," which, according to the national hope of his people, the promised King, the Messiah, was to found, and declares Himself to be the Mediator of that kingdom of God.

But to have God as father and thus to stand in the kingdom of heaven, is for man a thing important beyond everything else. "What would it help a man, if he were to gain the whole world and lose his soul?" Compared with this relation to God, the relation to the nearest human being must take a secondary place. "Whoever loves father or mother, son or daughter more than me, he is not worthy of me," not worthy of that which I alone can give. And whoever has found this highest thing, must completely change his valuation of everything else. He would rather "cut his hand off, tear out his eye" than give up that possession; he is ready "to lose his life for my sake," in order not to lose me, through whom he has it.

But it is man as man who shall stand in this kingdom of God: "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever should believe on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life!" The distinction between Jew and heathen, then, loses its meaning: "they shall come from the East and from the West, from the North and from the South, and shall sit at meat in the kingdom of God." Thus all, who possess in common this "pearl of great cost," are by this most closely bound together: "one fold under one shepherd." So it cannot be immaterial to them that all men have not yet found that which brought peace to their own souls. They shall "testify" of Jesus, "let their light shine before men," and "make all nations disciples of Jesus." From the love of God proceeds naturally the love of mankind: "the second is like unto the first."

Finally, whoever lives in communion with the eternal God has thereby the pledge of eternal life. "For God is not a God of the dead, but of the living." And if the actual state of things in this world seems to contradict the claim which Jesus maintains, as well as the high honour promised to His disciples, yet the "kingdom of God will" one day "come in majesty." Jesus will separate the "godless" from the "just," and the latter, clothed with a new body, "will inherit the kingdom prepared for them since the foundation of the world."

From that community between God and man which Jesus desired to establish, there sprang, therefore, the same thoughts which at that time had taken life in the heathen world, the conceptions of the one God, of humanity, of the importance of the individual, of the justification for the desire after happiness, of the better world to come, of sin, and of purification. Jesus did not announce these as mere ideas, but as realities, which partly exist, even if they are not acknowledged, partly will exist, even if they are not desired; and as an actual fact, which "belief," i.e. the trustful surrender to Him, proves to be real: "my teaching is from Him who sent me. If any one will do His will, he will know if this teaching be from God." "Whoever believes on me, he hath eternal life."

JERUSALEM, FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

(Drawn by O. Schulz from C. Cousenschen's engraving of the picture by J. D. Woodward, and from several photographs.)

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE

In the foreground the Mount of Olives slopes down to the Valley of Kedron. To the right in the shadow we perceive the Garden of Gethsemane, enclosed by a wall; to the left, illuminated by the evening sun, the tomb of Absalom, a pyramid on a square base. In front of the city wall old gravestones are recognisable. In the middle of the south wall, which lies before us, rises the architecturally rich Golden Gate, walled up for centuries. The nearest open gate is the gate of St. Stephen, which lies farther to the right (the Jaffa Gate on the west side of the city, and the Damascus Gate, which leads northwards, are hidden on our picture by houses). Through the Golden Gate we should reach the site of the Temple on Mount Moriah. On it rises the High Place (Haram), paved with white marble, about 426½ feet long and 525 feet broad. In the middle of this platform stands up the octagonal Mosque of Omar, the lower structure being of coloured marble, the dome about 64 feet in diameter and 85 feet high. This platform is joined on the west by an open space of about 328 feet in extent, — grass plots, with lovely groups of cypresses, pomegranates, and laurels, shut off by the extensive splendid Basilica of Justinian, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and by the Mosque of El-Aksa, recognisable by its dome. A little to the right of the dome of the Mosque of Omar, appear the two domes of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The judgment hall of Pilate, from which Jesus is said to have been led along the Sorrowful Path — Via Dolorosa — must be looked for in a building which stands near the square-based tower which rises from an old wall (between the Golden Gate and the gate of St. Stephen). In the background, on the left, David's Tomb and the church of Sion are conspicuous in our drawing, outside the city wall, before the gate of Sion; inside the wall is first the Armenian Convent, farther to the right the citadel, the tower of Hippicus, and the fort of Goliath. The place in which the church of St. Saviour, consecrated in 1898, has been erected, is hidden by the dome of the Mosque of Omar.

Religion, consequently, is raised above human choice and human ordinance. State religion is a denial of the true religion; and this is the meaning of the saying, "Give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, and to God what is God's." Religion is a matter of the conscience, it is the immediate relation of the individual towards God: yet such a relation that its goal, the communion with God, is, in fact, only reached through Jesus. The assertion of this claim by Him, who bore no signs of external rank, tended to rouse many to sharp contradiction. As He said of Himself He was "come to stir up men against each other," so He foretold to those who were ready to labour for Him that they would be hated and persecuted, because many had "known neither Him nor his father;" but that no hostility would be able to check the growth of the kingdom of Heaven brought by Him. The small grain of seed was to become a mighty tree. The little leaven was to penetrate all, the whole world and all conditions of things.

Those Jews who surrendered themselves to His influence found in Him that which they had sought. "Master, thou hast the words of eternal life, and we have believed and known that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." But the more distinctly Jesus let it appear that He wished to be recognised as the Messiah, and the larger the number of those who, full of confidence, hailed Him with joy, the higher rose the hostility of those in power among the people. This hostility reached its culminating point when Jesus on the first day of the week in which the Easter feast began made a striking and solemn entry into the capital. (See the plate, "Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives.") He thought that He had preached long enough and that by word and deed He had fully corrected that misunderstanding of the claim raised by Him, as if He wished for earthly honour; now He might bring matters to a decision. Whoever was not with Him was against Him. What must be, was now to happen. The leaders of the people resolved on His destruction. He did not withdraw from the gathering storm. He gave himself into the hands of His enemies. Both by silence and by speech He brought on the end. The Sanhedrin pronounced sentence of death on him, because He "blasphemed God" by the profane declaration that He was "Christ, the Son of the living God." The Roman procurator, Pontius Pilate, recognised that the accusation that Jesus had given himself out as a king was based on a misinterpretation of His words. But at the pressing persistence of the Jews he allowed at last the death sentence to be carried out, in order to be secure against the slanderous report at Rome that he had not sufficiently guarded the sovereign rights of the emperor. Jesus, hanging on the cross, prayed God to forgive His murderers, and assured the criminal crucified at His side, who in consciousness of his debt of sin turned in trust to Christ, that he would enter into everlasting bliss. And when He had overcome the deepest spiritual pang, the feeling of being forsaken by God, He declared when dying that His work was "done," and "commended His spirit into His father's hands."

In vain had Jesus tried to prepare His disciples for His death, and had represented it as His free act and as necessary for the "reconciliation of many." The hopes which they placed in Him were still so deeply tinged with national expectations that they had come to understand such statements figuratively. His death thus perplexed them in every way. He had so completely identified their religious belief with His own person that this belief could no longer exist

when He, on whom they trusted, was given up to death. One feeling only mastered them, fear — fear lest the same fate might be brought on them by their enemies.

Seven weeks later, when the Jewish feast of Pentecost is being celebrated, we see them completely transformed. Not a faint trace of human fear, nothing of doubt or uncertainty. The belief which Jesus' death had destroyed lives again in them with a certain inner conviction until now unknown, and with an almost alarming recklessness, that finds expression in the bold confession of their faith. In that same Jerusalem which had shouted round Jesus, "Away, away with Him, crucify Him!" they were now able publicly to preach before thousands "Jesus of Nazareth, the Man of God, you have with wicked hands nailed to the cross and slain. Him hath God raised up. Of this we all are witnesses. So now let the whole people of Israel know certainly that God hath made this Jesus Lord and Messiah." The possibility of doubt in Christ's resurrection and ascension is so entirely excluded from their thoughts that even before the Sanhedrin, and after they had been forced to suffer imprisonment and scourging for this declaration, they unflinchingly hold fast to their belief, "We cannot but speak what we have heard and seen." The four Gospels and the apostle Paul (1 Corinthians, 15) suggest to us what effected this tremendous revulsion in the feelings of the disciples when they tell us that Jesus during the first weeks after Eastertide appeared constantly, sometimes to his disciples singly, sometimes to many together, and, as it were, forced them who expected anything rather than His resurrection to the belief that He had not remained in the grave, and demonstrated to them the necessity of His death and of His resurrection, assuring them at the same time that even in the future He would "be with them even unto the end of the world." This conviction determines henceforth their whole life.

By preaching to the people they achieved important results. In a short time the number of those men only who let themselves be "baptised in Christ for the remission of sins" reached some five thousand. The feeling of the people was so favourable to this new religious community that the Sanhedrin did not yet venture to do more than to threaten and scourge some of the preachers. Men agreed with the counsel of the much-respected teacher, Gamaliel, to wait quietly for further developments.

What a picture is presented by this first Christian community when we remember how Jesus had exalted the value of belief in Him. Incontestably an unshaken certainty of religious trust filled these Christians. Neither the harsh contradiction of those who from education and position in life could have been the first to learn the truth, was able to make them waver; nor could the threats and the punishments, announcing still heavier penalties, on the part of the Sanhedrin, reduce them even to silence. Hard though it was for them to resist the distinct command of the leaders of their nation, yet they could only put the question to them, "Judge yourselves if it be right before God that we hearken unto you more than unto God!" For them religion had become a direct intercourse of the individual with God, into which no other man might intrude. They no longer recognise a religion of state or nation. Independent personal belief took the place of state belief; but the basis of their religious conviction is the consciousness of that which they possess in faith, the certainty that they

have received "forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost;" and, therefore, also that one day they should be refreshed by the vision of the face of God. They feel themselves so happy in this possession that "joy" is mentioned as the keynote of their spirit, which, on the one side, expresses itself in a continually new "lauding and praising of God;" on the other side, makes it impossible for them to conceal the great gift they have acquired. And in their joy at that which they all possess in common they feel themselves as "one heart and one soul," and that so sincerely that no one of them regards his material possessions as his own. Not, indeed, that those who enter into their community are required or expected to renounce personal possessions, but the brotherly love which animates all makes them devote their goods for others also "so far as there was need," in order that "no man might want." And yet this intimate union of the Christians among themselves did not lead them to erect barriers against those who stood outside their circle. Jews by birth, they still feel themselves members of their nation. They continue to live according to the forms of their ancestral law, take part still, as before, in the religious meetings in the Temple and in the Synagogues. We notice no trace here of that over-strained piety which is intended to conceal from the man's own consciousness the want of a real fund of piety in the soul. There is, indeed, joyful enthusiasm, but no religious extravagance or fanaticism. They cannot refrain from boldly confessing their belief, but they are far removed from the enthusiastic desire of conquering the world. It required some imperative cause to make them carry forth their belief beyond the limits set to them by their vocation and birth.

B. The Apostolic Era (c. 30 to 90 A.D.)

The hostile attitude which the authorities in Jerusalem adopted towards the believers in Christ must have brought out much more clearly to them the consciousness of the difference between their belief and Mosaicism. This spiritual progress is seen in Stephen the Almoner, to whom his Greek education gave a more liberal view. Undismayed, he proclaimed that the service of the Temple and the law of Moses would not last for ever. For this he was stoned. His death was the signal for a universal persecution of the Christians. The consequence was the breaking up of the first community and as a result the spreading of the new belief. There arose communities in Samaria, on the coast of the Mediterranean, in Phœnicia, in Cyprus, and in Antioch, the capital of the East. And soon the boundaries of the Jewish people were passed. For in Antioch they ventured to take the "evangelium," the good news, to the Gentiles also. And so large was the number of the Christian Gentiles that the populace of Antioch was clear as to the distinction between this society and the Jews, and designated them "Christians."

The merit, however, of having first conceived and declared Christianity as a world-religion belongs rightly to Saul,* the Jew born at Tarsus in Cilicia.

Paul

* As a Roman citizen, Saul seems to have borne the name Paulus before this time. When on his first missionary journey he was on the point of entering into constant intercourse with the Græco-Roman world, he would naturally think it suitable to travel under his Roman name.

He had been introduced to a profound study of the Jewish law by the renowned rabbi, Gamaliel, and had given himself up to it with the fullest enthusiasm. Nevertheless, he was not without some tincture of Greek culture. A man cast in one mould, with nothing false, nothing incomplete in him, he had been kindled by that which he had learnt of Jesus and His followers into flaming zeal for the maintenance of the sacred ancestral law as the only path to salvation. The death of Stephen and the flight of the Christians from Jerusalem did not content him. Armed with letters of introduction from the Sanhedrin, he started for Damascus, in order to track out the Christians who had escaped thither and to lead them, fettered, to Jerusalem. But the Christians in Damascus learnt the incredible news that he had caused himself to be received into their community through baptism in the name of Christ. What had so completely transformed him on the way he has often told in the words, " The Lord Jesus appeared to me." This marvellous experience had forged and stamped his new religious conceptions. He was then convinced that He whom he had hated and opposed bitterly was not rejected of God, but was exalted to eternal glory. In what blindness had he then lived, what a burden of sin was on him! Notwithstanding his perfect observance of the law, nothing else but condemnation would have lighted on him. He was called back from his path of error and saved, owing to Him whom he had persecuted. Jesus met him, not with avenging wrath, but with mercy. From that time he praised the majesty of Jesus as the Saviour. Thus the doctrines of sin and of grace become the cardinal points of his preaching. And as all men are sinners, the grace of God in Christ extends over all mankind, over the Gentiles as much as over the Jews.

Paul devoted several years to gathering and assimilating the elements of his new religious conviction. For it is necessary for him to put before himself in all its logical consequences that which has become certain to him directly by faith, in order that he may recognise it as " divine wisdom." Then begins his incomparably great activity in the extension of the belief in which he has found salvation. With unspeakable toil he laid in ten years the foundations of the Church in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece. He seeks to strengthen by epistles the communities founded by him and to shield them from errors. On his second missionary journey, which leads him over Asia Minor, through Macedonia, into Greece, he sends from Corinth his two epistles to the community recently established in Thessalonica: on the third journey he makes a longer stay in cosmopolitan Ephesus, and from here writes to the Christians assembled in Galatia and his first epistle to Corinth, writing a second also when on his way to Corinth he has reached Macedonia. From Greece his glance is directed further towards the West. At Rome a Christian community had already arisen, we do not know in what way. In the hope of preaching his gospel of salvation at Rome, in the centre of the "world," he addresses an epistle to the Christians, in order to prepare them for his arrival. He went there, but in fetters. In Jerusalem he is recognised by Jews from Asia Minor. They rouse the mass of the people by their cry that " this is the fellow who instructs men everywhere against the law and the Temple." The Roman tribune saves him from the fanaticism of the mob by arresting him and sending him to Cæsarea. Kept a prisoner without reason, he avails himself of the right of a Roman citizen to appeal to Cæsar, and he is taken to Rome. From the period of his mild imprisonment are dated his

epistles to Philemon, the Colossians, Philippians, and Ephesians. Recently there is a tendency to accept the view that he once more obtained his freedom and was able to carry out his wish to bear testimony to Christ as far as the Atlantic and Spain. If this is really the case, the journeys, of which the two epistles to Timothy and to Titus speak, would have to be assigned to that date. It may be considered as fairly well established that by the orders of Nero at Rome his noble head fell beneath the sword of the executioner.

The hardest struggle of his life was concerned with setting Christianity free from the leading strings of Judaism. How could Christians who were Jews by birth immediately assent to his demand, so clearly and emphatically asserted, that in the presence of Christianity the wall between Jew and Gentile must be destroyed. For them it was a natural thing that even after their baptism they should continue to observe the law of their fathers. But that law prescribed the strictest separation from all Gentiles. It was only a preliminary and insufficient concession when Paul — at the so-called apostolic council at Jerusalem — succeeded in inducing the leaders and the majority of the community there to admit that the Gentile Christians were not bound to the observance of the Jewish law. All Christians were not "one fold under one shepherd" until the Jewish Christians also abandoned their law. This was a principle so bold that even the energy of a Paul could only establish it in the communities which he himself had founded; and there only after the greatest waverings and the most bitter struggles. For the Jewish Christians once more tried to persuade the Gentile Christians that without circumcision and the observance of the Mosaic law they could not be saved. These disputes caused Paul to cast the "Gospel" into a form which excluded every distinctively Jewish feature. In contrast to those who, through observance of the Jewish law, thought to please God, he defended with all his energy the proposition that no observance of the law in itself, in fact, no outward act of man at all had any value in God's sight; that before God the attitude of children, childlike trust, and "faith," were far more necessary, and that from this relation of man to God true morality followed necessarily: "By faith, without works of the law, we are righteous."

The separation from Judaism, which Paul had demanded, was greatly helped by two events. The Christians of Jerusalem could not but see that even the strictest obedience to the law on their side could not cure their countrymen from their hatred of Christ. The head of the community, James, the brother of Jesus, bore the surname of the "Just," because his strictness in observing the law and his asceticism were universally admired. The epistle in the New Testament which bears his name is full of exhortations of obedience towards the law; and yet his countrymen hurled him down from the pinnacle of the Temple, because he had praised Jesus. How could the Christians any longer hold fast to the hope that the Jewish people as a whole would still believe in Jesus! How much more easy for them was the separation, now that the terrible struggle of their nation against the Romans blazed up! Should they take up arms for the national freedom, in order to be persecuted in return by their own people? The Christian community abandoned the city when it was threatened with complete investment by the Romans. If — as is conjectured — some Christians remained behind to share the fortunes of their nation, they were the elements which had ever hindered an amalgamation with the Gentile Christians. The burning of

Jerusalem and its Temple must have given the death-blow to national restriction on Christianity.

This catastrophe drove the apostles at the same time from the centre of their present activity into far distant lands. One, Andrew, is said to have turned towards the Northeast and to have spread the Christian faith in Scythia north-east of the Black Sea and the Caspian. A second, Thomas, selected, as it is said, the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus for his sphere of work: at the present day a Christian society in India call themselves "Christians of St. Thomas" after him (see below, p. 215). We are likewise told of a third, Bartholomew, who preached in India. Others turned their steps to the interior of Asia Minor or to North Africa. The Christian community in Alexandria traced its foundation to John Mark, the companion of Paul and Peter, and the writer of the second Gospel. Peter seems to have laboured in Syria and Asia Minor (we have an epistle from him to the Christians of Asia Minor) and finally to have turned his steps to Rome, where he suffered martyrdom.

Only one figure rises in sharp relief out of the mists of tradition, that of the apostle John. After the imprisonment of Paul the communities founded by him in Asia Minor were left desolate. John entered on Paul's work, labouring in wide circles from Ephesus. The spirit which animated him is characterised by the tradition that when brought in extreme old age into the Christian assembly, he contented himself with the admonition, "Little children, love one another!" Yet this love of his was anything but effeminate, as later tradition represented it. On the contrary, he was sure that fervent love among the Christians was possible only so long as the *truth* was not distorted among them. Once — so the story runs — as he entered a bath he learnt that the false teacher Cerinth was there. "Away from here," he cried to his companions, "that the bath may not fall in on us, since Cerinth, the foe of truth, is there." The feeling of bitter indignation at the "spirit of lying" which was then creeping into Christian communities speaks in his epistles. His Gospel also follows the line of confuting misstatements and proving that "Jesus is the Christ, who is come into the world, and that through faith in His name we have life." The Apocalypse, which he is said to have written while an exile on the island of Patmos in the Ægean Sea, vigorously attacks all indifference to false doctrines. Thus, quite at the close of the apostolic era we meet those tendencies towards the distortion of original Christianity which were destined in the ensuing period to jeopardise its existence.

The Inner Life of the Christian Community in the Age of the Apostles

What was the constitution of the original community? We find, on the one hand, no eagerness for organisation; on the other hand, fundamental aversion to it. Questions of organisation were clearly far removed from these Christians. This was not because they hoped, at any rate in the early days, to win their whole nation to their faith, in which case an independent, permanent organisation seemed unnecessary; nor because they expected the immediate end of the world, and thus thought it unnecessary to secure the permanence of their society by the introduction of legal forms; but chiefly because the fulness of life and

a strong social spirit filled them all, and because they knew that their continued existence was guaranteed by their Lord, who, though invisible, was ever near. Naturally the apostles took a leading position, but this " office " was regarded as a " service." And when more rights or, properly speaking, more opportunities for rendering service were given them than they could exercise usefully, they caused certain men to be chosen out of the community, who relieved them of the care of the poor: the " Seven," as they were first called in contradistinction to the " Twelve " apostles; the " Elders " (presbyters), as they seem to have been designated later, when their number became greater with the growing community. But it did not occur to the apostles to reserve to themselves the superintendence over this society, as if its powers emanated from their supreme authority, nor did the community claim a right of electing its offices, nor do we even notice anywhere any aversion to the creation of a new office. New conditions and apparent needs caused new offices to be formed, and no extravagant feeling, which would wish to leave everything to freedom and to the impulse of the spirit, opposed this better arrangement. But when the apostles had no longer any permanent abode in Jerusalem, we see another man at the head of the community, the brother of Jesus, already mentioned, James. Yet we cannot ascertain how far his authority was limited; evidently it was not closely limited, being a service of love shown to the community. After his death it is another kinsman of Jesus, Simeon by name, who stands serving at their head. Together with the one " leader," the elders seem to have attended to the external affairs of the community.

The development was somewhat different in the communities composed principally of Gentiles. Here Paul instituted elders. Not, however, at once, as if such an office were necessary in itself; but it was only on the return journey from his first missionary tour that he determined to do so. The need for some single administrative body had soon shown itself. It is not told us whether he himself nominated these men or whether he left the election of them to the community. Such questions of jealousy and distrust still lay far from those Christians. They recognised only duties in the service of the brethren, but no rights. This was the intended sense of the word by which the importance of the chief office was expressed " episcopus." As the Christians called Jesus " the shepherd and bishop of their souls," so also they called the men who, like Him, cared for the flock. The meaning to be conveyed was not that of overseers, but of guardians. " Not as those who rule the people " were they called shepherds, but because they fed the flock, provided it with nourishment, and guarded it from wolves. We soon come across still another office, that of the " servants," deacons. They performed special commissions or services, which the bishops pointed out to them.

This, then, was the organisation — if we may speak of it as such — of the separate communities: in the original community a leader and with him a number of presbyters entrusted with separate tasks; in the Gentile-Christian communities a college of presbyters, or " bishops," at the head, with the deacons to aid them.

What, then, was the relation of these different communities to each other? Did they stand independently side by side, or did they legally form a united whole? Neither one nor the other. The separate communities neither sought

anxiously to preserve their absolute independence, nor did they wish to compel a united organisation. They *felt* themselves to be a unity, and, therefore, tried to create and to preserve ties among themselves, to smooth or abolish distinctions. As soon as communities were formed outside Jerusalem, the apostles felt that they had obligations towards them. Two of them went to Samaria, in order to minister to the Christians there. Barnabas was sent to Antioch, in order to "strengthen" those who had been baptised into Christianity. In every imaginable way Paul tried to establish the fact that all Christians formed a single aggregate. He greeted the one community from the other, sent salutations from individuals to individuals at a distance. He made the communities exchange among themselves the letters they had received from him. One community sent support to him while he laboured in another. He organised a fund among the Christians converted by him on behalf of the distressed Christians of Palestine. Even in outward relations he tried to establish equality among all believers, and based such arrangements on the argument that other communities observed them. But the violent dispute over the necessity of observing the law established the fact that all baptised in Jesus were one. The different attitudes with regard to this question would destroy this unity, hence the struggles to find a compromise. But there was not yet any need to represent this unity in any systematic form. As long as apostles lived, they were the outward bond of the Church.

The common religious life in this first period bore the same character. Here, again, there was nothing of legal precept and fixed ordinance. The Christians of Jerusalem still took a zealous part in the religious life of their nation. But withal there was the need to emphasise and to promote that which was common to them and which differentiated them from those who did not believe in Jesus. They assembled in the houses, in order "to remain in the teaching of the apostles," to pray in common, to testify to the close bonds of union between themselves by partaking of common meals, and to celebrate the "Lord's Supper in remembrance of Him."

In the communities composed principally of Gentiles two sorts of religious services were soon distinguishable. The one class, intended only for the brethren, comprised the agapé, or love-feast, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper; the other, to which those also who had not yet received baptism were admitted, served for the preaching of their faith. If Paul was the leader of the assembly, he naturally was the speaker. If he was not there, an extract from the Old Testament or from letters written by Paul was read, or some other person stepped forward who felt moved to speak. One spoke as "prophet" on the strength of a revelation; the other, as "teacher," explained what the present or former revelation connoted; the third "exhorted" while he applied the word of God to individuals by name. Not only in comparison with the apostles who were equipped with this threefold gift, but also in comparison with the members of the community, to whom one of these gifts was granted, the elders (or bishops) at first were quite subordinated in the religious service. But soon, in certain places at least, were seen the dangers of a procedure so exposed to caprice. The excitable Greek spirit allowed religious enthusiasm to express itself in forms, which did not tend towards the "edification" of the meeting, and vanity and self-complacency could easily lead to intemperance of speech. To meet such

a state of affairs in the Corinthian church, Paul had to lay down the principle that all gifts are bestowed for the "common good," and that all speech, therefore, which did not seem to edify those present must be discontinued. There appeared, then, quite soon in the celebration of the divine service a limitation on the rightful liberty of the individual. As the number of the Christians increased and the expectation of the approaching end of the world lessened, the religious zeal of the earliest period yielded to a more restrained calmness, and the gift of prophecy was more rarely seen. Therefore, in the choice of new bishops the condition was laid down that they must possess the gift of teaching, in order that the communities might not, when none of the old apostles was any longer among them, be dependent in their religious meetings merely upon "prophets" and "teachers." Thus it also happened that while at first the Christians assembled daily, if possible, gradually a definite day of the week was reserved for meeting for divine worship. Even in apostolic times this was the "Lord's Day," the first day of the week, on which the Lord rose from the dead.

In order to form a correct conception of the moral conditions prevalent in the Gentile-Christian communities, we must not fail to notice that the high demands which the writings of Jesus' disciples, so well known to us, make upon their readers do not at all reflect the opinions of Christianity at that date, but only the ideas of those who had grown up in the purer atmosphere of Judaism. On the contrary, not only do we come upon instances of gross offences against morality, but especially the warnings and admonitions given by Paul in his epistles as to what was necessary for "salvation" show how completely the moral bias of the Christians was as yet under the influence of the conditions and ideas which prevailed in the Gentile world. That there must be another standard of morality than custom, and that every Christian with regard to this question must acquire a completely independent judgment and maintain it and follow it in opposition to a world which judges quite otherwise — to inculcate this and to accustom the Christians to the permanent realisation of these new moral notions, must have required tens, if not hundreds, of years. A man only announced the desire for regenerated life by his request to be received into the community. Only gradually were people forced to learn what this new life comprised, to learn somehow that the relation of the sexes was not a matter of moral indifference; that even the nourishment of the body required rules, and that man was not the free lord over his own words.

On the other hand, there now arose the danger of a miscomprehension of the new and great ideas which Christianity had brought forth. They were, according to the word of their Founder, to work gradually, like leaven, in the world, inwardly first, then outwardly; they were little by little to change the universal ideas, so as to make the outward form of life more and more different. The danger rested in the fact that Christians would come to regard existing institutions and conditions as abolished by Christianity, since they were influenced by the spirit of paganism, instead of adapting themselves to them until they were changed by the new spirit. It might be thought that the high position and the freedom which were fitting to the Christian as a "child of God and heir of eternal life" did not allow any subordination to other men, especially to non-Christians; any subordination of the wife to the husband, of the slave to his master, of subjects to heathen magistrates. The apostle Paul is obliged to prove

that the Christian, through his new relation towards God, is in no way exempted from the laws of the community; that he should show his faith in God, who has willed or permitted these regulations, by willing self-submission to them. Similarly the thought that the Christian, as moved by the spirit of God, stood no longer under the outward law, was interpreted to mean that a man could now live in freedom and opposition to the law. Paul is compelled to warn them not to make "freedom a cloak for wickedness." We also hear of some who prided themselves on a deeper "knowledge," a more secret wisdom; who praised special abstinence, blamed marriage, and forbade certain foods, the first traces of that gnosticism which in the succeeding period was to prove the most serious danger to primitive Christianity. The apostle Paul looked at the future of the Christian communities with gloomy forebodings when he thought himself at the end of his ministry. John, too, cries warningly, "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God."

One thing the Church took with her to meet the approaching storms: the writings of her founders, a substitute for their oral preaching and a means through which they could be moved by the spirit of the founder. Attempts were made to keep alive the form, the life, the teaching of Jesus. Collections of His sayings (*logia*) must soon have been made, with the addition, more or less, of the historical events connected with them. The Gospel, the good tidings, is the name given to these attempts to recall the facts on which the Christian belief rests. Of those Gospels which are extant, the three with which the New Testament opens are the oldest. There are no cogent reasons for refusing to ascribe the first to the apostle Matthew or to doubt the old account that he wrote his book, in the first place, for the Jewish Christians in Palestine, and, therefore, in the Aramaic language. The Greek version which we know may also be attributed to him, since such a bilingual publication of a work is familiar to us from other writers of the time. The correctness of the tradition that the second Gospel is the work of the already mentioned John Mark, the companion of Peter, is vouched for by some peculiarities of the book. The authorship of the third is attributed to Luke the Physician, who on many occasions accompanied Paul. He wished to produce a treatise on the sacred story for the Gentile-Christian, Theophilus. He added to it as a second part a description of the course which the Gospel mission had taken from Jerusalem to Rome, the so-called Acts of the Apostles. The numerous attempts to explain the various almost verbal coincidences of these three Gospels, as well as the accompanying discrepancies, have not yet led to any universally recognised results.

C. The Post-Apostolic Era (c. 90 to 180)

As the coral reefs rise higher and higher from the bottom of the sea, until a storm discloses to those who sail over them the secret growth of long ages, thus Christianity expands in the calm, and the great world knows nothing of it, until suddenly through the storm of persecution a Christian community becomes visible to all. There are records of martyrs, from which we learn that in the country of Garamæa, east of the Tigris, south of the Little Zab, Christians dwelt even before 170 A.D. The kingdom of Osroëne, having Edessa as its capital, extended along the eastern bank of the Euphrates. There were Christians here

at so early a period that the legend could arise of the Abgar (prince) of this land sending letters to Jesus. Towards the end of the second century Abgar Bar Manu stamped the sign of the cross on his coins. The governor of Bithynia announced to the emperor, Trajan (98-117), that not only the towns, but also the villages and the plains were full of Christians, the heathen temples were almost deserted, the duty of sacrificing to the gods almost forgotten. From Egyptian Alexandria, Christianity pushed on towards the south. Not only Jewish and Greek circles were opened to it, but in the next few years a Coptic translation of the writings of the New Testament was able to find circulation, and Christian communities appear in the Thebais. In the same way the Gospel spread towards the east in Arabia and towards the west in the district of Cyrene. From Rome the Christian faith was borne over the sea to Africa, and Carthage became a new colony. At the beginning of the following period (circa 200) Tertullian could declare that if a persecution of the Christians were to be carried out, "Carthage must be decimated." A synod which was held there united no less than seventy African and Numidian bishops. The commercial relations between Asia Minor and southern Gaul facilitated the sowing here of the seed of the new faith. About the year 177 Christian communities flourished there, at Lugdunum (Lyon) and Vienna (Vienne), as we learn from the account of the cruel persecution endured by them which these communities sent to the churches in Asia and Phrygia. It is only by chance that we hear anything of new Christian communities. Wherever in the Roman empire or beyond its boundaries Christians came, they spoke of that which was the highest to them. Celsus, the enemy of the Christians, reports in 178: "Weavers, tanners, shoemakers, the most uneducated and roughest men, are the most zealous preachers." At the same time many Christians made it their life's work to spread their faith. These missionaries were called apostles. The "Teaching of the Apostles," which appeared about 110, required that they should restrict themselves to labouring among the heathen and permitted them to remain two days, at the longest, in places where Christian communities already existed. In what circles did this new belief find adherents? With the conviction that Christianity was the true wisdom Paul has complained: "Not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble!" With the view that only those learned in philosophy could judge of such transcendant questions, Celsus scoffed at the uneducated Christians. But we hear also of philosophers who found in Christianity that which they sought for vainly in the different schools of heathen wisdom. We know of near relations of the emperor who became Christians. Certainly in the meetings of the Christians there were far more poor men and slaves than noble and learned men. But if we take into consideration how small the number of educated men was at that time in comparison with the mass of uneducated — only one-half per cent. of the inhabitants of Rome belonged to the upper classes — there is absolutely no reason for the assumption that Christianity attracted principally only the uneducated.

The Christian literature of this period contradicts such an assumption. Comparatively little of it has been preserved. But in it we find such writings as in no way betray a low standard of education in their authors.

Above all, the wish to possess material for Christian teaching induced persons to alter Jewish writings according to Christian notions. At the end of the first

century the "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs" appeared, which places prophecies in the mouths of Jacob's sons, to which are joined moral warnings and references to the fulfilment of the hopes of Christians. Consequently some, through the wish to picture to themselves the beginnings of Christianity in a more clear and thorough manner than the writings preserved from primitive times afforded; others, through the need to lend authority to new but divergent views through ostensibly old records, let themselves be led away into creating new Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles, or Revelations. We are acquainted merely with the names or with scanty fragments of most of such works; and, as a rule, there are no data by which to determine the period of their production and to decide the question whether they should be reckoned as religious romances or as records from ancient times. Early in the post-apostolic period must have been composed the "Protevangelium of James the Younger," which depicts the infancy of Jesus from the birth of his mother, Mary, to the massacre of the Innocents at Bethlehem. To the same period roughly belong the Gospel and Revelation of Peter, our knowledge of which has been greatly enriched by the latest discoveries in the monk's grave at Achmin. The former so depicts the story of Jesus' passion that Pilate, the representative of the heathen world, appears in a more favourable light. The latter regards the present Christians as degenerate, and attempts to bring them back to their senses by describing hell and its unspeakable torments. An Asiatic presbyter is said to have composed the "Stories of Paul and Thecla." When called to account for his boldness, he declared he had so treated the subject only out of love for Paul. But this disinterested motive could not shield him from deposition. The Church did not wish, like the heretics, that pious frauds should prevail.

A second group of writers of our period is comprised under the title of "Apostolic Fathers." A schism had arisen in the Corinthian community and had led to the removal of certain presbyters from office. Then — probably in the year 97 — the presbyter Clemens sent thither from Rome a letter, exhorting them to humility and love. Clemens did not write as Roman bishop or as Pope, and did not even mention his own name —"The church of God, on pilgrimage at Rome, to the church of God, abiding at Corinth in a strange land." A second letter, known under the name of the "Second Letter of Clemens," certainly did not emanate from that presbyter. It was probably written about 140, and is not a letter, but the oldest Christian sermon (homily) of which we know, an exhortation to the "trial and conflict in this life, that we may be crowned in the life to come." The famous Hermas was a layman: his writing bore the title of "Shepherd," because the angel of repentance, in whose mouth most of the exhortations are placed, is introduced by him as a shepherd. In the form of visions the point is impressed that there is yet time for repentance. This writing at first enjoyed such high esteem in the Church that it was almost placed on a level with the Holy Scriptures of primitive times and reckoned, at any rate, worthy of being read aloud in divine service. This fact should be evidence that it appeared at an early date, somewhere at the beginning of the second century. The so-called "Epistle of Barnabas," which may belong to the same time, stood in high esteem in Alexandria, although the author carries his opposition to Judaism to such a pitch as to declare the observance of the Mosaic laws by the Jews to be a diabolic error, and although he puts a new interpretation on the

Old Testament by means of almost incredibly bold allegories. The second part of this epistle describes the two roads, the road of life and that of death — clearly a somewhat ancient work, for it actually forms — only in a somewhat divergent copy — the first half of the "Teaching of the Apostles," written about 110, with which we first became acquainted in 1883, although it was long known that it was once highly valued. Its second part gives rules for Christian worship and Christian social life. Through this we gain an insight into the affairs of the Church at that time, such as no other writing affords us. A peculiar interest is presented by the seven letters which the Bishop Ignatius of Antioch wrote in 112 on his way to martyrdom at Rome to different communities in Asia Minor and to the Bishop Polycarp, in order to exhort them to steadfastness and concord. He begs the Christians of Rome not to make another attempt to liberate him. For he is absolutely convinced that death will lead him to life, and that by anything which he might still say or do in life he would not be able to testify so forcibly to his faith, as through steadfast endurance of death by the teeth of the wild beasts in the arena. Soon after his death we find the letter of Polycarp from Smyrna to the community in Philippi, which had asked him to send all the writings of the martyr that were in his hands. This letter contains so many quotations from the New Testament Scriptures that it is at the same time of importance as an eloquent testimony of their antiquity.

While the Christian literature of this period which we have so far mentioned was intended for Christians, the third series of writings was directed to the heathen. It was called forth by the new position which the pagan world, especially the state authorities, assumed towards Christianity. Up to the beginning of the post-apostolic era the Christians had certainly suffered from the hatred of the Jews. The Roman state, on the contrary, as a rule, laid no obstacles in their way, holding as yet no regard for them. Sprung from Judaism, they were reckoned as a Jewish sect. When they were suddenly, in the year 64, recognised at Rome as an independent body and were persecuted by the state, the disregard which was again shown them during the next decades proves that such exceptional procedure requires a special explanation. The motive of the massacre of the Christians by Nero was merely the need of the emperor to shift upon others the suspicion that he had set fire to the capital of the world for his own pleasure. Who should these others be than the Jews, especially those who had their stalls where the fire broke out? And how could these escape the danger threatening them more simply and safely than by diverting the suspicion from themselves to the hated Christians? Thus the state authorities learnt to make a difference between the Jews and the Christians of the town, but only for the immediate occasion. The authorities never believed in the real guilt of these Christians, and the previous state of indifference towards them continued.

The position must have become quite different when the outbreak and failure of the Jewish rising not only entirely separated the Christians from the Jews in internal relations, but compelled them to take precautions no longer to be mistaken for a Jewish party. And now, when the distinction between them and the Jews was universally known, it was perceived that their number had become unsuspectedly large, and was increasing every day on a scale which had never been noticed in any sect. It had become impossible to disregard them. Men had to form a judgment on Christians, according to what they learnt of this move-

ment, that had swollen in secret to such an extent. The more men became acquainted with Christianity, the more were they bound to despise and hate it, if they did not wish to surrender themselves to it. The unfeigned, hearty enthusiasm of the Christians, the firm conviction, which excluded all waverings of faith, the assertion that Christianity was the true religion of salvation, were bound in an age of scepticism and eclecticism to appear as insane fanaticism and intolerable presumption, unless out of a desire for that special gift which the Christians claimed to possess, men were willing to make trial of it. The lofty contempt of the Christians for everything they called "sin" could not fail to affront deeply an age which Seneca pronounced to be "full of crime and wickedness," and must have been felt to be hostile arrogance, unless men were willing to admire and imitate it. But this very fact, that *the Christians wished to be different from all others;* that they did not attend the popular festivals, closely connected with the state cult, and the licentious or brutal spectacles (in which the people expressed their national self-consciousness); that they defined the task of life so differently from the rest of the world and staked their all on something other and presumably higher than wealth, honour, or enjoyment — this irritated the heathen world. It invented, spread, and believed only too gladly incredible crimes of this weird sect, which could not be measured by any traditional standard. At their secret meals they were said to slaughter and eat children. Perhaps a listener had once heard the words, "Take and drink all of this; this cup is the New Testament in my Blood"— or they were reported to indulge in the grossest immorality — perhaps a spy had once seen the Christians before the celebration of the sacred feast giving each other the kiss of brotherhood, but had not reported that only men with men and women with women thus showed their close bonds of union. Men felt themselves the more entitled to attribute these crimes to them, since they were indignant at their secret proceedings. It is quite comprehensible that under such circumstances the persecutions of the Christians were on many occasions due to the wishes of the mass of the people.

The courts, however, needed the support of the law before they could accede to such demands. Three laws of the empire could be brought to bear on the question. The law of the Twelve Tables forbade men to have other gods than those publicly recognised. The Julian law as to treason declared everything to be a crime against the state which bore in itself the character of secret discontent with the government, e.g. secret nightly meetings. The law as to sacrilege, finally, was directed against the refusal to sacrifice to the gods or to the genius of the emperor. It is clear that all these laws rest on the same conception: everything, even religion, must be subordinate to the state. Not that which is true must be believed; not that which is moral must be done; the welfare of the state stands above truth and morality. It is a crime against the state to doubt the religion adopted by the state and not to submit to it. Would the Christians admit this theory? In so doing they would give up their Christianity. For, according to Christianity, religion is the personal bond between man and God, which has to precede all other relations. Therefore, there was nothing left to the state but to compel these Christians by its own power to adopt its religion. But if they could not be forced to do so, if their fellowship with God was worth more to them than life itself, then the question was bound to arise whether the state

could maintain its position against such unexampled constancy and slay until not one of these heroes was left on earth, or whether finally, vanquished by the supernatural, it would abandon its claim and bow before the God of these Christians — a tremendous spectacle, this struggle for life and death between the Roman state, equipped with the united strength of this world, and this band of Christians, with no other power at their disposal than the power to die.

As early as the reign of Domitian the blood of Christians flowed in Rome. Where after that they were brought to trial no one can say. As the younger Pliny, governor of Bithynia, in the year 112 inquired from the emperor, Trajan, how he was to deal with the Christians, persecutions must already have taken place. Pliny excused his inquiry on the plea that he had never yet been present at the trials of Christians. He begged for information on the question whether those Christians also who had committed no offences were to be condemned; whether, that is to say, the mere fact of being a Christian was punishable, and whether he was authorised to discharge those who, by invocation of the gods and by sacrifices before the statue of the emperor, proved their loyalty to the state, even if previously they had been Christians. The emperor answered both questions in the affirmative, but forbade officials to spy out the Christians or to give credit to anonymous suspicions. Christianity was evidently to him only an extravagance, innocent in itself, but also unlawful, and one which could not be declared permissible. This correspondence was published a few years after. Accordingly, a definite precedent for the treatment of the Christians was established for the officials, which was observed up to the middle of the third century. What a peculiar position was created by that edict! "When dealing with the Christians," complains Tertullian, "they punish not deeds, but the name." And yet they did not punish the use of the name Christian as an illegal act, which is punished, even if it is not likely to be repeated. On the contrary, a man could win complete exemption from penalty if he relinquished the name temporarily: a man might be a Christian before and after the judicial proceeding. What real strength must Christianity have had in itself if, despite this easy means of defence, Christians never thought to make use of it, and regarded those members of their community who did make use of it as no longer Christians! What love for truthfulness must this Christian faith have inculcated! It was the name which was punished, and yet not only a name, but a deed.

No one can say how far this persecution, which we hear of through Pliny, extended. The head of the community at Jerusalem, Simeon, fell. One of the last victims was the (p. 177) aforementioned Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who was dragged to Rome to be thrown before the wild beasts. But up to the end of the post-apostolic time the hatred against the Christians kept breaking out, now here, now there, into violent eruptions. The notion that Christians were punishable as such was so universal that the heathen people regarded a formal judicial inquiry as unnecessary punctiliousness and wished the Christians to be punished without it. In public disasters men thought they could trace the wrath of the gods. "If the Tiber rises to the houses, if the Nile does not rise over the fields, if the earth shakes, if famine or pestilence breaks out, straightway the people cry out, 'To the lions with the Christians!'" Antoninus Pius (138-161) was compelled to issue edicts which enforced strict observance of legal methods with regard to such violent proceedings. Yet the state never doubted its ability

to completely annihilate this preposterous movement so soon as it seemed necessary. To be obliged to fear it was pure absurdity!

This new situation, that both the bulk of the population and the authorities considered Christianity worthy of notice and of opposition produced a new class of literature, the apologetic. Experience taught that neither the self-vindication of the Christians when placed before the courts nor the fact of their moral purity were sufficient to move their opponents from their hatred. The attempt had, therefore, to be made to obtain another verdict, through writings, intended to prove all hostile reproaches to be meaningless and Christianity to be the fulfilment of that for which the nobler heathen also craved. Soon there were Christian philosophers and rhetoricians, heads of communities, who addressed such writings sometimes to the heathen generally, sometimes directly to the emperor.

Born in Samaria of Hellenic parents, Justin had sought for certainty of religious conviction in one school of philosophy after another, and had found it at last in Christianity. This, therefore, was reckoned by him as the true philosophy, in the sense that it actually performed that which philosophy only promised to give. He did not for this reason doff his philosopher's cloak, but tried by lectures and disputations to win adherents to Christianity. About the year 150 he addressed an apology to Antoninus Pius, and soon afterwards, moved by a specially outrageous case of an unjust sentence against Christians, he published a second and shorter apology. As he had risen through philosophy to Christianity, so he now gladly pointed to the fact that among the nobler philosophers traces of the same divine wisdom appear, which manifested itself perfectly in Jesus. But there speaks in his writings not only a lover of wisdom who has to do with mere knowledge, but a manly character glad to die for the truth. "You can kill, but you cannot harm us!" He, indeed, suffered scourging and death at Rome in the year 165, together with a number of his scholars, "because they would not sacrifice to the gods."

The same road to Christianity led his pupil Tatian, who was of Assyrian stock, to another conception of what previously had been dear to him. He, too, found at last among the Christians that which he in vain looked for among the Greeks. But he was concerned, above all, with the question of moral regeneration. He therefore saw now only the dark side in Greek philosophy and art, and in his "Speech to the Greeks" (c. 155) praised Christianity as the truth, accessible even to the uneducated, which morally recreated mankind.

Quite contrary is the method of the "Negotiations on behalf of the Christians" (by the ordinary translation, "Petition [*Supplicatio*] for the Christians," the meaning of "*πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν*" is not exactly represented), which the otherwise unknown "Athenian philosopher," Athenagoras, addressed to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. He not only answered the taunts and crimes flung at the Christians, but tried also to prove that precisely those views which were condemned in Christians were to be found in a similar form in heathen philosophers. In a second writing on the Resurrection he sought to represent this single doctrine as in no way unreasonable.

The classical treatise of the Roman advocate, Minucius Felix, may have been written about 180. In form it followed Cicero's "De Naturâ Deorum" as a model. It is entitled "Octavius," because its contents are in the form of

a conversation which Octavius, the friend of the author, holds on the seashore near Ostia with the heathen Cæcilius about the Christian and heathen religions. The latter, a sceptic, is disgusted at the positiveness with which uneducated Christians judge of God and God's attributes. Simply because nothing is certain he maintains men ought to adhere to the traditional belief in the gods. All that the average pagan education of that time could adduce against Christianity could be freely expressed in this discussion. Octavius makes a friendly answer, but with such clearness and emphasis that his opponent finally declares himself vanquished. "We then went joyous and glad on our way. Cæcilius rejoiced that he had become a believer, Octavius that he had conquered, and I that my Cæcilius had become a believer and that my Octavius had conquered."

While the above-mentioned and similar writings were only intended for such heathens as despised Christianity or hated and persecuted it, and, therefore, were only meant to demonstrate to them the baselessness of their hostility, and selected isolated points against which to direct their attack, passing over in silence the deepest truths of Christianity, another treatise of this class was able to work more freely, since it was meant for a man who already faced Christianity with some interest and good will. The unknown author of the "Letter to Diognetus," a man who was capable, through classical acquirements, of writing in a pure style, had no need to shrink from describing to such a man the great truth of Christianity, which might seem to the genuine pagan a degradation of the Divinity, the truth that "God is love." To this love, he explained, a man must surrender himself. In joyful gratitude he cannot but love God in return, and from this springs also brotherly love. Thus Christianity is the religion of the spirit and of truth, which can surmount all incidental, individual and national distinctions, and is able to create new men. "Its adherents are not differentiated from other men by country, speech, or any external qualities; they take part in everything as citizens, and are satisfied with everything as strangers. They live in the world, and yet are not of the world. They obey the existing laws, but by their life transcend the requirements of the law. They love all and are persecuted by all. They are not known, and yet they are condemned. They are put to death, and by this led to life."

Even in these few words a breath of that peculiar spirit is wafted towards us which inspired these early Christians, and is apparent in all the extant literature of that time. Everything is sustained by the consciousness that the Christian has found something inexpressibly great; that his life has gained a glorious importance, an exalted purpose; that the discord in it is abolished; that unity and harmony has entered into its thoughts, will, and deed. Ignatius calls the Christians "Bearers of God, bearers of Christ, bearers of the Holy One, adorned on all sides by the commands of Jesus Christ." He terms Christianity "something colossal." The Christians are not perplexed because the heathen do not understand it. That, which faith gives, remains concealed to profane eyes. But they know themselves to be so rich that the keynote of their life is joy. Even Hermas, the earnest preacher of repentance, can write, "Banish all sorrow. It is worse than all evil spirits. The spirit of God which is granted you endures no sorrow and no complaining. Put on the joyous mood which is ever well pleasing to God. Let it be well to thee in Him. For

all live to God who cast away sorrow and clothe themselves in pure joyousness."

Conscious that in truth they need not be ashamed of their faith and of their life, and that no power of the world could take from them their unseen kingdom, the Christians scorned to beg for mercy. Even in the apologies which were laid down at the throne of the rulers of the world no cringing or flattery is found. "Not with flattery nor begging for forgiveness do we come before you," writes Justin. Rightly has it been said that there was here no trace to be found of a submissive, sorrowful, apologetic tone. The consciousness of fighting for the truth and of being able to die for it gave them a dignified bearing, and they did not shrink from any attempt to make the murderous opponent feel his own grievous injustice. The Cæsars thus came to hear a strain hitherto unknown to them. In their meetings for divine worship the Christians prayed fervently for their emperor, whom their God had appointed. (Tertullian.) How could they, speaking before this emperor, in order merely to obtain indulgence, deny that Christianity was something hitherto unknown!

While the Christians were thus fighting against the annihilation which threatened them from the heathen world, that current in their midst, of which we have already noticed the first traces in the apostolic age, grew stronger (cf. above, pp. 170 and 173). The storms from without coincide with a process of disintegration within.

The more the old religions lost in estimation, the greater was the tendency to put new philosophic interpretations on the old myths, to find in them popular descriptions of profound ideas, and then to blend the ideas won from various religions into one speculative system. Thus a distinction was made between the religion to be conceded to the uneducated and the Gnosis, a knowledge which was to be accessible only to a select band. This was to solve the riddle of the universe; above all, to give clear evidence as to the origin, meaning, and object of the dualism which pervades everything, of the contrast between idea and sensible manifestation, between good and evil, between light and darkness. This movement of the times affected the Christian communities also. Primitive Christianity wished to give fellowship with God; but he who found that fellowship extolled also "the wealth in wisdom and knowledge" which had become his. And, without doubt, Christianity announced many thoughts quite new to the heathen world; so those men turned to it who looked to it for an actual solution of speculative problems and for a means of satisfying their eagerness for knowledge. Soon the numbers of the Christians had become too great to be completely free from such elements. They drew other Christians to themselves, promising to them knowledge higher than the common belief which the Church could give. A society of the initiated was formed. The magic system of mysteries with its symbolic actions and secret consecrations was borrowed from the heathen world, in order that not merely the understanding, but also the spirit, might be contented. Essentially all this was paganism. But it accepted Christian thoughts, above all, the idea of redemption, and in this process of evolution assigned a place to Him from whom Christians take their name. Yet they do not mean by this that redemption from sin and its consequences which Christianity desires, but a redemption from the world, a liberation of the spiritual from the material, of the light from the darkness.

Endless is the variety of these different Gnostic systems, strange, weird, bizarre phantoms in the pale moonlight; a mixture of the most opposite cults, of Greek and Jewish philosophy, Syro-Phœnician theories as to the creation of the world, the astrology and magic of the East; all hardly to be grasped by modern conceptions. Some required strict asceticism and won over many by their conspicuous sanctity. Others declared that they were raised above the lower laws of conventional morality, and did not wish to resist the all-powerful impulses of nature. They all offered the hand of friendship to Christianity if it would only adapt itself to the new and brightly glittering fabric.

A serious menace to the Church! Fixed standards were still wanting by which to test what doctrines were unauthorised in the Church. There were, indeed, holy writings from the primitive times of Christianity; but the Gnostics also appealed to these in support of their views, putting arbitrary interpretations on them by means of the system of figurative explanation prevalent among the Christians. At the same time they themselves fabricated professedly apostolic writings and prided themselves on being in possession of a secret tradition which only the chosen apostles could have received. Who was to decide what was truth? The order of independent prophets was still esteemed. The offices in the Church were still appointed without regard to unity. The connection between the communities was as loose as ever. Only one thing was left which could teach them to recognise and avoid the troubled waters that were surging in, that was the Christian spirit. Would it be clear and strong enough to repel this self-conscious, insinuating Gnosis? The Church recognised this enemy welcomed as a friend. It did not rest until he was overcome. But the ensuing period will show that the Church itself in the course of these hard struggles assumed another form.

We notice the first tendencies in this direction as early as the post-apostolic period. A college of elders or bishops had formerly stood at the head of the communities (cf. above, p. 171). We now find in the letters of Ignatius (cf. above, p. 177) mention of a single bishop. His epistle to the Romans tells us, indeed, that this innovation was not yet introduced in that community. The letter of Polycarp shows the same thing regarding the community at Philippi. But the communities in Asia Minor were already under *one* bishop, with presbyters and deacons below him. Was it, perhaps, the apostle John who in these communities, where he had gone to minister after Paul's death (cf. above, p. 170), introduced the arrangement, which he had learnt to value at Jerusalem (cf. above, p. 170), in order to have a responsible representative in those places where he could not be present personally? This is suggested by the circumstance that each of the seven "circular letters" in his Apocalypse is addressed to one "angel" of the community in Asia Minor. In any case, the new feature soon gained increasing ground for itself. The greater the dangers which threatened the communities from without and from within, the more was the wish felt for a central administration. And since there was no longer any question of a divinely revealed order, men allowed themselves to be led by the new-felt need of adopting a new form. From the fear that divisions might arise in the communities, Ignatius on his way to death warned them urgently to hold fast to their connection with the bishop. Yet he did not thereby set forth a theory that men should subject themselves blindly to bishops as such. On the contrary,

since he knew that these bishops, to whose communities he addressed himself, were true "overseers," bishops after God's heart, he writes, "whoever does not follow the will of the bishops opposes the will of God." But later the views as to the importance of the office were changed, for it was only too easy to understand such utterances to mean that all bishops were representatives of God by virtue of their office. The later extension of meaning taught this.

A second point arose in post-apostolic times: What was more natural than that the man who desired baptism should pronounce in some way or other his assent to the Christian faith? At first this must have been done in the shortest form, some addition to the formula adopted by the baptiser, "I baptise thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," which is also prescribed in the "Teaching of the Apostles." If, then, heresies had to be rejected, short explanatory sentences were certainly added to that brief expression. Thus a rule of faith was formed which served to distinguish, as it were, the universal faith from perversions of it. The significance of this countersign was bound to increase as the number of those who desired to be received into the Church grew greater, and as, therefore, it became more desirable to possess a short epitome of that which constituted the Christian faith. Such epitomes were at first, as might be expected, different in the different countries. But the increase of intercourse between the various communities made it necessary to adjust such differences by accepting sentences that appeared important and were customary elsewhere, and by excluding what was too comprehensive. In the conviction that they were expressing nothing else in such sentences than what the founders of the Church, the apostles, had taught, this rule of faith was called "the apostolic confession of faith." In any case, before the middle of the second century some such "creed" was in use, almost exactly like that in use at the present time. This could not have been first composed in Rome, but must have been based on a confession originating in the East.

We notice the beginnings of a third action of the Church. The sacred Scriptures of the Jews were accepted by the Christians as inspired by the spirit of God. Extracts from them were read aloud in the services. Together with these came letters of the apostle Paul and other works of Christian authors. In order to multiply the available materials for the edification of the public, the communities exchanged such writings among themselves. When the original apostles were dead and the "prophets" became fewer, these writings replaced what was lost. At the same time also the need arose of not permitting all and every Christian writing to be read aloud at divine service, but of examining whether by age and contents it was suitable for the purpose. This question became still more weighty when the Gnostics attempted to secure the recognition of their heresies by means of edited or forged writings; and when Marcion, a Christian, enthusiastic for Paul (c. 150), wished to find distortions of the true Christianity in a series of writings which up till then had been reckoned apostolic, and rejected some and mutilated others. The important point now was that everything which, as dating from the foundation of the Church must count as apostolic, whether composed by an apostle himself or by another witness of the earliest times, should be definitely separated from other literature, nor was it material whether the contents of such literature were orthodox or tainted with heresy. The problem was to construct a "canon." Of course, collections of this

kind did not at first agree in the different communities or territories, for the very good reason that the separate writings, being composed for definite persons or circles of readers, were first of all known and spread in definite countries. Only gradually did a more frequent exchange lead to greater agreement. The first list of this kind which is extant — unfortunately, in mutilated form, and, therefore, not to be certainly defined as to its extent — called after its discoverer, Ludovico Antonio Muratori, the "Muratorian canon," contained twenty-two out of the twenty-seven writings collected in the present New Testament, and is said to have been made in Rome (c. 180). Some one hundred and thirty years later we learn, through the Church historian, Eusebius, that not even then were all the writings in our present New Testament popularly recognised: the decision was still wavering over the Epistle of St. James, the two Epistles of Peter, the second and third Epistles of St. John, and the Epistle of Jude. In 360 Athanasius put forth a tract, in which these writings also were reckoned canonical without further discussion.

The Church thus sought to win a firmer position and fixed standards, that it might not lose its course and be wrecked in the overpowering fury of the waves. It is on the way to become the Catholic Church.

D. The Rise of the Catholic Church (c. 180-248)

Although during the previous period the Christians had been an oppressed and cruelly persecuted body, they were not exterminated. "The blood of the martyrs had been the seed of the Church." The rage of the storm was spent. It would seem that men had grown weary of murder as an ineffective measure. It is true that the existing law made the trial of Christians possible, and that bloody persecutions still occurred, but a period of comparative rest had been entered on. Men, moreover, ascended the imperial throne who lacked the moral power to hate a religion. The Roman bishop, Victor, was able to acquire influence over the profligate Commodus (180-192). Septimus Severus (211) took a Christian slave, to whom he owed his cure, into his palace and protected the Christians who held high posts round him; and he is said to have given a Christian nurse to his son, Caracalla. The Christian author, Hippolytus, carried on a correspondence with the second wife of Elagabalus. Severus Alexander placed the pictures of Abraham and Jesus among his household gods in the Lararium. "The maxims of the Master came readily to his lips." Over a room in his palace he had the saying of Christ written up: "Do unto others what you would that they should do unto you!" The empress-mother was on intimate terms with the famous teacher of the Church, Origen. Philip the Arabian (244-249) is said actually to have been a Christian: and even if it were only a legend, yet what a change it was that such a story could have been told and believed!

The sword of Damocles, hanging over the Christian name, which had formerly kept so many back from Christianity, and which had served closely to sift the communities, now seemed to have been taken away. The heathen now pressed in masses into the Church. Once it had been the aim of the Christians to rescue individuals from the "world which lay in wickedness" for the approaching day of Judgment; and not to bow before the power of the enemy, but to regard the martyr's crown as the noblest ornament. Now, they ventured to think (as

Origen writes), that all other religions would perish and that the divine truth would in the end rule alone on earth.

In what a new aspect appear the chiefs, especially of the Christian communities! How greatly has the importance of these pastors increased through the growth of the flock, through the increase of the burden of work laid on them, especially as these large communities, constantly feeling less inclination to act themselves, entrusted all church work to the bishops! The presbyters and deacons proved soon insufficient to manage everything. Thus in the second quarter of the third century new officials were created for the performance of the inferior services, i.e. subdeacons, readers, exorcists, and acolytes. But in order that the single guidance might be secured, the offices formed a graduated system, at the head of which stood the one bishop. Formerly this office had been regarded as a hard test of loving service towards the community, and the only privilege of the leader had been to die first in the fight. Now, it might be reckoned an honour, flattering to pride, to stand at the head of these great communities, recruiting themselves from the highest ranks in the empire. The rights of the office now became a prerogative. Rivalry between the priests and the laymen became possible. Tertullian, who wished to check this development, could now exclaim wrathfully and prove by the manner of his protest that the new movement had touched him already, "Are not laymen priests? Where three are, there is the Church, even though they be laymen." But how could the tendency be checked? If these masses were to be held together, submission to the bishops must be exacted. And in order to justify this unwonted claim, the bishops were clothed with the same honour which men had been accustomed to show to the apostles, the founders of the Church.

A second cause hastened this development. Men appealed to the Holy Scriptures and to the rules of faith, in order to refute the heretics. But how was it to prove to them that such standards really dated from the first origin of Christianity? No one was alive whose memory reached back to that age. Was there, then, no substitute for such witnesses? Tertullian writes: "Make inquiry among the apostolic churches, among those especially where the chairs from which the apostles taught still stand in their place, where the originals of their letters are still read aloud." But what persons in these communities could give the most certain information? Evidently the bishops. The apostles had placed such men as pastors in the communities founded by them, and the latter had again appointed as their successors the men who had absorbed most accurately the original doctrine. The unbroken succession of these officials guaranteed in the earliest times certain information on points about which men could, unfortunately, no longer inquire from the apostles themselves. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, was a pupil of Polycarp, who had sat at the feet of the apostle John. As in consequence of this he himself was able to say what the original faith was, he declared it as a general rule (c. 180) that the heads of the apostolic communities were qualified, by virtue of their succession in office, to state the truth. He was not speaking of any power of infallibility handed down to them from the apostles; he meant only that such communities, and especially their heads, were in possession of historical knowledge valuable in the struggle against the heretics. As an instance, "since it would take too long to relate the succession in office of all churches," he mentions the "greatest, oldest, and best-known,"

community, that of Rome. An inquiry made of them alone would certainly be sufficient, since naturally all other communities in which the apostolic tradition was preserved would agree with its answer.

But, indeed, such innocently intended phrases might well be misinterpreted, when the inroad of the masses and the rush of different ideas into the Church rendered desirable a stricter organisation and some governing body with authority to decide on disputed questions! How easily could these words be read to mean that the bishop's office was the bearer of the truth! Another sentence of Irenæus could then be distorted: "Where the Church is, there is the spirit of God. To be outside the Church is to be outside the truth." Thus he writes after he has demonstrated that the "preaching of the Church is uniformly the truth as testified by the apostles, and the teaching of that which is outside the Church is 'perverted' truth." He adds, however: "And where the spirit of God is, there is the Church; but the spirit is the truth." He only declares the clearly proven fact that truth is to be found in the Church, and not among the heretics. But that sentence, torn away from the context, carried a great thesis in itself, since by the "Church" was understood the external corporation of the Church to which the bishops guaranteed the apostolic truth. It was but a short step to the next proposition, that the Church was formed by the bishops, and truth and salvation were only to be found in connection with them. At this time, too, the desire for a visible unity of all communities became continually stronger. How, then, was order to be maintained in these great communities which were in perpetual flux, if identical doctrines and identical procedure did not link them together? The name "Catholic Church" is found, indeed, in Ignatius; but he meant by it the ideal aggregate community, scattered throughout the whole world (Καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης) in contradistinction to the individual community. But now it was desired to mold the aggregate into a comprehensible, definite unity, in order that each individual might know to what to hold fast, and not be led astray. What else could represent this unity except the office of bishop?

Hippolytus, the pupil of Irenæus, already declares the bishops to be the *diadochi* (successors) of the apostles, participating in the same grace of the high priesthood and of teaching as they did. In the middle of the third century Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (248-258), elaborates the thoughts of his time as to the existence of a church into a self-contained system. That is true of the bishops which Christ said to the apostles filled with the spirit of God, "Whoever hears you, hears me." Only through the bishops are the divine mercies communicated to us. They have also to decide to whom the divine gifts belong. They are not merely administrators, but judges in the Church. They are thus what the priests were among the Jews. At an earlier time the Jewish priesthood had been employed as a comparison. The "apostolic teaching" had called the "prophets" who came forward in the communities the "high priests of Christ" as a justification of their claim on the community for their bodily needs. Since, they said, the prophets serve the Christian community spiritually, it is just to pay them tithes, as the Jews paid their priests. Now, the duties incumbent on the bishops were considered priestly, and the bishops were regarded as priests. Only they might administer the mysteries (sacraments) of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Their offering at the Lord's Supper was a sacrifice.

Formerly the gift of the bread and wine for this holy meal, brought by the community, was called the sacrifice of the community. In the same way the prayers of the Christians, in particular the prayer at the Lord's Supper, were designated a sacrifice. But the priest offers the *body* and *blood* of Christ as a sacrifice to God. "The priest imitates what Christ has done when He offered himself to the Father." The bishops are regarded as holding their high office from God himself, although the community may have co-operated in their election. It is, therefore, presumption to assume that a bishop is not worthy of his office. He acts, therefore, from the "inspiration of the Holy Ghost." Thus believers are bound to the bishops. The unity of the Church is represented in them. The old conception is forgotten, according to which the "number of believers" is the Church, and "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," makes a man member of this Church. Not every one who, by virtue of the faith and the baptism, has the one Lord belongs to the Church; but "whosoever has not the Church as mother cannot have God as father." "Outside the Church is no salvation." And this Church is the outward community, represented by the bishops. Only he who submits to the episcopacy stands in the Church. If any man were outside this Church, it would avail him nothing, even though he held the faith in common with the Church, even if he were to be martyred for this faith: he is as helpless to save himself as he who was outside the ark of Noah.

To sustain this claim it was necessary that all bishops should desire and command one and the same thing. As early as 180–200 the representatives of the communities here and there felt the need of counsel as to their official action in difficult questions. They held synods. It was naturally the political capital of a province where assemblies were held, and it was the bishop of this town who made preparations for it and assumed the presidency. It thus followed, as a matter of course, that the metropolitan gradually came to be regarded as the unifying force of the episcopacy of the province. Of the capitals, some had peculiar importance in the eyes of the Christians. Rome was not only the capital of the world, but it held the bones of Peter and Paul, the apostolic princes. Alexandria, the second city of the empire, was renowned as the seat of Christian learning (cf. below, pp. 189, 190). Antioch, the third city of the empire, had long had the apostle Paul for its teacher. Ephesus numbered a specially large Christian community, and Paul, as well as John, had long been at its head. The countries round Carthage received the Gospel from it. Assuredly in any disputed questions it was more valuable to have the bishop of such a community on one's side than the bishop of some unknown place. There was, indeed, at first no claim of prerogatives, but the urban bishops already enjoyed a higher estimation. It was the beginning of the patriarchate system, of the visible unity of several provinces. Soon there would be the sole problem, that of fixing a central point for the aggregate of *all* churches. One bishop already asserted a claim to such a position, the bishop of Rome Who knows whether Cyprian, if he had been bishop of Rome, would not have crowned the fabric of his church with the claim that the Roman bishop was the high priest placed over all priests? But he was bishop of Carthage, and had not always agreed with the decisions of the bishop of Rome; and, therefore, most vehemently opposed the claim of Rome to the primacy over all other churches. Yet Cyprian's longing not merely to imagine the episcopacy as a unity, but actually to see it, was so great that he, at least,

put forward the proposition that Christ intended the episcopacy to be *one* in investing Peter with all the powers enjoyed by the other apostles. Thus the successor of Peter, the bishop of Rome, represents the unity of the bishops and with it that of the Church. This Roman community, the community of Peter, was, indeed, that "from which the unity of the bishops took its origin," which more than all others strove for unity among the bishops. What men dreaded, then, was, nevertheless, greatly desired. Doubtless, the desire would prevail over the dread. It would cost hard struggles, because now office in the Church was regarded as a privilege and was valued as the highest calling and carried highest honour. But the whole course of events set irresistibly towards the establishment of a primacy.

As a firmly compacted unity the Church might better hope to keep together, to lead, and to educate the masses that were pressing into it, even such as were as yet little moved by the Christian spirit. It is not strange that now the whole rule of faith, which was originally a mere declaration of the existing creed, was fixed more and more as a *law* of faith, to which all must submit who wished to belong to the Church. But personal belief could not be coerced, and no one wished to bar unnecessarily admission into the Church. What was left, then, except to be content with the absence of spoken opposition to the Church? And what was more natural than to regard the submission to the law of faith established by the Church as the badge of Christianity? Many pagans, especially the educated men among them, could not yet reconcile themselves to this rule of faith. But men were already hopeful that the whole world would become Christian; and an attempt was, therefore, made to bring the belief of the Church as near as possible to the educated among its disparagers and to force it on their convictions. It was necessary to reduce Christian doctrine to a complete system which could be compared with the systems of the heathen philosophers. Where could this need have been more keenly felt than in Alexandria, that most prominent abode of Hellenic learning? No one, unless familiar with this and able to reconcile philosophy, could hope to influence wider circles. There was a second incentive. Gnosticism dazzled many men, for it promised a deep knowledge not accessible to all. If it was to be defeated, it must be shown that pure Christianity granted wisdom and knowledge.

What a task was set by this! It was desired to give a scientific form to the Christian doctrine, and yet the only available method of scientific thought was that of Hellenic philosophy. It was necessary to try how far this was adapted to the statement of Christianity, and everything had to be excluded which originated in the heathen conceptions of the world. This required not merely extraordinary acuteness of thought, but also an absolutely pure knowledge of Christianity. Those who first set about the gigantic work could pride themselves on the former qualification, but not on the latter. For everywhere in the Church there was now present a dimness of conception regarding the nature of Christianity. Precisely those doctrines which the apostle Paul had expressed in so clear a manner, forming as they did the kernel of what was essentially Christianity, were all but forgotten (cf. above, pp. 169, 170). It might seem the conception of "faith" was so changed that it no longer could take the predominant place which Jesus and Paul had assigned to it. In its room a code of morals had entered which might be termed a mixture of Jewish and heathen ethics.

Thus one fundamental difference between paganism and Christianity was no longer recognised, and conceptions and ideas common in the heathen philosophy were unhesitatingly employed to expound Christianity. The result would have been a complete change in Christianity, if at the same time the conviction had not been firm that the Holy Scriptures of the early period were based on divine revelation, and, therefore, must be maintained as the foundation. Their decisive utterances would, no doubt, have been completely misinterpreted by means of the favourite allegorical explanation, had not the short sentences of the rule of faith, universally handed down as unassailable, raised too loud a protest. The creed of the Church saved the Church from complete degeneration.

Pantænus, Clemens, Origen, worked in this line in the school at Alexandria. They made the conception of the "Logos," which is borrowed (according to its contents) from Greek Philosophy, the central point of their theology. This is the absolute reason, the principle which binds God to the world. It was also operative in the heathen world. The Platonic philosophy derived truth from the "Logos." In Christianity, again, the "Logos" has become man, and, therefore, the full and pure truth is present in it. Thus a saving bridge was constructed from paganism to Christianity. It did not need a leap to go from the wisdom of the world to the faith of the Christian, only one step, a step forward.

The Catholic Church is born. Christianity has lost simplicity of faith, but has gained unity of organisation. The church system has interposed itself as mediator of salvation between God and man, but, on the other hand, has attained the possibility of communicating to the great mass some of the benefits of salvation. The danger is lest communion with the Church take the place of communion with God; but as admission into the communion of the Church is made easier, the way is afforded to those who are dissatisfied with the world of pressing on to communion with God. But before this new position is completely attained a raging tempest bursts rendering everything doubtful.

E. The Final Struggle and Victory (c. 248-327)

The last seventy years had taught incontestably that to let Christianity alone was merely to further its supremacy. It had been seen as well that partial persecutions were useless, and, indeed, merely afforded the Christians the opportunity to prove the constancy of their faith and to make new conquests. It had been made clear that the struggle between paganism and Christianity was one of life and death. And perhaps it was already too late for the former to conquer. But was the world still capable of enthusiasm for the heathen faith? Had not the old belief in the gods long since been shaken and now shattered by the ridicule of the Christian writers? Yet religion was more necessary now than ever. Warmed by the brightly glowing fire of Christian faith, the yearning for the Invisible had flared up again in the hearts of many who had felt themselves contented by none of the religions known to them and had turned their backs on metaphysics. Numbers, however, thus awakened from religious indifference, did not wish to turn to Christianity, for they hated it. Yet they could no longer despise it. The Christians had many advantages over them — joyous enthusiasm, consciousness of their communion with God, the sense of elevation above the

world. If men wished to raise up enthusiastic opponents to Christianity, they must purify the old faith from the notions which have brought it into contempt, and give it the advantages of Christianity. Thus arose the last form of the Greek philosophy, the first philosophy formed in opposition to Christianity, Neo-Platonism, founded by Ammonius Saccas (died 241), elaborated by his scholar, Plotinus (died 270)

Much surprise has been caused by the hostility between Neo-Platonism and Christianity. As if anything but a struggle for life and death could prevail between the real faith and a substitute, pursuing the object of driving out the former! All religions, barbarian, as well as the Jewish, are justified in so far as they strive towards the true religion. Christianity alone makes no defence of this kind, for it proclaims itself the only true religion and denies the right of all others to exist. Thus all religions of the world might unite in Neo-Platonism and unite in a struggle against Christianity. All that Christianity promises to give, elevation above the world and communion with God, this philosophy gives. Let the soul free itself from the limitations of the senses, and it will immediately be one with the original Divine Being. Porphyry (died 304), the pupil of Plotinus, makes a further attempt to see if the Christians will not allow themselves to be drawn into the porticos of the Neo-Platonists. He wrote fifteen books, the title of which is variously translated, " about the Christians " or " against the Christians." They might confidently continue, said Porphyry, to reverence their founder, from whom they take their name, for he was a wise and holy man. But his disciples have altered the truths preached by him and have made him a god against his will. The Christians must place no belief in their holy writings, for these contain contradictions and improbabilities.

The ill success of such attempts at proselytism resulted merely in determining men not to shrink from quite other weapons, in order to wipe Christianity from off the earth. The emperors after Philip the Arabian were filled with pain and anger at the decay of the empire. Their object was to restore its old power and splendour, and for this unity in worship was essential. In 249 Decius mounted the throne. He first formed the plan of systematically extirpating Christianity. The system of espionage on the Christians set by order of the state and forbidden by Trajan (cf. above, p. 179), was now reinstated. The decree of the year 250 orders that throughout the empire the Christians be forced to take part in the state religion. The priests were to be immediately put to death as presumably incorrigible, the others to be made humble by continually increasing penalties. Heavy punishment would fall on the prefect who did not bring back the Christians of his district to the old religion. What a thunderbolt for the Christians! And it burst, too, on a community grown effeminate and full of half Christians, owing to the entry of masses of the people. When, therefore, torture and death suddenly threatened, many acted as if they could not purify themselves quickly enough of the suspicion of being Christians. Others, with bleeding heart, consented to offer incense to the gods. Others, again, tried to extenuate their backsliding to themselves by bribing the officials, in order to get a certificate that they had satisfied the imperial orders.

But, strange to say, many of those who separated themselves from the Christians by a definite renunciation were not yet in a position to return to the pagans. They wished themselves back in the community from which fear had driven

them. They implored to be taken back. They knew that in that case they were again threatened by what only now they had been too weak to endure. They knew that they must undergo an ordeal of repentance, lasting, perhaps, many years in shame and privation, before they were again received into the Church, and enabled to suffer torture or death for their faith. And yet they could not do otherwise; they could not live without that which once had inspired them.

And by the side of the weak ones what proofs of heroism! The victims in Alexandria were not less numerous than in Rome. The constancy of the boy, Dioscurus, under all his torments was so great that even the governor, full of wonder and pity, set him free. In the Thebais a Christian and his wife hung for days on the cross, speaking words of encouragement to each other. In Jerusalem and Antioch the bishops died after enduring tortures manfully. At Carthage the prison was filled with Christians, whom the officials wished to force to renunciation through hunger and thirst. They were no longer content with the ordinary tortures, but devised new and ingenious torments. It was the heroic endurance of the constant that exasperated them most. Formerly they thought they had conquered when they had shown their power over the life of the Christians. They now felt that there could be no talk of victory unless the Christians were brought to renounce their faith. The martyr who died bravely triumphed over agony, death, and his murderers: only he who drew back from the instruments of torture or from death was a conquered man. This led to the new sort of warfare, i.e. to kill only those who could not be conquered themselves and encouraged others, but to compel the rest, by unwearying persistence and perpetually renewed torments to abandon the castle of their faith.

As if the enlightenment and humanity of the age were ashamed of this brutality, a short period of tranquillity commenced with the death of Decius (251). And although Valerian (253-260), with the greatest resolution, planned the annihilation of the Christians, he first tried to attain his purpose by less ferocious means. The Christian communities were to be, as it were, spiritually starved out, in order that they might break up from internal weakness. The bishops were removed and all assemblies of Christians forbidden. Thus the law of 258 ordered that all bishops, presbyters, and deacons, as well as senators and knights, should be executed, if after confiscation of their property they did not give up their faith. Noble women were to be banished, Christians in the imperial service were to work in chains on the emperor's estates. In this persecution Cyprian suffered death at Carthage. But though very many bishops and presbyters were slain, the desired object was not reached. When Valerian was taken captive by the Persians, his successor, Gallienus, gave up the profitless contest. For some forty years the Christians had rest. Their numbers once more grew mightily. There was no longer need to search for Christians, they were met everywhere; in the army there were Christian officers, among the servants of the state there were Christians up to the governors themselves; there were Christian courtiers round the emperor. Finally there was even a rumour that the wife and daughter of the emperor, Diocletian, wished to be baptised.

After 284 Diocletian was on the throne. He succeeded in what his predecessors had failed, in restoring strength and unity to the shattered empire. He was able to form the unwieldy Roman empire into an organised structure. The greater the joy experienced by all who carried within them the old Roman

spirit, the more must they have felt it a contradiction that in the sphere of religion the most varied diversity prevailed. A Neo-Platonic state church was now the goal of the friends of unity. The Bithynian governor, Hierocles, especially sought to propagate this idea. He addressed two books of "truth-loving words to the Christians." The use of other means than words and truth, the exercise of rude force, to overcome the Christians, accorded but little with the lofty morality of the Neo-Platonist and his conception of man's union with God. But what of the present time, when it appeared that words were in vain? If this noble virtue of Neo-Platonism could only prevail universally after annihilation of Christianity, were other weapons then to be shunned? Hierocles found an enthusiastic partisan and helper in the emperor, Galerius. The emperor, it is true, was not ready for such a step; he was the son of a Dalmatian bond-woman and subject to the superstition of his race. To the question whether action should be taken against the Christians, the oracle of Apollo at Miletus gave the answer that the Christians made it impossible to declare the truth. The emperor gave way to the pressure, insisting only that no blood should be shed. Galerius ventured to have the Christian church at Nicomedia stormed and destroyed by his Prætorians (February, 303). On the next day a decree was publicly posted up. All Christian churches were to be demolished, all Christian books burnt, every Christian meeting prohibited. All who persisted in the Christian faith were to lose their offices, and the free to become slaves. A Christian, carried away by indignation, tore down the decree. He was cruelly tortured and executed. Fire twice broke out in the imperial palace, and the blame was laid upon the Christians. Insurrections occurred in Armenia and Syria, and the Christians were supposed to have instigated them. Thus the opposition of the emperor was overcome. The Christian officials of the court were required to abandon their faith. Their steadfastness irritated the emperor, so that his disinclination to shed blood disappeared. One decree followed another until the final order that all Christians should be forced by every means to sacrifice. "If I had a hundred tongues, and every tongue of metal," writes a Christian author of those days, "they would not suffice to describe all the cruelties, to name all the tortures which were inflicted by the judges on the righteous and the unrighteous." The different methods of death, which men did not shrink to employ, cannot be repeated. The empire was drenched with streams of Christian blood. At times the arm of the murderer appeared weary; but when in times of rest it was seen that all the previous fury had not led to any result, the enemies of Christianity gathered their strength again, in order to end the war of annihilation. Their blind rage at their want of success led men to have recourse to the expedient of pouring the wine or water used at sacrifices over the articles of food in the market, so that the Christians who could not be compelled to sacrifice still tasted something of the sacrifice. The persecution lasted eight years.

Galerius, attacked by a dread disease, issued shortly before his death, in 311, a decree for the east of the empire, ordering the toleration of the Christian religion. He does not recognise them as privileged, his wish still is that the Christians should willingly return to the faith of their fathers. But he has seen that nothing is able to force them to it, and that the result of his efforts has been the reverse of that which he wished to attain; the Christians now show no

reverence to any god, to his gods because they do not choose, to their God because they do not dare. The interest of the state requires the prayers of all for the state. It is thus to be arranged that "they become Christians again, and again hold their meetings for divine service," in order that they may pray to their God for the emperor and the empire. A toleration reluctantly conceded out of a feeling of personal impotence before this incomprehensible resistance of faith — that was what the dying man gave. The prisons were opened, the crowds of the tortured prisoners returned to their homes welcomed even by the heathen "with pity and rejoicing."

In the west of the empire the emperor, Constantius Chlorus, had "contented himself with the destruction of the temple, but had spared the temple made of men." The victorious progress of his son, Constantine, caused the persecution gradually to cease throughout the whole West, and gave to the Christian Church the edict of Milan, which surpassed all expectations (313). What made Constantine the liberator and patron of the Church? When he started from Gaul for the South, his religion was probably nothing else than the vague monotheism of his era, which had kept his father from hating the Christians and venting his fury on them. Later it became a warm interest in Christianity, an unmistakable conviction of its truth. The dark stains in his moral life do not give us the right to consider him a conscious hypocrite. For even the actual conviction of the truth of Christianity does not make it at all impossible that morality lagged behind knowledge, especially in a Roman emperor accustomed to boundless license. That Constantine was only baptised on his death-bed was nothing unusual at a time when Christians thought to gain by baptism forgiveness only for their past sins, and the necessity for the act might have been brought home the more to the emperor, in that he was well aware of his moral deficiencies. The fact that, although long considered a Christian even by Christians, he did not wish to die without receiving baptism, might be adduced as proof that he expected something from the Church for the next world; that he was concerned about the remission of his sins, and that, therefore, not mere political considerations determined his attitude towards the Church.

When did Constantine first turn with interest to Christianity? Judging by the difference between the edict of 312 and that at the beginning of 313, his opinion must have altered during that interval. He bases his "intervention for the Christian Community" in the decree at Milan on the hope that in return "the divine favour which he has experienced in such great things will at all times bring him success and safety." He must, therefore, have already experienced God's help in such a way that it was clear to him God was for the Christians. In support of this view, we first find the cross, as the badge under which Constantine fights and conquers, in the war against Maxentius. And after his victory over this opponent he causes to be erected in Rome the statue of himself holding in his hand the cross as "the salvation-bringing badge under which he freed the city from the yoke of the tyrant." He could hardly have made this declaration merely out of political considerations; for he no longer needed to win the Christians for himself, and could only estrange the heathen by the act. But if the conviction had been forced on him before the battle with Maxentius that God was for the Christians, and that their cross was a salvation-bringing badge, we shall not have to relegate to the realm of legends what Eusebius is

said to have learnt from the emperor himself on the subject, that as he stood confronting his powerful opponent and meditated as to what god he should summon to help him he received the order to conquer in the sign of the cross. Therefore, he looked with superstitious reverence on this symbol, and thought to gain God's favour for himself by showing favour to the Christians. His victories under the new banner strengthened him in this belief, so that in inward conviction also he approaches nearer and nearer to Christianity. If we reflect how vastly predominant the pagans of the empire were at the accession of Constantine, and how the last terrible persecution had driven the Christians from all higher posts; if we reflect further how little he actually did for the repression of heathendom and for the supremacy of Christendom, his conviction that the future belonged to Christianity cannot be thus explained merely as a stroke of genius, but must rest on a firm belief of the superior strength of the Christian faith. And then also his hope that the religious unity in the empire, to be obtained by Christianity, would bring with it a civic unity, would not seem a misuse of the Church for political ends. In reality, he never wished to do more than to render it possible for the Church to develop all her forces absolutely unfettered, in the expectation that then paganism would decay and the state flourish.

This was the state of his mind when he issued the edict of Milan in 313. In concert with Licinius he conceded by it religious freedom for the entire Roman empire, and that not reluctantly, but rather considering his action as the only just course. The Roman state abandoned its former view that religion was an affair of state. Constantine relegated it to the sphere to which it belongs, according to Christian notions, the conscience. In acting in this manner he acted in the "interests of public peace." He recognised that the state can never be quiet if there is a living religious spirit present. Yet religion is, nevertheless, to be controlled by the state. For the sake of the public peace men had often and terribly wreaked their fury on Christianity, because it roused the conscience, and thereby created a spirit of intolerable independence. On the same grounds conscience was now declared to be free. How had Christianity transformed the ideas of the old world! The emperors proclaim the principle laid down by Christ: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's." But if no one was to suffer from the fact that he was a Christian, the Christian Church must also be granted the same privileges which the previous state religion had enjoyed. Constantine issued, first for his own dominions and then, after the conquest of his last opponent, Licinius (234), for the whole empire, a series of laws, by which the Church became a protected and a favoured estate. That which lately was hated as the deadly enemy of the state was now formed into a most important element in the organism of the public life. The priests were freed from public burdens, especially from the oppressive services and payments in kind and from the liability of filling the municipal offices. The property of the Church was secured by the grant of corporate rights to the Church, and was increased not merely by donations from the emperor, but also by the legal decision that legacies in favour of the Church were valid. The law recognised the right of the bishops to act as judges over members of their communities in civil matters and fully to exercise the power of punishing their priests. The privilege of sanctuary was also conceded to

Christian churches. Sunday was recognised as a holy day, on which public state affairs, e.g. law suits, were to be suspended. The state gave the force of law to resolutions passed by the Church and lent its authority to aid in carrying them out. Something of the Christian spirit already entered into the secular legislature. The face of man, created in the image of God, was no more to be branded. The criminal who had forfeited his life was no longer to be despatched in a cruel fashion by crucifixion or by tearing in pieces by the teeth of wild beasts. Children might no longer be sold. How great a change! There had been times when the Christians would have feared such rich gifts as a gift of the Danai. Just now the Church had become Catholic. Just now it had been prostrate under the headman's axe. Men could only rejoice. We must pardon the Christians who lived to see this change, if Constantine seemed to them "as a heavenly messenger sent by God," and if they could not see his stains because the glory which the Church had gained through him dazzled their eyes.

Constantine also gave the Church that which up till now it had lacked sadly, a formal bond of unity. The cardinal point of the Church's rule of faith was the acknowledgment of "Jesus Christ, begotten Son of God, our Lord." Granted that at first men assented to this profession as taken from the writings of primitive times in the Church, and as corresponding to the Christian consciousness of the incomparable majesty of the Saviour, yet as decades of peace came (since circa 180) and the number of educated men in the Church increased, the necessity must have been felt of determining definitely to what was expressed and what excluded by those phrases. Say that Christians exulted because they had vanquished polytheism and had found the one God; would not this conquest be endangered by the other proposition that Christ, Son of God, *was* God? Some thought that the unity of God could only be maintained by the assumption that the one God had taken human form in Christ, and as such was called "Son of God." Others did not wish Christ to be taken as God himself. The latter view especially was contested and rejected. But when the Church finally obtained peace under Constantine, the presbyter Arius in Alexandria renewed this false doctrine in a form which somewhat more closely approached the view of the Church. Christ, he said, was not a mere man, but the manifestation of a higher spiritual Being, created by God, and, therefore, in its nature unlike (*anhomoios*) God. The flames of this dispute blazed brightly. Constantine saw it with deep sorrow. He had hoped that in the future the one religion which he thought the best would prevail in the entire Roman empire, and that through it the unity of the empire would be firmly established. Now the adherents of this religion which was to heal all divisions were divided! He implored the Church at Alexandria, in a letter, to desist from such disputes over secondary points, but in vain. How was this concord to be restored? Only a general conference of all the bishops could lead to the desired end. The emperor resolved to make this possible and to summon an imperial synod. He did not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the Church nor to prescribe its decision; but since it did not as yet possess any agent representing the whole community, he wished to give it the means of deliberating and deciding as a united body. Thus he invited attendance at the meeting and defrayed the expenses of the delegates for travelling and lodging out of the public treasury. From June to August, 325, this first "Ecumenical Council" sat at Nicæa in Bithynia. Among the three

hundred and eighteen members, some of whom were present only for a part of the time, there were a Persian and a Gothic bishop: from the West, which was less agitated by this dispute, naturally few (six) appeared. At the opening and more than once during the conferences, Constantine himself spoke, in order to urge peace. And after the terrible storms of the persecutions — many of those present still bore conspicuous traces on their bodies of the torments they had endured — the sunshine of imperial favour was too sweet to allow all present to maintain their independence. Constantine was not to blame if " for the sake of peace and out of regard for the imperial will " even those who did not find their own conviction expressed in the final confession of faith (Christ is consubstantial with the Father: *homousios*) declared themselves satisfied with it. Only two bishops supported Arius in opposition. The emperor gave to the resolutions of the synod the force of law. The opposite view was, therefore, illegal, and banishment was inflicted on those who refused to abandon it.

In this manner the Church arrived at an outward expression of the unity of the episcopacy, so long desired. The community which had formerly been held together only by the bond of the same faith, the same love, the same hope, had now become the imperial Church, possessing a uniform outward government. Thus the question whether one bishop should be regarded as first among all, was put for the moment into the background. The matter was not pressing. In this first general council neither the bishop of Rome — his advanced age prevented him from taking part — nor the presbyters representing him presided. It is true the bishop of Rome had been granted the primacy over the churches of the political diocese of Rome, that is, over the greatest part of central Italy and all Lower Italy, with Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, but nothing more. Would this state of things continue? Would the successors of Constantine refrain as much as he did from direct interference in the internal affairs of the Church? Would not a church which had already so thoroughly carried out the principle of rank and subordination be in the end forced to declare above all others one bishop, who should maintain himself absolutely independent in the face of worldly potentates? But Rome had already found a rival. The emperor had removed his court to the town in the East bearing his name. If the Roman community acquired its high reputation, as there is no doubt, chiefly because it lay in the centre of the empire, would not the bishop of the new capital be still more highly exalted by the splendour of the Christian emperor? Or perhaps, on the contrary, the very proximity of the emperor will prevent him from soaring so high. Before we take up this question again (cf. below, p. 203) and touch on the doctrinal disputes connected with it in the imperial Church, let us notice what changes the ecclesiastical life has undergone in consequence of the revolution effected by Constantine.

2. THE IMPERIAL CHURCH 197-210

A. The Organisation of the Imperial Church after the Death of Constantine -305

Owing to Constantine, the Church had become the favoured religious body. Nothing now deterred men from entering it; much attracted men strongly towards it. There was some difficulty in keeping aloof from it. The dykes, as

it were, that protected it were broken through, and, unhindered, the turbid floods of those who were strange to the true religious spirit poured in. This, indeed, did not make the Church really poorer in Christian spirit, but immeasurably richer in unworthy members. To govern them so that they might all lead a life worthy of the Christian name, was completely impossible. The unholy "world" spread within the "Holy Church." The more earnest spirits were roused to protest all the more energetically against this unchristian life by the impressive eloquence of acts. The hour struck for the birth of monasticism.

Christianity required self-renunciation and the subdual of sinful desires. The more thorough the abhorrence felt by a Christian, snatched from pagan immorality, for intemperance and shameless license, the more easily could he bring himself to keep as far as possible from everything which the pagans boldly misused; and he could even find honour in denying himself such things as were not exactly forbidden, simply because natural desire impelled him to them. By the middle of the second century it could be pronounced as a universal Christian view that marriages were to be entered into not out of sexual inclination, but merely for the purpose of giving birth to children. To enter into a second marriage after the death of the husband was regarded by many as "respectable adultery," on the ground chiefly that natural desires might be excused in youth, but not in riper years. The highest merit, however, consisted in total abstention from sexual intercourse. Such views were able to mislead persons to exhibit fanciful displays of self-restraint. Ascetic maidens ventured to live with men of like feeling on such intimate terms that their virginity, preserved in spite of great temptations, revealed a laudable victory of the spirit over the flesh. Originally, indeed, such restraint was valued only as "askesis," as exercises, which were intended to strengthen the will power for the battle against sin. But because they were a proof of the earnestness of the feeling it might only too easily be thought that they were also in themselves meritorious practices; that the greatest possible subjection of natural desire and absence of passion was true Christianity. In quiet years between periods of persecution there came to the Church many members of whom such self-denial could not be expected, and whom the Church did not wish to reject. A twofold code of morality was then formulated. Under the complete code men abstained from marriage and abjured earthly possessions, in order to serve God alone. Under the other, men lived the ordinary life of the world, but avoided in it what was forbidden by God. It was supposed that this distinction was to be found in the Holy Scriptures of the early Christian time, The former code of morality followed the advice of the evangelists, the latter only the commandments.

But since the masses flowed into the Church, and with them came that immorality which formerly was seen only among the pagans, even the original form of the higher code of morality no longer seemed to the more earnest spirits a sufficient protest against the worldly feeling. The former ascetics had still remained in the body of the Church and of the state; but now men wished by open rupture with the worldly life, ruled by natural desires, to proclaim aloud that true Christianity despises the world. Flight from the world was put forward as the ideal. This error certainly brought a blessing with it. The enthusiasm for monasticism which was awakened by the growth of immorality in the Church was a constant protest against corruption, and prevented it from estab-

lishing itself in the Church and completely ruining it. For many, too, who dreaded a relapse into the pagan ways life in circles permeated with unchristian practices must have proved too strong a temptation. They had cause to fear for their Christianity if they remained in the old, and yet now so new, surroundings. Hence came that longing to withdraw into solitude even in those who ventured later to face again the storm of life. But, on the other hand, how greatly must the general conception of life have been influenced if such renunciation of the world was praised as the highest ideal; if the highest worth of Christianity consisted in contempt for the world! Neo-Platonism had not been able to conquer Christianity, either by learned writings or through brute force. But it had infused its spirit into its deadly enemy.

At first there were individuals who took refuge in the solitude of the Libyan Desert and lived as hermits for the sake of contemplation only. The example of Egypt was soon followed by Palestine, Syria, Armenia, Pontus, Cappadocia. Nothing was more natural than that the fame of some specially holy anchorite — as, for example, Anthony (died 356) — should induce other refugees from the world to settle in his neighbourhood. Thus were formed the monastic villages, the *Laurœ*. They met for common prayer and singing. But why should each individual have his own hut? Was it not simpler if a considerable number lived together in one house? Pachomius first suggested this. About the year 340 he founded on Tabennæ, an island in the Nile, a monastery which soon obtained great renown. Naturally a rule had to be prescribed for such a brotherhood. Pachomius instituted a uniform dress, common meals, fixed times for prayer, and required a vow of obedience to the head.

The evil results of the hermit life soon appeared, not only in licentiousness and coarseness, but also in the rise of new religious errors. Monasticism was hardly formed when it threatened to become a religious society, standing in opposition to the mass of the Church. The fruits of the view of "the worldly" which prevailed in the Church were now reaped. The Euchetes in Mesopotamia wished only to pray and beg. If it was perfection to possess nothing, then the most perfect thing was not to call anything one's own even for the briefest moment, and, therefore, not to earn anything by work. If praying was something higher than work, the highest thing was never to work, always to pray; and if such a monastic life was perfection, there was no longer any need of the former means of attaining perfection, of a divine law, of the Bible, or the sacraments. In such errors the Church found no perfect realisation of her teachings, but only a caricature of her own new ideas. Yet centuries elapsed before she quite eradicated them by persecution.

Another important movement originated with Eustathius of Sebaste (in Little Armenia) and spread to the neighbouring districts of Asia Minor. If celibacy was a higher state than marriage with its gratification of the natural impulse, then marriage was emphatically sin, and no married man could be saved. If all earthly possessions, all ornaments, all comfort, were something impure, then those only would be saved who abandoned all that was earthly. Thus women were not even permitted to wear the natural ornament of their hair or female dress, but had to crop their heads and put on men's clothes. A church which did not appreciate all this was a worldly church. The *Apostolicans* wished to restore the apostolic life, declared property, theft, and marriage,

sin. The *Audians* in Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia blamed the Church for falling away from the true Christianity, because the monastic ideal was not realised by all in it. Even the author of the Panarion, the apothecary's chest, in which the antidote to eighty heresies is to be found, the strictly orthodox Epiphanius (died 403), stands as if lost in admiration at the sanctity of these Audians — so uncertain was the attitude of the Church towards these logical exponents of her own views. Indeed, the Church could have admired even the most incredible caricatures, if this contempt for the earthly had not become an attack on itself. The well-known Simeon in northern Syria first established a fame for fasting. He abstained from all food so long that he was at the point of death. Then he had an enclosure prepared and lay therein, fastened to a chain. At last they had to erect a pillar on this spot, on the summit of which he spent some thirty years. Both the pagan Bedouins and the Christians honoured him most highly: even in Rome small statues of this stylite were in demand as objects of great value. A large number of others imitated his hazardous feat. Soon every one lost the courage to blame such conduct. But the extravagances of monasticism in particular, amounting almost to hostility to the Church, induced at last the more thoughtful (as Basilius of Cappadocia, died 379), to devote themselves to the task of making the anchorites conform to a regulated cloister life and maintain some connection with the official church. They also endeavoured to get the monasteries removed from the deserts into the vicinity of the towns, a measure which led the monks to join in ecclesiastical disputes and to carry their own views by the reputation of their sanctity and occasionally by the use of their fists.

While some thus conceived asceticism to be the essence of monasticism, others emphasised in monasticism the opportunity for contemplation and observation of the inner condition of the soul. Individuals had withdrawn from the world, in order to purify more thoroughly the inner self and to raise it to God. They were obliged to think over the ways which led to union with God. This prepared the way for the monastic mysticism which was afterwards zealously practised, and which developed into an independent movement. As the first mystic we may mention Macarius (died 391), founder of the monastery in the Scetic Desert, in case he is really the author of the fifty homilies which pass under his name. In a somewhat later period the holy Nilus is conspicuous: he was born at Constantinople, gave up his high post, entrusted his wife and daughter to an Egyptian monastery, and settled with his son as an anchorite on Mount Sinai (died after 430). We possess some ascetic writings of his and some two thousand letters, which in the form of maxims praise the splendour of the monastic life and the abandonment of the world as leading to the freedom of the soul and to its union with God.

Owing to the new position in which Constantine placed the Church, the Christians had rest and with it time and desire to celebrate feasts. The Church wished to make its life attractive and impressive to the masses and to give them a substitute for the joyous and glittering pagan feasts, of which they had been deprived since their conversion to Christianity. Formerly, besides the Sundays, only the Easter feast, in remembrance of Christ's death and resurrection, was celebrated. Then in the East the feast of the Epiphany on January 6 had been introduced in commemoration of Christ's baptism. The West now

gave to the whole Church a far more beautiful feast. On December 24, the feast of the Sigillaria, the pagans were wont to give the children dolls and images of wax or earthenware or dough, and the next day they kept the "birthday of the invincible sun." The Church declared this day the birthday of Him whom all the dark storms of persecution had not been able to conquer. This feast, which is traceable in the West after 354, was introduced into Constantinople in 379. To the fortieth day after Christmas, February 2, they assigned the feast of "the Purification of Mary," "or "Candlemas," since the holy candles were then consecrated. Thus a Christian festival replaced the February lustrations, in particular the Amburbale (procession round the city), with its procession of torches.

Further feasts were created to meet a similar spiritual longing. Paganism had been proud of its heroes, had sacrificed at their graves, and celebrated their festivals. Their place was taken by the religious martyrs, whose *natalitia* (birthday feasts), in commemoration of their death as the entry into the true life, became real, popular festivals with the customary feasting. Theodoretus could boast before the former pagans, "The Lord has introduced his dead, instead of your gods, into the temple. They are, in truth, the leaders, the champions, and helpers in need." Formerly the Christians had assembled for divine service at the tombs of the martyrs, in order to gain strength for the war of faith in which all shared. Now, these assemblies developed into an adoration of the martyred heroes, redounding to the glory of the Church. Chapels and churches were erected over their graves. Their remains were sought out; their relics were taken into the church in solemn procession, to be laid beneath the altar. If men had formerly prayed for the dead with the feeling that those who have departed hence are still bound by love with those left behind, they began now to pray to them as to heavenly agents, who from heaven protect mankind below. But if these saints were near at hand to help, where could they be nearer than where their remains were to be seen? Thus all sorts of wonders were wrought by the relics; and the half-pagan masses felt proud and safe, because they belonged to a communion in which such exalted patrons were revered. The trade in relics became so profitable a business that in the year 386 the emperor Theodosius was obliged to forbid men by law to dig up the bones of the saints and carry them away for sale.

It might be surprising to find that there was not yet any talk of an adoration of Mary, the mother of Jesus; but at that time the remembrance of the bloody persecutions was still so vivid that the martyrs were held by the Church to be stars of special glory in heaven. The mother of the Lord lacked the martyr's crown. But the way which led later to the adoration of Mary had long since been open. While Tertullian (died about 220) still assumed, as the earlier Christians did, that Jesus had had brothers of the flesh, Epiphanius (died 403) already opposed the representatives of this view as heretics, led astray by the old serpent. Mary's virginity had not been injured even by Christ's birth. While Chrysostom (died 407) still upheld the possibility of blame in her, Augustine (died 430) thinks that with her (though with her alone) there can be no question of sin. Thus she might co-operate in the work of redemption, and was, therefore, exalted, like her son, Christ. The Holy Scriptures, indeed, mention nothing of this, but that was not fatal. "The Ascension of Mary" was produced and

ascribed to the apostle John; in soul and body had she been taken up into heaven, and the high privilege of being invoked for help had been solemnly assured to her by Christ himself. If she had thus been placed at the side of the Son of God as the mother of God, then she must have her high festivals, as He did. Each of the next centuries added a fresh one. They celebrated the day of the Annunciation, the day on which she came with her child into the temple for "purification," her assumption, her birth. Even the angels were clothed with divine powers for protection. Their aid was invoked, and a special day was consecrated as a festival to the archangel Michael.

It was sought to offer a Christian substitute for the fading classical education. The quiet in the external world gave leisure for composition, and the educated men, now become Christians, felt the need of poetic literature. Apollonius of Laodicea (died 390) sang of the sacred history as far as King Saul in an epic of twenty-four books, and imitated with biblical subjects the tragedies of Euripides, the comedies of Menander, and the lyrics of Pindar. Ephraim the Syrian (died 378) composed nearly all his writings in poetical form in peculiar lines of seven syllables each. The Church, which had so long been pushed aside into a corner, ventured to let herself be seen in the open market-place of the world, and wished now to make a deep impression on the great world. It was desired to give the people who delighted in spectacles some compensation for the solemn pageants in which they had found pleasure at the high festivals of Dionysus, Athena, and others of their favourites. Thus the Church began to unfold her splendour in processions. Joyful events and public disasters alike offered an opportunity for these. The joy and sorrow of the people are placed in the beneficent hand of the Church.

The buildings for divine service could now be so erected and beautified as to inspire those who stood outside with a sense of the greatness of the Church and those who entered with a feeling of her power, that spread out over the world. It is characteristic that Constantine most eagerly encouraged the extension and the improvement of the existing Church buildings and the erection of new ones, because up till now they had not been suitably restored, from fear of persecution. The amelioration in the condition of the Church was followed by the improvement of the churches. Art was called in to aid. At first, indeed, the wish to influence the masses by art had to contend with the repugnance to the pictorial representation of the divine Being—a custom with which paganism had been reproached. But were not these pictures a silent sermon for the ignorant people? Gradually even those who were still biased by the old ideas became accustomed to the innovation. About the year 440 men acquired courage enough to introduce pictures of Christ himself into the churches, not, as before, merely under emblems, such as the lamb, the shepherd, or the fish. And it is noteworthy that He was no longer represented, as was formerly done in the catacombs, as a beardless youth, but as the King of Heaven in full majesty and, sometimes with a halo round his head (see the subjoined plate, "The Enthroned Christ"), as was customary with pagan emperors. How should not the still half-pagan people show to these pictures the same honour as formerly to the statues of their gods? Men prostrated themselves before them, kissed them, offered incense to them, and lighted lamps before them. Why should not these pictures work wonders also? Ought the Church to prohibit such a proof of reverence

THE ENTHRONED CHRIST

On the west side of the church of St. Sophia a closed room adjoins a vestibule (atrium) surrounded with open rooms pointing eastward. Out of this five doors lead into a wider and higher room (narthex) which extends along the whole breadth of the church; the walls are panelled with brightly coloured marble and decorated with mosaics on the vaulted roof. Besides these, the south and north end of the narthex have each a door, so that altogether there are seven entrance doors. The interior of the church is reached through nine doors, three of which, in the middle, lead to the nave: the central one is called the King's door. Over this, in the circular compartment, is the mosaic of Christ on the throne. Christ receives the incomers with his right hand raised for blessing, and with the words of the Gospel: "Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, ἐγώ εἰμι τό φῶς τοῦ κόσμου" (Peace be with you! I am the light of world). By his side we see in medallions the interceding Mary and Michael the archangel; before Christ, kneels the Emperor (Justinian?) in the attitude prescribed for subjects by the Byzantine court-ceremonial. His undergarment is pictured as silk with gold stripes, the upper garment as white wool; his feet are thrust into red shoes embroidered with pearls, and a diadem of pearls encircles his head. It is presumed that these mosaics in St. Sophia were made about 560.

(After W. Salzenberg, Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Konstantinopel vom V–XII Jahrhundert; Berlin, 1854.)

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THE ENTHRONED CHRIST: MOSAIC IN THE CHURCH OF ST SOPHIA AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

(After W. Salzenberg, Ancient Christian Monuments of Constantinople from the V—XII Centuries.)

for the Holy One? At a time when men must have thought that much had been attained ought they not to have rejoiced if all the so-called Christians could only be maintained in concord with the Church?

Since the Church succeeded so splendidly in making her cult pleasant, interesting, and comfortable to her new members, there remained only two reasons that caused some still to adhere to the obsolete system of paganism and delayed its complete disappearance. The old Roman spirit had been too closely bound up with the old gods. In Rome itself, particularly the friends of the mother country, thought that the glory of the empire would be destroyed if the religion under the protection and guidance of which the world had been conquered, were to die out. How much more quickly did the remnants of paganism disappear in the new capital, which knew no sanctified traditions, but arose under the eyes of a Christian emperor! The second hindrance to the complete victory of Christianity was the anxiety lest classical culture should disappear, together with the old belief in the gods. For this reason the places where this culture was fostered held tenaciously to the old order of things: Athens, Miletus, Ephesus, Nicomedia, Antioch. The hostility of these groups to Christianity could only increase as the sons of Constantine proceeded to violent measures against paganism, being spurred on by Christians who only too soon had forgotten how urgently their fathers or even they themselves had formerly demanded religious liberty. What a source of grief it was for the enthusiastic friends of classical times, and to what obstinate resistance they must have been driven when revered temples were demolished, the works of art annihilated, the monuments of a glorious past destroyed, in order to establish the undisputed supremacy of an unenlightened religion! Was no return to the good old times still possible?

Julian (361-363) ventured to entertain this hope. He tried to stay and to overthrow the triumphal car of Christianity. He had become acquainted with Christianity in a sad form, clothed in the mask of hypocrisy; for at the imperial court those who indisputably possessed no trace of Christian faith tried, nevertheless, to get the start of each other in exhibiting their burning zeal for the Church. Julian was convinced that the number of the Christians would diminish if the sunshine of imperial favour no longer smiled on them, and if the might of the imperial arm no longer stood at the disposal of the Church. Just as he had too little confidence in Christianity, he had too much in paganism. He did not doubt it would shine out again with its old brilliancy if only complete freedom were restored to it. In point of fact he was able to secure many converts. A smile of the former emperors had sufficed to convert masses to Christianity, and to make these once more pagans, did not even require a smile on the part of Julian. It was quite enough if they knew that he wished it. Now they were no longer Christians, but none the more pagans. The emperor was in despair at their lukewarmness in the service of the gods, at their disinclination to visit the temples, at their lack of moral rectitude. He, therefore, wished to reform paganism; but he could only borrow from Christianity the means for so doing. The religious meetings of the pagans were to be organised similarly to the Christian divine services. The priesthood was to be cleansed of unworthy members. The charitable character of Christianity was to be imitated, hospitals and almshouses were to be erected, and the needy were to be supported. He worked with all his energies, but he found no fellow-workers. The classic spirit would

not revive. He had to go further than he had wished. If anywhere Christians were oppressed or killed by pagans, he let it pass unnoticed. When he started on the war against the Persians, he is said to have threatened to employ other measures against Christianity if he came back safely from the campaign. What else was left for him to do? As he fell, wounded by an arrow, while retreating from the enemy on the battle-field, he is said to have exclaimed, "Nazarene, Thou hast conquered!" His words may not have run thus literally, but the phrase expresses the impression which his fall made on the contemporary world. The last attempt to re-establish paganism had failed, and not from incidental causes. Paganism had shown itself to be dead beyond the possibility of revival by any power.

But it was also impossible to realise the other ideal — to imbue the entire Roman empire with the Christian spirit and through it to cause the still existing paganism to disappear. To overthrow the wall of separation formed by the diversity of religion throughout the empire it was necessary to be content with a merely formal adhesion to the Christian Church, and not to shrink from strong measures, in order to establish unity. It was inevitable from this that the old paganism continued under the cloak of Christianity, and that Christianity was more and more strongly tinged with paganism. Men had gone too far away from the original spirit, according to which the essence of Christianity consisted in the communion of the individual with God. From being a "community of the faithful" the Church had become an educational institution, and had received into itself such masses of persons needing education that it lost sight of the real goal of this education and professed herself content if it obtained to some extent outward obedience. And because this task was made more difficult by the existence of paganism, it was obliged to aim at the complete eradication of the latter. Theodosius I., eastern emperor from 378, ruler of the entire empire from 392-395, worked for this object. He forbade visits to the temples and declared every sort of idolatry to be high treason. In 394 the Olympian games were celebrated for the last time. His son continued his work. Bishops and numbers of monks were sent into the provinces to destroy the old shrines. In Alexandria the celebrated teacher of philosophy, Hypatia, perished at the hands of the Christian mob. Pagans were excluded from posts in the government and army. The last bulwark of classic paganism, the school at Athens, was closed by Justinian in the year 529. The teachers emigrated to Persia. At the emperor's commission John, bishop of Ephesus, went about (c. 545), in order to track out the pagans "wherever they were still to be found." He prided himself on having made in Asia seventy thousand Christians. How long, however, the worship of the gods, which many loved, defied the imperial legislation in the provinces, the temple of Isis at Philæ in Upper Egypt shows; it was not closed until the middle of the sixth century.

B. The Age of Doctrinal Controversies and Schisms

The conviction that outside the one visible Church there was no salvation had become universal. The attempt to make of the Church a firmly articulated organism had been successful. The state had lent its arm to uphold the single

will of the Church against personal independence. But, strangely enough, the result was not only the defection of large groups from the Church, but also its division into two parts, which, in spite of repeated attempts, could not be reunited. This development was chiefly due, first, to the wish to see the unity of the visible Church confirmed by the creation of a permanent head, raised above all other members; and, second, to the intervention of the powerful arm of the state, which had been invoked to protect the unity of the Church, and was invading the very centre of the Church. The former cause was especially active in the West, the latter grievance especially prevalent in the East.

The Council of Nicæa had not really quenched the flames of the Arian heresy (cf. above, pp. 196, 197), for the majority of those present had voted against their conviction, in order to please the emperor. When they returned home they repented and sought to convince the emperor that Arius was by no means a wicked heretic, and that it would never be possible to restore unity in the Church on the basis of the resolutions passed at Nicæa. One of the ecclesiastics at court was well disposed towards Arianism. He worked upon the emperor's sister, and she succeeded in changing her brother's attitude. Athanasius of Alexandria, the great opponent of Arianism, was banished. Only the sudden death of Arius prevented his being received back into the body of the Church. When Constantius mounted the throne, Athanasius was permitted to return; but before long the Arians were able to bring about his second deposition. The imperial governor at Alexandria was obliged to employ force to instal the successor of Athanasius into office. Scourging and imprisonment were the lot of those discontented with the act. Was there no one now in the whole of Christendom to take under his protection the persecuted representative of orthodoxy?

For a long time the community at Rome had possessed special repute among Christians; for, indeed, all the world had been accustomed to look with reverence to the ancient capital of the world as the source of all imperial laws and ordinances and as the ultimate court of appeal in all civil questions. In disputed questions men could not help considering what the community at Rome thought on the debated point. Questions had been submitted. Men did not always follow the answer they received; but, nevertheless, they had not ceased to inquire, in the hope that Rome would be on their side. The bishop of Rome had the courage to take up the cause of the banished Athanasius: Julius I. and a Roman council definitely accepted his doctrine. The East held a rival council at Antioch — the first beginning of the schism. Men wished rather to settle the controversy. A general council met at Sardica (343), but the members could not agree. The supporters of Arianism left the town. Those who remained behind wished to testify their gratitude to the Roman bishop, Julius, and to express the confidence which they reposed in him. They, therefore, passed the resolution that bishops deposed by provincial synods might appeal to him. This concession was made to him personally, and only in that period of immediate distress was a harbour of refuge sought. The world soon forgot the resolution. Rome has never forgotten it, and has interpreted it to mean that the Roman throne is the highest court of appeal in all ecclesiastical questions. In addition, there was the fortunate incident that the resolutions of the Council of Sardica were confused in western assemblies with the rules laid down by the Council of Nicæa. Rome applied them, therefore, as resolutions of that famous first ecumenical council.

The Arians who had seceded from the Council of Sardica expelled the Roman bishop from the body of the Church. Athanasius was forced more than once to go into exile. The emperor, Valens (364-378), proceeded to measures of unexampled severity against all who would not become strict Arians. All this could only enhance the importance of the Roman throne, until at last the view represented by it and maintained in defiance of all emperors gained the victory at the second ecumenical council at Constantinople (381). The fact that the Eastern Church and the bishop of the new imperial capital had not been able to act freely, but were guided by the caprice of the emperor, made it more easy for the Roman bishop to press on unchecked to his goal, the primacy. If in any question bishops turned to Rome for historical information on the subject, the Roman bishop did not deliver an opinion, but rendered a decision, as if he had been appealed to as judge. He issued a "decretal." Or if he held a synod on some question, he communicated to other churches the resolution passed in a form as if they also had to comply with it. Such communications were, perhaps, put aside with surprise or amusement. But there they were, however, and could be employed by later bishops of Rome as proof that for a very long time the "apostolic throne" had been accustomed to issue regulations for other churches.

Innocent I. (402-417) followed this line of policy with signal success. In Constantinople, Byzantinism was flourishing once more. The great orator and austere preacher of morality, whom the people highly honoured, John Chrysostom, was obnoxious to the imperial court, and especially to the empress herself. He was sent into exile (404). Innocent dared to intervene for him and to demand his recall. The answer, indeed, was an imperial order to send the exile still further into the desert, and the noble Chrysostom sank beneath the exertions of this journey. But thirty years later it was recognised what injustice had been done him. The emperor, Theodosius II., had his bones brought to Constantinople. When the coffin was brought to land, the emperor fell on his knees before it and implored pardon for the sins his deceased parents had committed against the innocent man. The beloved remains were laid in the imperial vault. What a triumph for the bishop of Rome! He was the champion of innocence when no one dared to speak, and God in the end justified him before the whole world.

A new doctrinal dispute was kindled over the question as to how far salvation depended on a man's own exertions. Pelagius advanced the proposition that man, being free, can choose the good and fight his way through to holiness, and that the grace of God only rendered it more easy for him to realise his high destiny. Against him rose up the greatest and most influential of all the fathers of the Church, Aurelius Augustinus, bishop of Hippo Regius in Numidia (died 430). According to him, true freedom consists in the ability to attain one's destined development. The sinful man no longer possesses this liberty, and only the grace of God can redeem him and make him holy. Pelagius turned to the East. There the view prevailed that the divine grace and human freedom co-operated in the conversion of any man. Two synods in Palestine declared themselves for Pelagius, but Innocent of Rome decided against him. Augustine held this up in triumph before his opponent, "Roma locuta, causa finita" (Rome has spoken, the dispute is decided). He may only have meant by this

that if the " apostolic throne " had declared the teaching of Pelagius to be an innovation, it could not belong to the teachings of the old Church, but still Rome could henceforth make good use of this catch word as evidence coming from the greatest of all churchmen, that Rome had the right to speak the last word in all ecclesiastical disputes. Nevertheless, the Church, which had laid this splendid foundation for the establishment of the primacy, could not yet give up its longing for independence. This was seen again in this very dispute. Zosimus, the successor of Innocent, was firmly convinced that Pelagius was no heretic. He blamed the African bishops for having attacked a man of so perfect faith. But these, under the guidance of Augustine at a council at Carthage (418), openly declared their opposition to this decision of the bishop of Rome and gained the victory, so that in the end even Zosimus condemned Pelagius. The victors, however, were soon made harmless. In 428 the Vandals crossed over to Africa, and not only ravaged the beautiful land, but also rendered the Church powerless. Rome was freed of its most powerful rival in the West.

In the East at that time the attempt was being made to reduce to fixed formulas the doctrine concerning the person of Christ and of the union of the divine and the human in Him. Two theological schools had tried their ingenuity on the question. The Alexandrians set out to establish the redemption as a divine act, and, therefore, emphasised the divine nature in Christ: their war cry became the designation of the mother of Jesus as " Parent of God " (*theotokos*). Their opponents of the school of Antioch taunted them with the denial of the true humanity of the Redeemer. The main thought by which they were led was a moral one. The Redeemer is for us the type of moral union with God. But He can only be that if a free moral development of His humanity remains possible. Thus they lay every stress on His humanity. The union of the divine and the human in Him is only a moral one in the same way, that is, as God dwells in other pious men. Their opponents retorted that they did not observe the essential difference between the Redeemer and the redeemed. Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople had come from this school of Antioch. In sermons he fought against the shibboleth, " Parent of God." Against him rose Cyril of Alexandria. In order to win a powerful ally, he turned to the bishop of Rome with the declaration that, " according to ancient custom in the Church, inquiry must be made at Rome in the case of disputed questions." Celestin I. listened gladly and demanded a recantation from Nestorius. The emperor, Theodosius II., thereupon called the third ecumenical council at Ephesus (431). Cyril and his supporters declared Nestorius deposed, and the Roman envoys confirmed the sentence. The opposite party replied by deposing Cyril and his friends. Both sides turned to the emperor. At last the majority agreed to a formula, which attempted to cut away the most irreconcilable points in the two doctrines (432). Nestorius was given up to the revenge of his enemies, and died in misery. The result of this dispute was the severance of the Nestorians from the imperial Church (cf. below, pp. 211, 212).

In the year 440 Leo I. became bishop of Rome, and his reign of twenty-one years was devoted to the one object of accustoming the world to the belief that the successor of Peter was the head of entire Christendom. Whoever ventured to desert the rock, Peter, lost connection with Christ and had no part in the kingdom of God. The views of the Alexandrians were represented in their most

crude and exaggerated form by Eutyches, the old archimandrite (abbot) of Constantinople. Christ, he taught, after His incarnation had but *one* nature, His humanity having been, as it were, swallowed up by His divinity. Eutyches was deposed at a synod at Constantinople held under the patriarch Flavian. He appealed to Rome, as did Flavian. Leo I. demanded an exact report, in order that he might decide by virtue of the apostolic authority. He decided in his famous "Letter to Flavian" against Eutyches, and thus against monophysitism. But the East did not wish to allow itself to be ruled by Rome. The emperor called a council at Ephesus (449) and entrusted the post of president to the successor of Cyril, the passionate and unscrupulous Dioscurus of Alexandria, the patron of Eutyches. His intimidating appearance prevented the Roman envoys from securing an audience, the doctrine of Eutyches was ratified, and all its opponents, even Leo of Rome, were declared to be deposed. The emperor approved of these resolutions. The party which at this "synod of bandits" was in the minority fell back all the more on the support of the bishop of Rome, declaring more and more strongly that the decision lay with him. The end of the burning dispute was that at the council at Chalcedon (451), which condemned Nestorius, as well as Eutyches, Leo's "Letter to Flavian" was made the basis of the decision. The feeling which this victory of the Roman throne produced is shown by the rise of the legend that Leo had placed his letter on the tomb of St. Peter and prayed that he would change anything wrong that was contained in it, and that on the next morning an alteration by the apostle's hand had been actually found.

But the supporters of the condemned Alexandrian dogma, the Monophysites of the East, did not abandon the struggle. And again it was the emperors who, led by political considerations, undertook to dictate their own views to the Church and to impress them by force. Leo I., the Thracian, banished the heads of the Monophysites; on the other hand, Basiliscus extolled Monophysitism as the exclusive state religion and condemned the letter of Leo. Zeno again forbade men to touch upon these points of doctrine which had been so hotly disputed in the last century, and thus annulled once more the resolutions of the last General Council of Chalcedon. The bishop of Rome broke off all ecclesiastical relations with the East. For thirty-five years (484-519) the imperial Church was divided. Justinian I. (527-565) at last succeeded at the fifth ecumenical council at Constantinople in reconfirming the resolutions of Chalcedon.

The result was that the extreme Monophysites severed themselves from the Church and formed independent communities, especially in Egypt, Syria, Persia, Armenia, and Abyssinia. The rejection of the resolutions of Chalcedon and the recognition of the "bandit synod" at Ephesus are common to all. In Egypt this national church party has been designated since the beginning of the sixteenth century by the name of "Copts" (incorrect Arabic for Egyptians). Their hostility towards the "imperial dogma" was so great and exposed them to so many persecutions that they welcomed the Arabs who broke into the country as their liberators (cf. in Vol. III. the section "The Arabic Conquests and the Kalifate"). But they had to undergo so many cruelties from these, too, that increasingly large masses of them accepted Islam. Their number in 1873 was reckoned at two hundred and fifty thousand souls at most, though only a few centuries ago they were very numerous, as the number of ruined monasteries

and churches in the different parts of the country shows. Their patriarch, who at the time of the inroad of the Arabs still had ninety-five bishops under him, now rules over but twelve. In Syria (and also in Egypt) the Monophysites had termed themselves "Jacobites" after the man who in the first period after the separation from the imperial Church was the spiritual head of this entire party. Jacob Barradai for thirty years (after becoming Monophysitic bishop of Edessa in 541) had wandered through the whole of nearer Asia, disguised as a beggar, and, sparing no exertions, had everywhere collected and encouraged his scattered fellow-believers, organised communities, appointed many bishops and "fully one hundred thousand priests and deacons." In Asia Minor, it is true, the imperial Church prevailed, but in the patriarchate of Antioch for a time almost the entire population became Jacobite. Under the crescent their numbers have melted down to small groups. They dwell most thickly at the present day in the district of Tor on the upper Tigris. In Syria proper there are only a few weak communities to be found in Damascus and in isolated villages. Their total number cannot, in any case, exceed one hundred thousand. (For Persia, Armenia, and Abyssinia, cf. below, pp. 210 *et seq.*, 217, 218.)

The hope of reconciling the Monophysites with the Church would not let the question once raised drop even within the imperial Church. How, if a compromise were offered the discontented party by the admission that the Redeemer had only *one* will, even if He had two natures? Thus the Monophysite dispute passed in the Monothelitic. The same aspect of events was presented as before: the Eastern Church hanging in the most complete dependence on the state, and the life of the state wasting away in ecclesiastical controversies. There was the same result as before. At the sixth ecumenical council at Constantinople (680) the encyclical letter of Pope Agatho was made the basis of the decision, and the resolution was sent to him for confirmation. There were two wills in Christ. The former pope, Honorius, was solemnly and vigorously condemned as an execrable heretic, who had assented to an irregular imperial formula. Agatho confirmed this condemnation of his predecessor, "who by mean treachery had tried to overthrow the unsullied faith." This, at a time when the infallibility of the pope was not yet declared, must have assured to the "apostolic throne" the reputation of a disinterested vindicator of orthodoxy.

Controversies over dogma were followed by disputes as to pictures and images. By the beginning of the eighth century the worship of images had reached such a pitch in the East that the more thoughtful became anxious. Images were invited to act as god-parents, and men scraped the colour off them, in order to consecrate with it the wine at the Lord's Supper. The energetic emperor, Leo III. the Isaurian (717-741), ventured on the command to hang the pictures so high as to make it impossible for worshippers to kiss them. He sought to quiet the storm thus raised by forcible measures and by a second decree, which ordered all images to be removed from the churches. His son and successor, Constantine V., undertook the systematic persecution of the friends of image worship. They were imprisoned, scourged, and their noses and ears were cut off. The popes protested. More than once they hurled the terrible bolts of excommunication at all foes of image worship. What a triumph for Rome when the empress, Irene, at the seventh ecumenical council at Nicæa (787) again made the veneration of images a law of the empire. But for many decades,

according to the imperial orders, the images were repeatedly torn down and raised again. In the end the Roman view gained a decisive victory: the empress, Theodora (842), caused the resolutions of the seventh council to be reinforced and celebrated in honour of it, the festival of orthodoxy.

If, now, it was possible to deprive Rome of its glory as champion of immaculate orthodoxy, then its claim to the first rank in the Church could be triumphantly repudiated. Search was made for some ground of complaint against Rome, and a pretext was found in the failure of Rome to respect the ancient faith and ancient customs. Rome ordered fasting on Saturday. It permitted the use of milk, butter, and cheese during the first week of Lent. It would not tolerate the marriage of priests. It had not even shrunk from "sinning against the Holy Ghost" by adding the word "filioque" in the confession of faith made at Nicæa and Constantinople; because, according to its views, the spirit proceeded not only from the Father, but "also from the Son." When Pope Nicholas I., therefore, declared himself for the deposed patriarch of Constantinople and against his successor, Photius, the latter impeached the Roman Church of heresy on account of these innovations, and obtained of a council (867) the deposition and banishment of the pope. Nicholas pronounced excommunication against him and his followers. In 1053 the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cærularius, renewed the charges against Rome, adding the new heresy that Rome in the Lord's Supper used unleavened bread after the manner of the Jews. When negotiations for peace proved vain, the papal legates laid a letter of excommunication on the altar of the Church of St. Sophia, and Michael, with the other patriarchs of the East, put the Roman Church under the ban (1054). The schism has continued since that time.

The development of the Eastern Church, however, had long since ceased. It knew nothing of a mediæval period with its struggles for a new organisation, or of such a reconstruction as the Reformation brought to the West. It wished only to keep the old, and not to advance. Its scientific life was by no means extinguished: for centuries the civilisation of the East remains higher than that of the West. But all creative life is gone. Orthodoxy, submission to the old dogmas of the Church, are for it the pivots of Christianity. Such a religion cannot content serious minds; no, not even the lower masses, to whom, naturally, these doctrines in their dogmatic form remain incomprehensible. As substitute we have with the educated and the pious a philosophic mysticism; with the masses a mysterious worship and ritual. The East was obliged to surrender to the West the leadership in the history of the Church. It lost also its control over the Christians outside Europe in the East and South.

3. CHRISTIANITY BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF THE EMPIRE IN THE EAST AND THE SOUTH

A. Christianity in Persia

The date at which the doctrines of Christianity in Persia (cf. Vol. III., the section on West Asia to the Kalifate) first found believers cannot be fixed; we only know when results first became apparent. When, in 227, the

new Persian empire of the Sassanids took the place of the Parthian empire, it seems that Christian communities already existed in that country. Seleucia-Ctesiphon, on the banks of the Tigris, was the central point. Although the new dynasty revived the fire-worship and persecuted the Greek cults, as well as Manichæism, it tolerated Christianity, because it was proscribed in the hated Roman empire. But when it became favoured there by the executive power, and when Constantine (in 333) concluded peace with the young Persian king, Shapur II., and warmly recommended the Christians to his protection, mistrust was awakened. Closer observation showed the Persians that the Christians looked to the Roman empire to enhance their position. Thus the fire of persecution which had been extinguished in the Roman empire blazed up with flames of blood in Persia. In order to convert the Christians to Parsism, a heavy poll-tax was laid on them, which their metropolitan was to collect. When he refused to do so, he, together with a hundred of the clergy, was executed, and the churches were destroyed. In 344 the penalty of death was extended to all Christians. It may be exaggeration when we are told of the massacre of sixteen thousand Christians; but how numerous and how healthy must the Church in Persia have been if it could survive such a storm! The death of Shapur (381) gave it forty years of peace. The destruction of a temple to the sun by excited Christians caused the renewal of stringent measures. A number of Christians escaped to Roman territory. Theodosius II. refused to give them up, and, as a result, war with the Roman empire once more broke out. The Persian Christians recognised that they would not find peace until they had cleared themselves of all suspicion of a leaning towards a foreign power. When, therefore, on one occasion, seven thousand of their countrymen were taken prisoners by the Romans, a Persian bishop gave up all the vessels of his church for their ransom. This patriotic action bore the desired fruit.

A controversy over dogma in the imperial Church served completely to realise the new state of affairs. Although the heated disputes which Nestorius had aroused were appeased by a formula of conciliation (cf. above, p. 207), many of his adherents did not relinquish their views. Some of the teachers at the school at Edessa, who were devoted to his cause, were expelled, and went to Persia. Here no offence was taken at their teaching. For the Persian Church had, in consequence of its isolation, remained practically untouched by quarrels over dogma, which had sharpened men's ears within the imperial Church for the more subtle distinctions of doctrine. It had remained in close connection with the Syrian Church alone, in which, indeed, the teaching of Nestorius had arisen. After the council at Chalcedon (451) had repeated the condemnation of these views, their supporters in the Roman empire were more and more oppressed and persecuted. Increasing numbers of them fled over the frontier and found a hospitable reception in Persia. Gradually the Persian Church was completely won for Nestorianism. A synod at Beth Lagat (483 and 484) sealed its severance from the imperial Church. The school at Edessa was abolished by the order of the emperor, Zeno, on account of its Nestorian tendencies (489). The banished professors reappeared in Nisibis and Dschon-daischabur. For two centuries these schools became the seminaries of theological and profane science. Still more favourable was the position of the Christians in Persia under Chosrav Anosharevan (531-579). Before he ascended the throne the Christians had sup-

ported him in the struggle against the communistic sect of the Mazdakites (cf. Vol. III.). When he came into power he rewarded them. They were able to send out missionaries everywhere in his wide empire and to found new communities.

In the year 651 the Sassanid rule gave way to the power of the Arabic Kalifs (cf. also Vol. III.). But only fire-worship was persecuted by them; the Christians enjoyed tolerance. They could, if they paid their poll-tax regularly, administer the affairs of their community with complete liberty, celebrate divine worship without hindrance, and build (at least in the country) new churches and monasteries. Owing to their education, they enjoyed at court also a high reputation. We hear of Christians who were esteemed as court poets, writers, and physicians. They were often in control of the state finances. It was they who transmitted to the Arabs the classical learning at a time when it was forgotten in the West. The Kalifs sent Nestorians to Constantinople, in order to search for and collect old manuscripts. The Kalif Mansur had many old Greek, Byzantine, and Syrian works translated into Arabic after he had founded (762) a new school for Christians at Bagdad. This close connection between Moslems and Christians was bound to extend the influence of Christian ideas over the conquerors; sects of Islam owe some of their views, at least, to this circumstance. Their influence had not yet ceased, when gradually with the strengthening of the Mohammedan power the burden to which the Christians were always subjected grew heavier. At one time it was the decrees of the Kalif, at another the jealous or fanatical population, from which the Christians had to suffer. As a result, the number of converts to Islam became very great.

B. Christianity in Inner Asia

The vigorous life of the Persian Church during these centuries and later is demonstrated especially by the amazing desire for expansion that possessed it. In three directions, towards the northeast, the east, and the south, it had been able to disseminate the Christian faith. The first bishop of Merv, in the territory of the Turcomans, is mentioned as early as 334; and eighty-six years later the church of that district had increased to such an extent that the town was raised to be the seat of a metropolitan. Here also scientific zeal was conspicuous. The bishop Theodorus (in 540) had composed a number of writings, and a later bishop, Elias by name, wrote, together with other works, explanations of biblical books and a "History of the World," which was highly prized. Perhaps it was from this district that those prisoners came who, being sent by Narses (581) to the emperor, Mauricius, replied to a question as to the origin of the cross tattooed on their foreheads that those of their people who embraced Christianity had thought it well on the outbreak of a pestilence to protect their children with the holy sign. Samarcand, situated between the rivers Syr and Amu, which flow into the Sea of Aral, may have been raised to the seat of a metropolitan by the beginning of the sixth century.

Christianity made its way still further towards the north, far beyond the Syr. There, to the west of Lake Balkash, Seljuk, before he went over to Islam, lived in the service of a Turkish chief of the Kirgis steppe (930); one of

his sons bore the Christian name of Michael. Somewhat south of Lake Balkash, not far from the river Tschu, the graveyards of Nestorian Christians have been found at the towns of Great Tomak and Pishpek. The number of gravestones is estimated at more than three thousand. Most of them bear, besides a cross, inscriptions, of which some hundreds have been deciphered: they run in the Syro-Nestorian character. Some Turkish words and inscriptions, as well as many Turkish proper names, prove that the Christians who lie here were mostly of Turkish origin. Many also of the higher clergy buried there bear true Turkish names. The Church, which once flourished there, was, therefore, no longer a mere missionary church, but stood firm on its own feet. Even if the oldest of the inscriptions deciphered up till now bears the date 1249, it does not prove that the community was only then founded, for at that date we find already a completely organised corporate life. In the next twenty-two years we meet with, at least, two suffragans, a district visitor, a church visitor, and five priests. And the picture which the simple inscriptions of those Turkish Christians give to us presents no dull traits, testifying to want of education and religious fervour, but is, on the contrary, most attractive. Thus we learn of a father and his son, who both held the rank of general, of whom the latter is designated as "renowned emir and priest." More than once the inscription says of the deceased with warm gratitude that he was worthy of fame for having "zealously promoted the welfare of the Church." We see in the spirit once more before us the numerous monasteries of that country when we read the complimentary inscription, "the renowned expounder and preacher, who has illuminated all monasteries by his light; his voice was raised like a trumpet." And when we find at some miles distance small elm groves, while elsewhere in that country this sort of tree is unknown, we may almost see the monks among that rough people, fostering the feeling for forestry and beauty. We hear also of laymen, who held it an honour to work as church wardens for the advantage of the communities; of teachers, who instructed the rude people in public schools; of clergy, who distinguished themselves by their erudition. And a deeper comprehension of Christianity is manifested when it is said of a maiden, "Her soul is healed;" or when we read, "the goal of life is Jesus, our Redeemer." Northward from this territory the great Turkish tribes of the Uïgures, the Mercite, and the Naïman spread as far as the district of Lake Baikal. To these also Christianity was brought by the Nestorians, certainly about the eighth or ninth century, at which time the Uïgures had accepted their alphabet from the Nestorians. It is possibly with reference to these places that the patriarch Timotheus (778-820) is said to have gained several Turkish chiefs for the cause of Christianity. Two centuries later it was possible to penetrate into that Turkish realm, which stretched from the northern frontier of Tibet to the confluence of the Selenga and of the Orchon (south of Lake Baikal), the empire of the Kareites. Ebedjesu, metropolitan of Merv, took that bold step (c. 1007). The king of the country was converted, and the greater part of his people followed his example. In the Middle Ages such astounding reports of the power and splendour of this Christian monarch were spread through the West that Pope Alexander III. in the year 1177 sent an embassy there with a missive to his "dearly beloved son in Christ, the exalted and most mighty King of the Indians, the most holy of priests." How men came to regard this Christian prince as a priest also, and

to name him, as well as his successors, "Presbyter John," is not even now clearly known. The desire of the pope to win him for the Roman Church was not fulfilled. Genghis-Khan invaded the country from the north and subjugated this powerful empire about the year 1202. But in the mighty Mongolian empire founded by him we hear of no persecution of the followers of strange religions, as the famous Kublai-Khan declared: "I honour and revere all four (Jesus, Mohammed, Moses, Buddha), and beseech him, who, in truth, is the highest among them, graciously to help me." Genghis-Khan himself took one of the daughters of the Christian Keraitic princes to wife, as did two of his sons, of whom one is said to have become himself a Christian. Even among the later Mongolian rulers and princes, some came very near Christianity, others openly professed it. The Christian princesses, above all, protected and assisted the Church to its great welfare. They were sometimes accompanied by their heathen husbands to the Christian places of worship. When, in 1253, Rubruquis, the ambassador of St. Louis (Louis IX. of France), was approaching Karakorum, the capital of the empire, the Nestorians came to meet him in solemn procession, escorted him into the city, and led him into their splendid church, where he was deeply edified by the gorgeous service. Under such circumstances the cross could push on victoriously forward. Even at the present day it is said that at places in the Mongolian steppe crosses have been found, which are memorials of Christianity in the past.

C. Christianity in Afghanistan, Tibet, and China

If we turn from Persia in an easterly direction, as early, perhaps, as the beginning of the sixth century, Herat in Afghanistan had been raised to the seat of a metropolitan. Farther eastward, in North Tibet, lies the province of Tangut. The princes of this country stood in close alliance with the Christian rulers of the adjoining land to the north, the Kereïtic empire. It is true that only in the middle of the thirteenth century do we learn for the first time that there had been in the country of Tangut many Christians and numerous churches; but if the legend could arise that from here the "three holy kings" had set out for Bethlehem, and on their return had brought Christianity to their people, the faith may have become known in the country much earlier than we can prove.

To China, Christianity had penetrated certainly by the seventh century. The Nestorian patriarch, Jesubad, sent missionaries there in 636. Tschanan (in Shensi) is, according to a Chinese source, the first town of the celestial empire in which Christianity was preached. The missionary Olapuen succeeded in winning the emperor's favour. A law of the year 638 allowed the strangers in the country to convert whom they would and to build themselves churches. In many places churches and monasteries arose even in the capital, Singanfu (in Shansi). The Buddhist monks, indeed, succeeded in bringing down a storm of bloody persecution on the young settlement (after 699); but after ten years, at most, the new emperor became friendly to the Christians. New missionaries of the faith came into the country. The seat of a metropolitan was founded, and Christian priests were promoted to high posts of honour: a marble memorial

tablet, marked with a cross of the year 781 has been preserved; it was excavated in 1625 by Jesuits in the vicinity of Singan-fu, and its authenticity is now universally acknowledged. The inscription mentions the Nestorian patriarch, Chanan-Ischu, and states that since the beginning of the Christian propaganda in China not less than seventy missionaries had gone there. The confession of faith which it contains concludes with the words, "Seven and twenty books about the deeds and teaching of the Messiah (i.e. the New Testament) are the way to salvation." The overthrow of the tolerant Thang dynasty (960) brought down a storm of destruction on the Christians of China. When, twenty years later, the patriarch Ebedjesu sent two monks there to inquire after the condition of the Church, they hardly found a faint trace of it. Only in the North were there Christians, probably for another hundred years, at least. Help came with the Mongols. After these had conquered China, bands of missionaries could again labour in the country, and the patriarch Dancha (1265-81) could once more nominate metropolitans for China. When the Catholic missionaries at that time came into the land, they found everywhere in Tartary, North China, and especially in Pekin, great numbers of Nestorian Christians and numerous churches. In a report which Pope John XXII. (1410-15) ordered to be compiled we read that the number of the Nestorians in North China amounted to more than thirty thousand, and that they were very rich and possessed valuable privileges. How high the Christians stood in the estimation of their Mongolian rulers the following example shows: Two governors of Kung-Tschang (between Tangut and Pekin), the sons-in-law of Kublai-Khan, were Christians. A governor of Mossul was a Christian priest. A Christian governor of Chiangsu built seven churches and sent out of the country for a learned man, who was appointed bishop.

D. Christianity in India

Finally the Nestorian mission to the south. Even if the tradition that the apostle Thomas and the Alexandrian catechist Pantænus (c. 200) had laboured in Hither India cannot be substantiated on good grounds, about the year 520, at any rate, Cosmas Indicopleustes found the Indian Christians already in relations with the Persian Church. The first loose bonds seem to have been firmly drawn when the Persian king, Shapur II., cruelly persecuted the Christians in his realm. Thus a bishop of Edessa landed in Malankara (345) with presbyters, deacons, and other Syrian and Persian Christians, joyously welcomed by their native brothers in the faith. The prince of the country conceded them most important privileges, so that with their arrival the church in Malabar entered upon an era of prosperity. Thomas, the merchant who led this colony, founded the "city of the Great God," which consisted of 472 houses. He laboured to establish among the Indian Christians of that country the Syrian doctrine. After his death the church seems to have come to the verge of destruction through party factions. The missionary zeal of the Nestorians saved it. The above-mentioned Cosmas found at Socotra "a number of Christians, ministered to by clergy, who were consecrated in Persia," and also in the island of Ceylon a Christian community, consisting of Persians, which drew their clergy from the home country. Besides, he met Christians in Malabar, and in

Kaljani (north of Bombay) a bishop ordained in Persia. In the seventh century the Nestorian patriarch, Jesujab (628-647), sent a number of missionaries to India, as he had to China. Another patriarch of the same name (650-660) denounces, in a letter, a Persian metropolitan, because by his fault the natives of India were left without bishops. Clearly to avoid a similar misfortune, India was made an independent diocese with a metropolitan about the middle of the eighth century, and thereby placed directly under the Nestorian patriarchs.

A cross, dating from the second half of the seventh century, is preserved at Mailapur with an inscription in Pehlevi (the imperial language of Persia during the Sassanid monarchy): "Whoever believes in the Messiah and in God on high and also in the Holy Ghost, he is in the grace of Him who has borne the agony of the cross." In 825 two Nestorian priests came to southern India and received important privileges from the ruler of the country, especially the permission to build churches where they wished. The prince himself gave them the sites. Thus they were able to found in the town of Quilon a Christian quarter, which became the centre for the community of that district. From the coast Christianity advanced steadily further into the interior. At least, Catholic emissaries found (not until 1599) remnants of a Christian community eight days' journey distant from the coast. Even in the farthest West the Church in India was spoken of. To greet it, an English embassy from King Alfred the Great came in 883 with presents, which he had vowed to St. Thomas when in great danger. When, in the year 1503, the Nestorian patriarch consecrated two monks as bishops for India and sent them thither, they found in Malabar some thirty thousand families, "rich and peaceable people," by whom they were received with the greatest joy. There were about twenty towns in that district, and Christians and churches in all of them.

E. The Culminating Point and Decline of Nestorianism in Asia

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the Nestorian Church had reached its zenith. The patriarch had no less than twenty-five metropolitans under him, to each of whom from six to twelve bishops were subordinate. This missionary church had spread from the steppes of Siberia to the palms of Ceylon, from the Persian Gulf to the Pacific.

Its fall began when the Mongolian princes went over to Islam, and it was not a little accelerated by the ravages of the Black Death which spread gradually from China to the West. In the years 1338 and 1339 it thinned the ranks of the Christians on the river Tschu, as the gravestones of the cemetery at Pishpek (cf. above, p. 213) tell us. In 1346 it crossed over to Europe. The dissolution was completed when Timur towards the end of the fourteenth century made himself master of Persia and the neighbouring countries and massacred numberless Christians. By this means the connections of the missionary churches with the mother-church and with each other was quite severed. The diminished and isolated communities pined away. In China the overthrow of the Mongol rule by the Ming dynasty (1369) produced the complete destruction of Christianity. For two centuries the faith disappeared. Then the Catholic Church, which had begun to work there in 1292, resumed its work. Since the

beginning of the nineteenth century Protestant missionaries have also been labouring in this field. In the East Indies the Catholic Church has always tried to "unite" the Christians of St. Thomas to herself: amid the confusion caused by its attempts the Syrian Jacobites (1665) (cf. above, p. 209) succeeded in setting foot in Malabar and winning the Christians there for their Church.

Thus Nestorianism remained limited to Persia. In the year 1551 a dispute arose as to the new nomination to the patriarchate. One party sent John, the monk selected by them, to Rome to receive consecration, to gain for him a reputation superior to his rival. From that time this communion has been divided into the "Chaldæans," united with Rome, whose patriarch now rules in Mosul, and the Nestorians proper, whose patriarch lives in the Kurdish mountains. The number of the former is said to reach some forty-eight thousand; of the latter, who some sixty years ago were estimated at about seventy thousand, the fanatical chief, Beder Bey (1843-46), murdered some fifteen thousand. The report which was spread some years since that the rest had united with the Catholic Church, has proved false. Thus a small, broken fragment of the formerly great and enterprising Nestorian Church has been left. On the other hand, fear of the wild Kurds induced their patriarch to go over to the Greek Church in April, 1898, in order to secure the protection of Russia. Whether the whole body of the Church will follow his example, cannot be said. Who shall estimate what treasures of religion and morality this Church formerly transmitted to those wild, rude, ignorant, barbarous nationalities of Asia? Who can assert that all this was entirely in vain?

F. Christianity in Armenia

About the middle of the third century a Christian church suddenly springs up in Armenia (cf. in Vol. III. the subdivision on Western Asia up to the Kalifat). A bishop of Alexandria addresses a letter to an Armenian colleague. About the year 285 a son of the prince of the country, whom his nurse had rescued from the massacre which overwhelmed his family by flying to Cappadocia, returned to his native land, a zealous Christian. His grateful compatriots have called him "Gregory the Enlightener." King Tiridates III., whom he converted to Christianity, ordered his people to adopt the new faith and endowed the Church with rich possessions in land. Gregory took pains to form an efficient clergy. While the last Christian persecution was raging in the Roman empire, the emperor, Maximin, tried by force of arms to make Armenia once more pagan, but in vain. On the contrary, at that very time Christianity pushed on more widely towards the north.

An Armenian Christian, named Nunia, was carried away from her home by Iberians (inhabitants of the valley lying south of the Caucasus, later called Georgia and now usually Grusia). By her holy life she won all hearts; by her prayer she healed the queen. As a reward she asked for only one thing, that her God should be worshipped. King Miraus, in great danger, ventured to invoke this God. He was saved, and asked Constantine (326) for a Christian bishop. But the Iberian (or Georgian) Church remained under the influence of the Armenian until it broke away at the end of the sixth century. Christianity

spread further from here towards the Caucasus. In 520 a king of the Lazi was baptised at Constantinople. Justinian I. sent envoys to the Abasci.

The Armenian Church maintained its independence of the Roman state Church. After 366 it had a patriarch of its own, called "Catholicus." One of these, Mesrob, succeeded in inventing an Armenian alphabet and in translating the Bible into the vernacular. There followed hundreds of Christian writings by Syrian and Greek theologians, among them works which are preserved to us only in these translations. Mesrob, therefore, became the founder of an Armenian national literature, which has by no means feeble productions to show. In this way it became possible also for the Armenian Church to resist the pressure of Parsism when the land for the greater part came under the Persian rule. Cruel persecutions certainly now broke over it, but the Church did not sink. While the council of Chalcedon was held in the imperial church (cf. above, p. 208), the part of Armenia ruled by the Persians was in the midst of a storm of insurrection, which the hostility of Yezdegerd II. had roused. The Armenian Church, therefore, maintained an attitude of dissent towards the resolutions of that council. It feared the council had not blamed Nestorianism sharply enough. It was in opposition to the Persian Church, but regarded the imperial Church also as "heretical." Consequently, it became isolated; and the spirit of orthodoxy, on which it prided itself, showed no progress.

After its conquest by the crescent (651), Armenia suffered unspeakable woes from the continual wars between the kalifs and the Byzantine emperors. Then the Seljuks broke in and massacred hundreds of thousands. Still later came the Mongols. Multitudes of Armenians left their homes and founded colonies in Asia Minor, Thrace, Macedonia, Galicia, and Hungary (cf. the section The Armenians in Europe in Vol. V.). Then the Turks began to plunder and ravage the luckless land. Whoever could, sought peace in foreign countries. It is astonishing that in these centuries of unspeakable horrors Christianity was not extinguished, but, on the contrary, showed its ability to keep together as one people this dispersed nation, which, properly speaking, possessed a country no more.

G. Christianity in Abyssinia

Abyssinia, to the south of Egypt, forms the heart of Ethiopia. A Tyrian merchantman went ashore on the Abyssinian coast of Tigré in the year 316. Only two youths, Frumentius and Odesius, were left alive by the inhabitants and were sent as slaves to the royal court at Axum. After the death of the king, his widow entrusted these two strangers with the education of her son, Aeizanes. When Aeizanes became of age, Frumentius caused himself to be consecrated by Athanasius in Alexandria bishop for Ethiopia. He succeeded in baptising the king and his brother. Many of the people followed the high example. The conversion of the land was, indeed, completed by monks of Upper Egypt. In harmony with the prevailing opinion among these monks the Abyssinian Church adopted that doctrine which represents the extreme development of the Alexandrian theology, Monophysitism (cf. above, p. 208). It stood, therefore, in connection with the Coptic Church (cf. above, p. 208), and from it receives even at the present day its metropolitan ("abba"). But since the

Abyssinians are a Christian people in their own land, their importance is far greater than that of the former. Yet even the Abyssinian Church does not seem to recognise any further development of the spiritual life. The Catholic Church has repeatedly tried to "convert" it. In the year 1854 King Theodore banished the Catholic missionaries from the land, forbidding their return under the severest penalties. Protestants also have tried in our century to labour there, but without any noteworthy success.

H. Christianity in Southern Arabia

In Arabia at an early period some Bedouin tribes are said to have been baptised by Christians, with whom they came into contact in their marauding expeditions. But a church was not possible among these roaming bands. It was different in the South; here the empire of the Himjarites, or Homerites, flourished. A native of the island Diu (certainly not Socotra at the entrance of the Red Sea, but the island Diu, situated south of the Indian peninsula Gujerat) had in early youth come to Constantinople as a hostage and had there been given a Christian education. He received the name Theophilus and was consecrated "bishop of the Indians." The emperor Constantius sent him (c. 340) to the Himjarites, to obtain freedom of worship for the Christians engaged in trade there. He accomplished much. The king, Abdul Calal, became a Christian and built a church out of his own means in his capital, Dhafar; a second one in the famous seaport, Ormuz, on the Persian Gulf, and a third in Aden, where the Roman merchants landed. This new settlement had to endure the bitter hostility of the very numerous Jews there, and even suffered a bloody persecution when, at the beginning of the sixth century, a Jewish sovereign ascended the throne. But it was not until 632 that Islam annihilated all that remained of Christianity.

IV

NORTH AFRICA

By DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

1. THE NORTH COAST OF AFRICA

HOWEVER heavy and uniform Africa may be as compared with the richly diversified configuration of the neighbouring continents, and however difficult a natural division of the ponderous mass may be, there is *one* district easily distinguishable from the others, that strip of territory, namely, which is bounded on the south by the sand waves of the great desert, on the north by the waters of the Mediterranean. Distinctively African in many of its peculiarities, this coast region forms at the same time a part of those countries which fringe the basin of the Mediterranean with its old currents of civilisation. It is bounded on the east by the valley of the Egyptian Nile, that cradle of primitive civilisation, but on the west it is separated merely by a strait, across the narrow waters of which the eye can easily scan the opposite coast, from the Pyrenæan peninsula of Europe. Of all the countries that border the Mediterranean, the African coast is comparatively the poorest, notwithstanding the fertility of many of its districts; for instead of an extensive and populous interior, there stretches behind the coast region the Sahara Desert, which is more difficult to cross than the most stormy sea, and gives to North Africa many of the peculiarities of an elongated island. The slight geographical depth of this coast land strikingly affected its history. No great, independent movement of nations starts from North Africa, and no great revolutions in the realm of thought originated there; only when foreign civilisation took root on the coast did the south shore of the Mediterranean win a transitory importance, as at the time when Carthage or Cyrene flourished. The primitive forces of the country are passive in character, and in this passivity, indeed, it rests, almost unconquerable, nor can its individuality ever be destroyed.

The North African coast, however, is not so completely one as to lead us to expect a common destiny for its whole extent. On the contrary, it is divided into two sharply defined geographical regions, an eastern and a western. In the east the coast line sinks back to the south; in the west it juts out towards the north; and while on the eastern edge the desert regions extend to the sea, in the western and projecting part there rises a country of mighty mountains with snow-covered peaks and foaming torrents and fertile valleys and well-watered plains, stretching below. From the nature of the two regions it results, therefore, that in the west tribes of agriculturists could develop into powerful nations and influence the neighbouring countries by the dissemination of new

ideas, while the east is the home of purely nomad tribes. Only at one point in the eastern coast, just where the tableland of Barca projects, like a peninsula, into the sea, lies a feeble counterpart of the western mountainous region, an agricultural district formerly the possession of the old flourishing Greek colony of Cyrene. But if the coast-line in the east as an independent country is completely at a disadvantage as compared with the west, yet it has some counterbalancing features which enhance its importance. First, it is situated nearer to the ancient civilised countries and came comparatively earlier under their influence; and, secondly, it is, owing to the deep bays that indent its coast, the favoured starting-point and terminus of the entire Sudan trade, which is again facilitated by the convenient position of numerous oases. It is no accident that the two most powerful ancient commercial cities of North Africa, Carthage and Cyrene, flourished in the vicinity of the Syrtes.

Communication with the Sudan was in ancient times probably less difficult than at present. In fact, the climatic, as well as the geographical, changes in North Africa, as far as can be determined, have been so considerable that history must take express notice of them. There is no doubt that there has been an unfavourable change in the climate. In the northern Sahara especially the calcareous deposits of dried-up springs, the traces of a formerly richer flora, but, above all, the remains of human settlements in the now completely uninhabited regions, speak only too clear a language and assure us that even the deficiency of water in the Algeria of to-day as compared with that of Roman times is not to be referred merely to the decay of artificial irrigation, but must have deeper causes. But if North Africa and, above all, the desert was once better watered and more habitable than it is to-day, then communication also with Nigritic Africa must have been easier than now; and this, notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstance that in early antiquity the camel was not known to the tribes of North Africa. The commercial position of Carthage, as of Cyrene, rested, indeed, to a great extent on intercourse with the Sudan. In Roman times this traffic appears to lessen or completely to cease; the Arabic era first roused it to fresh activity. Parallel with climatic changes there is in the course of history no lack of topographical changes: the rising of the Tunisian coast, which caused many of the famous harbours of antiquity to be silted up, is to be especially mentioned. On the other hand, the shore of the peninsula of Barca is steadily sinking.

Climatic changes, as well as the passion for hunting, have also exercised great influence on the animal life of North Africa: elephants and hippopotami, which were formerly numerous, have now disappeared. And a plant which once was of the highest importance for a part of North Africa, the famous silphium, which grew in the district of Cyrene, and the juice from the root of which was worth its weight of silver in ancient Rome, is no longer to be found, and has not been rediscovered even in other parts of the world. The silphium was one of the chief sources of the wealth of the ancient Cyreneans. As we see it represented on the coins of the town, we know that it belonged to the group of the umbelliferæ. The writings of the ancients tell us of the manifold uses of this healing juice, which was nowhere prepared so excellently as at Cyrene. Whether the plant has been extirpated or whether it has disappeared before the change of climate, can no longer be determined.

2. THE EARLIEST OCCUPATIONS OF NORTH AFRICA

It is to be expected, as a matter of course, that the history of the nations of North Africa, a land exposed to such various influences, would not be simple and easily surveyed, and that numerous immigrations must have occurred. On the other hand, the geographical isolation of the country must have contributed towards fusing the different elements among the inhabitants into a new entity. At the present day we find in the Berbers an apparently closely related and strongly marked race, possessing the greater part of North Africa. This unity is only apparent or, more correctly, it has only been developed in the course of history. In more ancient times, too, North Africa was, in consequence of the greater fertility of the Sahara, not so isolated from the south, and especially the southeast, as at present. To-day, emigrants from the East must necessarily cross the lower Nile valley, as certainly the Arabs have done; but it is not impossible that formerly, for example, there issued streams of emigrants from the territories of the Ethiopians in the eastern Sudan, who finally reached the coast of North Africa. The existence of a prehistoric population in the Sahara is incontestably proved by numerous stone implements which have often been found in quite isolated and now uninhabitable spots of the desert.

The first historical accounts do not, any more than any other results of investigation, justify the assumption that before the invasion of the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, a homogeneous population filled North Africa. If we collect the different accounts and compare them with the conditions of the present day, we can distinguish no fewer than four old races which were permanently settled in North Africa, and their descendants, mixed with subsequent comers, maintain even now their original homes, for the most part.

A. The Libyans

In the first place, we must name the light-complexioned, fair-haired Libyans, who are often mentioned by the old geographers and historians as inhabiting both the district bordering on Egypt and the tableland of Barca and the places on Lake Triton. They exercised influence on Egypt itself. Especially at the time of the Ethiopian sovereignty we find fair-haired Libyans as dynasts in the Delta. They seem to have been a physically well-built and intellectually gifted race. Descendants of these "blonds" are found even at the present day in North Africa, especially among the Kabyls of the Rif (Morocco), in such large numbers that for a long time it was thought that the remnants of the German Vandals had been rediscovered, although, in reality, the fair-haired population of Africa existed long before the migration of the Germanic nations; indeed, before the beginning of historical tradition. Another remnant of this blond race were the Guanches in Teneriffe; the Canary Islands have, as Hans Meyer has proved, served more than once as a refuge for the population of the continent when hard pressed by newcomers; and since intercourse with the mainland was impossible, owing to the currents and the winds, they have preserved the

isolated survivors of a people in their primitive conditions. The Guanches, when they first came into contact with Europeans, were still completely in the Stone Age. They knew the use of the mattock and bred sheep and goats, but did not use the plough nor understand how to make bread. In addition to the Guanches, other races have inhabited the Canaries (cf. below).

The fair-haired African race does not stand apart from the other races. It is very probably identical with that tall, long-headed people which was once settled in western Europe, and which is usually designated the Cro-Magnon race after the chief place where remains of bones have been found; not merely the similarity of anthropological characteristics supports this relationship, but also the fact that certain prehistoric stone buildings appear in western Europe, as well as in Africa. In Europe, too, the race of Cro-Magnon has by no means disappeared; but, as Johann Ranke has demonstrated, may be recognised even now in numerous types, especially in Middle Germany. Assuming, then, the relationship of the fair-haired Libyans with the people of Cro-Magnon to be generally admitted, the question where the original home of these fair-haired men was is still unanswered. There is much to be said for the view that the original homes of the race may have been in North Africa; above all, the fact that the megalithic monuments of North Africa are apparently older than those of western Europe. On the other hand, Europe is admittedly the radiating centre of almost all fair-haired nations and of numerous conquering races. Long before the migration of the Germanic peoples the wandering bands of the Cimmerians and the Celts convulsed the countries of the Mediterranean. Therefore, the thought suggests itself that in the race of Cro-Magnon we see simply the later Celts, who not only pressed on to Spain, as has been proved historically, but also crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and spread as far as the frontiers of Egypt. But, in reality, this immigration must date far earlier than the time of the Celtic movements, and must have taken place before the main body of the population of Europe were fused into a linguistic unity by the spread of the Aryan tongues. In this sense Faidherbe has spoken of a pre-Aryan immigration of fair-haired peoples from Europe. Lastly, it is possible that fair-haired Europeans had advanced by a circuitous route through Asia Minor and Egypt to North Africa, and by this means had absorbed the civilisation of Nearer Asia. But even though fair-haired tribes, in truth, seem to have settled in Palestine, the immigration of the fair-haired by way of the Straits of Gibraltar appears more probable; a definite decision is, at any rate, impossible.

Together with the fair-haired race, another light-complexioned, but dark-haired and short-headed, race appears to have existed in North Africa, probably before the immigration of the fair-haired men. The earliest inhabitants of the Canary Islands seem, at any rate, to have belonged to this dark-haired people. On account of their great similarity to the pre-Aryan inhabitants of Armenia, Hans Meyer has proposed for the dark-haired race the provisional name of "Armenoides;" but it can hardly be doubted that the "Armenoides" have close affinities with those dark-haired pre-Aryans of southern Europe, who were later influenced by the immigrating Aryans and robbed of their individual characteristics, but still continued to live among the main body of the population of southern Europe. We must here call attention to the view of Hommel that many of these "dark-white" peoples of Europe were in language connected

with the old Armenians and Elamites and, together with them, constituted the "Alarodian" family of languages. But whatever may be our opinions as to the correctness of these frequently conflicting assumptions, we must insist that the "Armenoides" of North Africa, like the fair-haired Libyans, are not indigenous African races, but had their original homes in Europe or in Asia. At any rate, on the shores of the Mediterranean or in its vicinity. Africa, therefore, in its most ancient historical period belonged more distinctly to the region of Mediterranean civilisation than it did later.

We can mention only briefly the traces which point to the existence in the steppes and oases of North Africa of a stunted race, probably related to the bushmen and the dwarf tribes of the rest of Africa. The inhabitants of the oasis of Tidicelt were expressly described by the ancients as being of small stature. Other tribes, such as Troglodytes and Garamantes, may have intermingled with the pigmy peoples who then, perhaps, roamed about the Sahara, as the bushmen still do in the Kalihari. In many national types of the present day the last remnants of the dwarf race, greatly changed by intermixture, may still be pointed out.

B. The Berbers

Far more important for the history of Africa was the effect wrought on racial conditions by another cause. If the Libyans, the "Armenoides," and even the stunted tribes, were comparatively fair complexioned, we now see a ruddy-skinned people appear in Egypt as the possessors of a primitive civilisation, which they develop later in Ethiopia and Abyssinia. In quite early times they spread westward. Ultimately all North Africa receives from them its ethnographical and linguistic characteristics, and a new race is formed, that of the Berbers.

This people, then, constitutes the core of the present Hamitic population, which, as the "Atlantic race," it is usual to contrast with the negroes, on the one hand, and the Aryans and Semites, on the other. The ancient name of "Ethiopians" is the most appropriate for them. The Ethiopians must have come later than the previously mentioned races to northern Africa, with the exception, naturally, of Egypt, where they were settled from the first beginnings of civilisation. A certain affinity of the Ethiopian languages with the Semitic, the accounts handed down of their ancient history, and even the conditions of the people at the present day, make us suppose that the original homes of the Ethiopians may have been in eastern Africa. There they received the stimulus of Asiatic civilisation, which they carried further westward, together with the acquisitions of Egyptian culture. North Africa only became Ethiopian within the course of authentic history. At the time of Herodotus the different races still seem to be but little mingled: in Roman times, on the contrary, the Ethiopian language had everywhere gained the upper hand, clearly in consequence of the western advance of Hamitic nomad tribes. At the same time they altered their tribal names: according to the view of Borsari, the Numidians grew out of the Nasamones and Garamantes; the Maxyes reappear as Mauretanians, and the Gætulians take the place of the Troglodytes. These conclusions may, however, be a little premature.

But even though the races blend, the population of North Africa will always separate afresh into two, or better into three, component parts, made necessary by the nature of the country itself, and distinct in their characteristics. No contrast of language or bodily structure is so thorough or so indestructible as that between the nomad of the steppe and the agriculturist who inhabits the fertile plains and the mountain valleys; as civilisation gradually develops, a third distinct type arises, the town-dweller, who makes his livelihood by industry and trade. These contrasts are so effectual that the individual countries of North Africa, to say nothing of the whole region, have never become political unities in the sense of European states. An empire as capable of offering resistance as Morocco is, in reality, a marvellous conglomeration of partially or entirely dependent tribal districts, together with others that are practically independent. All three elements of the population advanced in civilisation as time went on. The agriculturist, probably under the influence of Ethiopian immigration, exchanged the mattock for the plough: the nomad at an early period made use of the ox; later, during the dynasty of the Hyksos in Egypt, of the horse; and, finally, in Roman times, of the camel. The town-dwellers finally received, through trade and traffic, ample materials of culture. But they were recruited by new immigrations and changed their national life and character. During historical times, in the more restricted sense, North Africa has remained as little spared from external interference as in the more ancient period.

C. Later Immigrants

The mere enumeration of the numerous shocks from the outside which North Africa has had to bear patiently explains at once the tremendous changes the country has undergone. As colonisers the Greeks appeared on the eastern, the Phœnicians on the western, coasts; and the supremacy of the Romans and Byzantines did not fail to influence greatly the mixture of nationalities. Then a stream of fair-haired Germans pressed over the Straits of Gibraltar and held the new possessions for a century. More important and more lasting than all previous influences was that exercised upon the inhabitants of North Africa by the invasion of the Arabs and the spread of Islam. The Arabs were followed by the Turks. Finally the civilised nations of Europe appeared in the field and undertook to forge out of that region, sunk in savagery, another link in that chain of civilised states which had once circled the Mediterranean and had been snapped by the adherents of Islam. Thus the history of North Africa in its recorded form is little else than the struggle of the native Berbers against foreign intruders. Sometimes they almost succumb: the lords of the North African coast wear the Carthaginian dress or the burnous of the Arab; then, again, they show their indestructible vitality, and genuine Berber states arise where formerly foreign colonisers had the power in their hands.

But by the side of all these races who menacingly tread the stage of history and measure their strength in heroic contests appear others, who steal in, almost unnoticed, or are admitted to a place against their will among the inhabitants of the North African coast. Let us first name the Jews, the detested and yet indispensable traders of the kingdom of Morocco and of the old Barbary states,

over whose immigration, as almost everywhere else, there is nothing definite to be said, it being sufficient that they are there. They seem fit and ready to play, in their way, an important part in the civilising of North Africa by European nations: in fact, they are the only component part of the population which knows how to conform itself externally to European ideas and to derive profit from the advantages of our culture without acknowledging its moral claims. Algiers had even then its Jewish question, and whatever power thinks to subdue Morocco will have to reckon with the Jews.

Apart from the migrations in Roman times, the stream of European blood which has been poured into the veins of the North Africans is not inconsiderable. When the Moors retreated from Spain, a large number of them settled in North Africa and gradually mixed with the natives. But the Moors had just formed in Spain a united nation out of native Iberian, Arabic, Berber, and even North European elements: they were not only in their civilisation, but also in their ethnical composition, a connecting link between the world of Islam and that of western Europe. Still more important, perhaps, was the influx of European slaves of both sexes which from the Middle Ages down to modern times had been directed into the Barbary states by the constant expeditions of the corsairs inhabiting the North African coasts, an element much more easily absorbed, owing to the Mohammedan institution of the harem. Besides this, many European renegades appear in the military history of North Africa.

If, through the capture of slaves, European blood came into Africa, still more so did Nigritic blood. That remarkable power of passively influencing and conquering neighbouring countries which is peculiar to negro races has been found in North Africa also since ancient times and has left very remarkable traces in the population. The negroes, whose own homes do not, indeed, extend far into the Sahara, do not voluntarily come to North Africa proper, but they flock in under the crack of the slave whip as despised servants of the ruling peoples. But their vital tenacity caused them to take root in the new soil; by bravery and devotion they win the confidence of the princes, they surround them as a body-guard and exert an influence on the historical development of their new home. But they proved fatal to the national life of North Africa. Every drop of Nigritic blood takes its owner farther from Europe, as well as from the civilisation of the Mediterranean countries and brings him nearer to the dull, unprogressive peoples of central Africa. At the present day, after centuries of silent immigration of the dark race, the coast of the Mediterranean is more African than it ever was in the course of its history.

The above-mentioned (p. 225) three elements of the population which, through natural conditions, are always recreated — nomads, husbandmen, and dwellers in towns — have been, as was inevitable, influenced and ethnically altered in very different ways by the advancing waves of nations. The agriculturists of the highlands, after the earliest fusion was completed, have best preserved the purity of race: these are essentially genuine Berbers and the pick of the population in western North Africa. The nomad Berber population has, on the contrary, not been able to resist the impact of the Arabs, nomads like themselves. On most pasture lands, and also in the rich agricultural districts, they were compelled to give way to the intruders. They either withdrew into the Sahara or fled to their brethren permanently settled in the highlands, so that in

North Africa proper at the present time the terms Arab and nomad almost coincide. The towns finally were the proper homes of the mixed nationalities. Foreign merchants and fugitives settled in them by preference; slaves of both sexes were collected in great numbers at the houses of the rich; the Jew built his ghetto here, and the negro his miserable quarter. Notwithstanding the hatred which the nomads and the agriculturists have for each other, they are at one in their contempt for the inhabitants of the towns.

3. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH AFRICA

ALTHOUGH in the history of the separate countries of North Africa similar features are everywhere observable, a complete survey of their history, as a whole, is not possible. In the more remote times it is the settlements of foreign colonisers and the towns that developed out of them that demand a special description. Later, in the Roman, Vandal, and early Arabic period, North Africa becomes more of a whole, and the history of the particular districts disappears before that of the country in general; but since the Middle Ages, with the growth of the native population, local history once more predominates, until at the present time we recognise a complete severance of the connection of the different regions. These varying circumstances necessitate a varying treatment of the subject. We must, first of all, consider the history of the two colonising states, Cyrene and Carthage, with their influence on the native population. Then we must give our attention to Roman times and describe the invasion of the Arabs. Finally, considering how North Africa has been split up into separate states and possessions, we must fix our eyes on the modern development of these states. The encroachments of the European powers, above all, of Spain and France, will be briefly touched upon in conclusion.

A. CYRENE

THE Greek settlements on the peninsula of Barca deserve special notice, because they were the only important Hellenic colonies on the coast of North Africa, and because also their isolated position allowed them to develop their individuality in comparative independence. The cultivated territory of Cyrenaica, surrounded by the sea or desert regions, supported a numerous population on the products of the soil; and the favourable commercial situation, which made Cyrene a depot on the through trade-route to the most varied destinations, must have proved a source of wealth as soon as an energetic people made use of it and found out, besides, how to make the most of the natural treasures of their own territory, among which the silphium (cf. above, p. 221) must especially be named.

In the middle of the seventh century B.C. Dorian settlers had come, under the leadership of Battus, from the island of Thera (Santorin), where a civil war had caused their emigration: at first they settled on a small island in the Gulf of Bomba; six years later they settled on the mainland and founded Cyrene, the government of which Battus assumed under the title of king. It is charac-

teristic of the country that a copious spring of water, called Cyre, led to the choice of the site and gave its name to the place. The colony was subsequently strengthened by the accession of numerous Dorian Greeks from the Peloponnesus, from Crete, and other islands. The colonists were now in a position to take possession of large tracts in the peninsula of Barca — against the will of the nomad Libyans of those parts, who at last in their distress appealed to the King of Egypt for help. The new colony soon saw itself compelled to assume a hostile attitude towards the powerful and civilised state on its east frontier. Fortunately for Cyrene, disturbances in Egypt forbade the decisive invasion of a neighbouring people. But finally the Libyans themselves proved to be dangerous opponents. The tribes united and inflicted a severe defeat on the Greeks in a great battle (c. 544 B.C.). The large number of Cyreneans killed (seven thousand) and the fact that, notwithstanding all this, the vitality of the young community was not sapped, allows us to conceive how rapid the rise to prosperity of the settlement was.

Its defeat was destined to bring important results in its train. Cyrene, in search of help, turned its eyes to Greece, and was immediately swept along in that transformation of political life which was then going on in the old home. Peacefully or by force, aristocracy and tyranny were repressed in favour of democracy. Those communities were fortunate where prudent and respected men stood at the head of affairs and accomplished with moderation and fairness the revolution which had become necessary through the growing power of the lower strata of the people. In Cyrene the disastrous issue of the war furnished a reason for similar action; another impelling cause was the counsel of the oracle at Delphi, whose priesthood in earlier antiquity exercised an influence that can hardly be overestimated, and which was, in general, thoroughly beneficial on the development of Greece as a whole. The temple at Delphi always remained the heart of Greece, despite the severance of all its members. Just as the oracle had once commanded Battus to found a colony, so it now counselled the Cyreneans to summon from Mantinea the legislator Demonax, who would arrange the internal affairs of the settlement and enable it to offer a more powerful resistance to external foes. Demonax assigned equal rights to all citizens and limited the royal power of the Battian dynasty, which still was on the throne. This led to new struggles; King Arcesilaus was exiled in 530, but with the help of foreigners regained power till he was slain by the people, together with the tyrant of Barca, which had been founded before this. As he had previously submitted to the Persians, who, under Cambyses, then occupied Egypt, the Persian governor in Egypt now interfered, destroyed Barca, which, however, soon became prosperous again, and upheld the tottering monarchy. It was not until 450 that it finally broke down, and Cyrene became a republic.

Notwithstanding all these wars, Cyrene had, meantime, attained great prosperity. The fertile soil of the country, which, above all, produced the valuable silphium, afforded a secure basis for the power of the state; and the trade which was carried on, partly by land with Egypt and the Sudan, partly by sea, brought immense wealth to Cyrene, where the citizens were conspicuous among all Hellenes for their luxury, but also for their keen interest in the artistic and philosophic movements of the Greek people. The restless spirit of the Cyreneans, which manifested itself even after the fall of the monarchy in continuous

friction between the nobles and the people, may have been due to the luxurious character of the people. The power and prosperity of the town suffered for the time very little from these internal feuds. The struggle with its rising rival, Carthage, which broke out soon after the expulsion of the Battidæ, did not end to the disadvantage of Cyrene. The two emporiums of trade came finally to an understanding as to the limits of their respective influence. The Cyreneans did not come into hostile relations with Alexander the Great, who appeared in Egypt in 332, since they secured their position in advance by a feigned submission. It was, indeed, fortunate for the town that, owing to their remote position, they were somewhat distant from the paths of political whirlwinds. Only faint gusts of the storm blew over them. The same advantage was enjoyed by the other and smaller town-republics which had sprung up on the coast of Barca and with Cyrene were included under the name of the Pentapolis (the five cities).

When, however, after the death of Alexander, the mighty stream of his policy of conquest divided into numerous rivulets; when everywhere his old generals raised their weapons against each other and endeavoured to break off for themselves the greatest possible portion of that enormous inheritance, Cyrenaica did not escape the eyes of the rapacious soldier-kings. As though the external danger were not enough, party struggles blazed up with fresh fury in the republics of Pentapolis; and fugitives from Cyrene summoned the assistance of the Alexandrian general, Timbron, who was then in Crete. Ptolemy, who, in the meantime, had firmly established himself in Egypt (cf. above, pp. 61 and 130), availed himself of the opportunity to interfere: Timbron was defeated, and in 322 all of Cyrenaica was obliged to recognise the suzerainty of the crafty Egyptian king.

With this the decay of the country seems to have begun. Drawn into the family disputes of the Ptolemies, the region sometimes regained its independence temporarily, but remained in essential points under Egyptian influence. Cyrene was no longer able to compete in trade with Carthage, on the one hand, and Alexandria, on the other. Even though the gigantic struggle of the Phœnician colony with the aspiring Roman empire may have brought much passing benefit, and the advantages of its geographical situation could never be quite lost, yet Cyrene, together with its sister towns, undoubtedly sank in importance. This decadence, recognisable in the domain of thought also, stands in a certain connection with the increasing intermixture of populations, by which the old Hellenic spirit was more and more repressed and subdued. The Jews especially, who were intentionally favoured by the Ptolemies, greatly increased in Cyrenaica in the course of time. In the later Ptolemaic period they are said to have composed almost the fourth part of the town population. To what degree the Libyan, Egyptian, and even Nigritic elements may have increased, is not, indeed, known, but may be roughly estimated from the situation and from the trading relations of Pentapolis. The intellectual culture of African Hellenism, which once had its centre in Cyrene, passed entirely to Alexandria.

The Romans, after the death of a prince of the Ptolemies, to whom Pentapolis had fallen as an independent realm, came into the possession of the territory by peaceful means. It was only loosely bound to the Roman empire (c. 95 B.C.), since Cyrenaica had long since ceased to be an important factor in international

affairs. Disturbances in the new tributary land led to its complete subjugation by Pompey in 67 and to its union with Crete. In the future Pentapolis comes seldom into notice: what we do hear of it shows its continued decay. A terrible revolt of the Jewish population in the time of Trajan is said to have cost the lives of two hundred thousand Greeks and Romans, so that the emperor after the suppression of the rebellion founded a new colony, Adrianopolis, in Cyrenaica, in order to revive the depopulated land. But the weak condition of the province had already been seized by the Libyan nomads as an opportunity of occupying part of the fertile land, without its being possible to check their encroachments. The ravages of the Islamitic era of conquest annihilated the last traces of its ancient prosperity.

B. Carthage

Long before, and not through gradual decay, but in a tremendous tragic catastrophe, the proud rival of Cyrene, Phœnician Carthage, had disappeared. The beginnings of this town reach farther back than those of the Greek settlement, with the first destinies of which her own show many features of similarity. As enterprising pirates and traders the Phœnicians — according to the view accepted in antiquity (see on the subject Vol. III., Section II., of the History of Ancient Western Asia) — had early extended their voyages from the eastern basin of the Mediterranean to the western, attracted, as it seems, by the metallic treasures of the Iberian peninsula, which lay before them on the edge of the western horizon as the goal of their adventurous expeditions, as America before the Spaniards in later ages. Even then North Africa may have been but little thought of; when, however, the Straits of Gibraltar no longer formed the limit of Phœnician navigation, when the bold sailors and traders resolved to explore by sea the sources of the trade in tin and amber, which had long been carried on with the South by an overland route, the countries round the Pillars of Hercules must have tempted them to found stopping-places and emporiums. Here, then, in the present Morocco, the first permanent settlements of the Phœnicians appear to have been formed; and in the course of time their influence was so great that whole tribes in western Mauretania adopted the Phœnician language. Gradually the rest of the coast of North Africa was occupied by trading towns, which flourished all the better because the competition of other maritime nations was felt least and last in those parts. The Phœnician colonists took care to remain in communication with the mother-cities in the Far East. Many, indeed, had come as fugitives into their new home, for the oldest authentic report of Phœnician settlements on the Numidian coast points to such conditions. The acquisition of territory and the sovereignty over the original inhabitants were not, in general, the object of the Phœnician settlers. They rather desired the undisturbed prosecution of commerce by sea, the full benefit of the treasures of the mountains or of the sea, and the production of new commodities by industrial activity. When the maritime power of the Phœnicians declined and other fleets began to rule the sea, the vitality of those settlements which were not firmly rooted in the ground was bound to lessen rapidly, and only those that had obtained a firmer foundation could hope to maintain themselves.

A settlement of this kind had the prospect of a splendid development. While in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean the aspiring Greek nation and its offshoots on the soil of Asia Minor combatted the trade and maritime supremacy of Phœnicia, the western basin, with its riches and its outlet to the northern countries still offered scope enough for the commercial spirit of the Phœnicians as soon as it found a new centre for its energy. Such a centre was found in Carthage. It had been built on the most favourable and most promising spot of the coast of the Mediterranean for trade and intercourse. Where the north coast of Africa juts out furthest and approaches within ninety miles of Sicily, which lies opposite it, and then abruptly sinks away again towards the south, that is, on the boundary between the western and eastern basins of the Mediterranean, where all sea-borne trade that avoids the dangerous passage through the Straits of Messina must pass by, a fertile district with good harbours tempts men to rest and settle. In ancient times the Phœnician Utica had already arisen on this spot, though not immediately on the coast; and later, when Carthage developed so splendidly, it always asserted a certain degree of independence. Carthage was founded, according to the general report, in the ninth century B.C. by Queen Dido, or Elissa, who had fled from Tyre and the cruelty of her brother. At any rate, the builders of Carthage, whoever they may have been, showed a better appreciation of the advantage of the position than the first colonists of Utica: they selected for the site of the city a bay, protected by two promontories, and, through the construction of the strong citadel, Byrsa, created a safe centre and a refuge in times of danger.

So far as may be gathered from the fanciful accounts of legend the relations with the neighbouring Phœnician settlements were friendly. At first there was a good understanding even with the aborigines, the Libyans, who certainly must have mainly belonged to the fair-haired race. But just as the inhabitants of Cyrene were soon forced to take up arms against their nomad neighbours, so the Carthaginians also do not seem to have enjoyed any considerable period of tranquillity. Yet these very struggles with the Libyans, hard and undesirable as they must have been, laid the real foundation of the city's greatness. Carthage was forced for good or for evil to subdue its unruly neighbours and to bring under its power the rich fruit-bearing land of the present Tunisia. But after it had created in this way a broad foundation for its existence, had made the feeding of the town independent of external vicissitudes, and at the same time possessed in the settled Libyans a permanent nucleus for its mercenary army, it was soon able to attempt a bolder flight than any of the Phœnician settlements around. Carthage was not a daughter town, but a veritable daughter nation, of Phœnicia. It is not, indeed, to be compared in every detail with its old home, for geographical situation and the mixture of nationalities must have materially modified the original character. From this point new colonies could be founded. The western trade, which slipped from the hands of the Phœnicians, came to a large extent to the Carthaginians, however troublesome the commercial competition of the Massilian Greeks and of the Etruscans may have been.

The oldest fairly authentic records of Punic history show us the republic not only engaged in a successful war against the Libyans, but also busy in taking possession of the large islands of the western Mediterranean, especially of the adjoining island of Sicily. At that time, at the beginning of the fifth century,

there still prevailed close relations with Tyre, which were maintained chiefly from religious motives; but the whole life of Carthage, with its mixed population of Phœnicians and Libyans and its efforts to obtain territory, diverged very considerably from the parent type. The system of mercenaries, the chief weapon and at the same time the curse of trading cities, was already flourishing, and brought in its train a military rule, which, indeed, was bound in the end to be wrecked on the peculiar constitution of the state and on the predominance of the wealthy classes, but reappeared under various forms in the history of Carthage. The victorious general, Malchus, who had fought successfully in Libya and Sicily, received instructions to take Sardinia, but suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the natives; and he and his entire army were, according to the quite business-like Carthaginian custom, punished by banishment. Malchus, however, besieged the city and compelled the Carthaginians to receive him back, but they soon discovered another lawful method of removing the dangerous man. His successor, Mago, was more fortunate, and was able to raise himself to the head of affairs as organiser of the army and to hand down his power to his descendants. The family of Mago seem to have retained their supremacy until the year 48, perhaps still later; and to the men of this family is due the first rise of Carthage to power, the conquest of Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles, and the founding of new colonies in Spain. The Greek spirit might, indeed, disturb, but could not prevent this development. In all these operations there appears a spirit quite different from that which inspired the trading voyages of the older Phœnicians — a certain abandonment of the purely commercial policy, without an entire departure from the old ideas.

That Carthage, however, remained, on the whole, a commercial city without developing into an actual state, and that the tendency of free trading towns to maintain their insular independence as regards the countries on whose coasts they lie was as thoroughly characteristic of Carthage as later of Venice or Genoa — is especially shown in the limited scope of Carthaginian policy in Africa as compared with the wide-reaching movements in more distant lands. Only when half compelled to do so, did they extend their possessions on the mainland towards the interior. There never seems to have been any idea of the subjugation of Numidia, the princes of which could in a few days overrun the plain of Carthage with their bands of horsemen and invest the city. They were content to keep their dangerous neighbours in a friendly mood by the lavish distribution of money, and to recruit valuable auxiliaries out of their cavalry. The coast-line of the Syrtes, that is to say, the outlet of the inland trade of Africa, was occupied and retained in the bloody war with the Cyreneans: yet we hear little or nothing of attempts to penetrate further into the interior or to reach even the negro districts. The weakness of its position in Africa was the eventual ruin of Carthage, and the fall of the city destroyed at one blow a power which at the time of its greatest prosperity had been able to shake the Roman state to its foundations.

It follows, then, that Carthage has not such importance for the history of North Africa as its splendid name would appear to promise. The cause of the fact lies deeper still: Carthage was too emphatically a trading town to be a real disseminator of lasting civilisation. It is in the nature of the trader to rouse the desires of unenlightened races through his enticing wares and to stimulate

the indolent to the acquisition of native products, to be exchanged for his own varied treasures; but in no way is he disposed to initiate them into the secrets of his civilisation, to teach them how to produce purple and glass or to cast valuable metal-work; in a word, to make them independent of his services as middleman. Only as regards the slaves whom he brings with him from foreign countries and employs in his factories, is he both taskmaster and teacher. The prevailing rule among Phœnician traders was to veil in deep secrecy (cf. above, p. 20) their trading voyages, as well as the method of manufacturing their valuable products; and the Punic race, that mixture of Libyans and Phœnicians, that inhabited Carthage and took over the inheritance of the Phœnician merchants, was not false to this principle. And for this reason the curse of sterility lay on the unflagging diligence of the Pœni.

In North Africa the territory of the city extended on the west nearly as far as Hippo Regius, and on the south up to Lake Triton, coinciding exactly with the agricultural region. But it clearly was not the Carthaginians who introduced agriculture among the old Libyan inhabitants, the Maxyes, Byzantes, and Zaunces, since it may well have been practised before their arrival, though in a primitive form. The original inhabitants united with the immigrants to form the new people of the Libyphœnicians: the peculiar power of resistance belonging to the Carthaginian state was also derived from them. The armies were fed by the supplies of corn furnished by the Libyphœnicians, and the town itself protected from want in times of difficulty. The improvements in agriculture and, above all, the science of irrigation, which the Carthaginians had brought with them from their Oriental home, raised the arable land to a fertility which did not disappear even after its conquest by the Romans, and remained a model for the victors. But although the Punic language prevailed in the territories of the city, and although the Carthaginians settled among the Libyans and mingled with them, the cold and, in the main, heartless policy of the merchant city prevented any sincere agreement between the townsfolk and the more or less oppressed dwellers in the country. Even the older Phœnician settlements (Utica, Hadrumetum, Leptis Magna, Leptis Parva) formed no organic members of the Carthaginian state, but maintained under the name of confederates a comparatively independent attitude, like that which, further in the east, other town-republics held by the side of powerful Cyrene. A consequence of this independent attitude, and certainly of the feeling of consanguinity, was that the citizens of these old towns clung most loyally to Carthage, and only turned away from the sinking queen of the sea at the last hour.

The relations of Carthage with the nomad tribes, which composed the overwhelming majority of the population of North Africa, were always very slight. In spite of all, however, the town succeeded in gaining influence, both towards the east and west, in erecting trading stations and concluding favourable treaties. The least danger lay in the tribes which were settled on the barren shores of the Syrtis Major and Syrtis Minor, the Maci, the "Lotophagi," and the sheep-breeding Nasamones, who seem to have served in some degree as a frontier guard against Cyrene, and gradually spread towards the west. The name Lotophagi, which frequently appears in Greek literature, and is not always applied to one and the same people, throws a light on very early conditions preceding even the beginnings of nomad life, on a mode of life in which the

most pressing requirements were sufficiently satisfied by gathering the roots and fruit of the uncultivated lotus. All these tribes, however much they may have been inclined to petty raids and acts of insubordination, were easily kept in check, and presented no danger to the Carthaginian dominion. They were important only because the traffic with the Sudan passed through their hands. This trade with the Sudan had never been prosecuted by the Carthaginians with that zeal which a far-seeing policy would have suggested: they never felt themselves to be Africans, but dwellers on the coast of the Mediterranean, to whose waters and alluring shores their looks were directed.

The Punic territory had far more formidable neighbours on the west. Here, in the course of centuries, new nations seemed to have been formed out of the original disunited elements. The union must have originated in the Hamitic elements of the population, since the race of Berbers, which now appears, is allied by language to the Hamites. This process seems apparently to have continued parallel with the development of Carthage; at any rate, there is room to conjecture that the example of a high state of civilisation and strict state organisation afforded by the powerful trading city exercised great influence on the ambitious tribal chiefs and incited them in every way to enlarge their territory. While, therefore, Herodotus can still speak only of politically isolated tribes, we find later two powerful nations in northwestern Africa, the Numidians and Mauretanians, and find kings able to unite a large number of mobile troops under their standards. It is very probable that such political transformations were connected with changes in civilisation; perhaps, indeed, they were only rendered possible by them; the introduction of the horse may be specially mentioned here. Even agriculture may have improved, although in Numidia and Mauretania it was not important as late as the Jugurthine War, and the nomads on their hardy horses formed at that time the pick of the armed force. The Carthaginians had soon relinquished the task of imposing their yoke on these dangerous neighbours on the frontier and of securing for themselves by unceasing and costly wars a region of which the revenue was not worth mentioning. They preferred to devote a portion of the expenditure that would have been requisite for such a purpose towards the propitiation of the nomad princes, and the most important citizens of the trading town did not disdain to ally themselves in marriage with the Numidian kings. In return the princes placed their magnificent cavalry at the disposal of the Carthaginians, who were indebted for many a victory to the onset of these coursers of the desert. Here, too, Carthage never pursued an African policy; and it is no wonder that later the Romans found no difficulty in drawing over to their side the wavering confederates of Carthage.

The history of Carthage, therefore, is in no way identical with the history of North Africa. Indirectly, indeed, the partially or wholly independent regions were involved in the destinies of the marvellous trading state which, after a brilliant period of prosperity, was destined to shatter against the enmity of an Aryan people. Carthage, which may at first have been a true copy of a Phœnician town, soon developed in a manner which seems common and natural to all great seats of trade holding rule over large tracts of land, and even to nations of this kind, as the example of England proves. Though individuals might temporarily seize power for themselves; though the mass of the people might

for a time make its power felt, it was always an aristocracy, based on hereditary wealth, that guided the helm of state and, by cleverly devised institutions, protected themselves from the ambition of members of its own class. At the head of the state stood the two suffetes: they did not, like the Roman consuls, take the field in case of war, but appeared at the head of the army only in exceptional cases. The real power of the state rested with the senate and its numerically restricted committee, the *gerusia*, which was composed of the flower of the aristocracy. The importance of the priesthood, the protector of a religion rendered gloomy by cruel Oriental features, was also very great. The generals, to whom during their term of office the greatest freedom of movement was accorded, found on their return an inexorable judge in the senate, which caused the unsuccessful leader to atone with his goods or even his life for losses sustained. In the palmy days of Carthage the different elements thus balanced each other, and the fabric of the state was spared internal distraction.

But in her external dealings Carthage adopted a broadly conceived commercial policy. The citizens of the Phœnician metropolis were laudably unanimous in regarding wealth as the only object of existence. It was equally clear to every one that only enterprises on a large scale, the assertion of the political supremacy of Carthage over rich territories, and the monopoly of trade, could realise the Punic ideal. Their continual wars, therefore, were not an end in themselves, as with the Romans, whom a vague impulse led to the mastery of the world, but were merely extensive trade enterprises, for the prosecution of which troops were bought, and of which the results were to be measured in hard cash. The real weapon of the state was the fleet, which guaranteed its security from attacks and the freedom of trade as long as no stronger maritime power appeared on the scene. We should, however, be unjust to the Carthaginians, and fail to recognise the chief foundation of their long-continued power, if we do not bear in mind that they saw that wealth was to be derived not only from trading in foreign products, but also from agriculture. The acquisition of a larger tract of territory in Africa and the subjugation of Sicily and Sardinia were based on the wish to possess land, which was then, naturally, cultivated by slaves, and afforded an opportunity for successful speculation in grain. Scientific farming goes back to Carthaginian sources. The predilection for agriculture, so strange in the descendants of Phœnician traders, is, doubtless, to be referred to the mixture of Libyan blood. The policy of the Carthaginians, which originally was purely commercial, necessarily underwent a change when the aspiring Greek colonies in South Italy and Sicily appeared as rivals in the western Mediterranean. It then became a question for them to rid themselves, at all costs, by mighty exertions, of these troublesome competitors. The first attack on the Sicilian Greeks, at whose head stood King Gelo of Syracuse, led to the disastrous defeat of the Carthaginian general, Hamilcar, at Himera in the same year that the eastern Greeks annihilated the fleet of Xerxes, the Persian king, in the battle at Salamis (480). Sicily was then temporarily abandoned. In the next decades Carthage was occupied more with African affairs; she fought the Numidians and Mauretanians without much result, and engaged in a bloody war with Cyrene, until a delimitation of the spheres of influence was agreed on. The disturbances which followed the unhappy Athenian expedition to Sicily first encouraged the Carthaginians to renew their aggressive policy (410).

Selinus and Himera were destroyed, Agrigentum was captured later, and Sicily would have become irretrievably the prey of Carthage, had not Dionysius I., tyrant of Syracuse, united under himself all the forces of the opposition.

In the succeeding wars many Sicilian towns adhered to the Carthaginian rule with marvellous loyalty. For almost seventy years the wars between Greeks and Carthaginians were continued, yet neither party could pride itself on a decisive victory. In the war that Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse between 311 and 306, waged against the Punic power, Carthage itself was exposed to the greatest danger. When Agathocles saw his cause in Sicily almost lost, he landed with extraordinary boldness on the African shore, and, supported by the ruler of Cyrene, brought Carthage to the verge of destruction. It was only after a desperate struggle, during which war raged in Sicily also, that the Carthaginians succeeded in driving the intruders from the land and in re-establishing their position in Sicily. The weakness of Carthage had been made manifest for the first time, and the little dependence that could be placed in the African allies was repeatedly made evident. The possession of Sicily appeared more important for the future, since it might serve as an advance post for the city, even though all attempts to make it a faithful province of Carthage failed. It was, therefore, still possible in the succeeding period to repel the attack of King Pyrrhus of Epirus, and all the more so, as the aspiring Romans appeared on the scene still as the ally of Carthage; but the very overthrow of Pyrrhus opened to the Romans the way to the largest island of the Mediterranean and compelled them to build a fleet; a bridge to Africa was thus built for the Romans. In a short time began a gigantic struggle between the two powers, which was destined to bring about the fall of Carthage.

The national life of Carthage at this time revealed the same phenomena which appeared at Rome during the decay of the republic. Precisely at the most critical moment ambitious men came forward, who, relying on their wealth or their military skill, sought to seize the supreme power for themselves. Such was the fabulously rich Hanno, who planned first to put the senate out of his way by poison, and subsequently rose in insurrection at the head of thousands of his slaves. He was punished by crucifixion. Such was Bomilcar, who thought his opportunity had come during the war with Agathocles. But at the same time it appeared all through the conflict with the Romans that the citizens of Carthage possessed not only wealth, but also self-sacrificing patriotism, until they were demoralised by the hardships and losses of the struggle.

The Romans, on the other hand, wished in the First Punic War to overthrow the enemy once for all by a blow straight at the heart. They may have recognised that Carthage as a state organism resembled those huge devil-fish of the sea, whose mighty and wide-spreading tentacles destroy the prey, but whose body is feeble and defenceless. However, the invasion of Africa by a Roman army under Regulus, attended at first with success, ended in a crushing defeat; and though Carthage finally agreed to a humiliating peace and renounced all claim to Sicily, the enterprising spirit of its citizens was not broken. Repulsed from the Italian peninsula, they found a new and profitable field of activity in the Iberian peninsula. Spain, until then exploited only by the colonies on its coasts, was now to be completely subject to the Carthaginian supremacy. Immediately, therefore, after the loss of the Sicilian rampart, a strategic position on

the flank of the Roman empire was won by Carthage. Rome recognised the danger, the magnitude of which she was destined to feel in the Second Punic War, when Hannibal, with Spanish and Celtic mercenaries, annihilated the flower of the Roman forces at Cannæ and knocked at the gates of the city on the Tiber. But the fact that Carthage persisted in regarding this life-and-death struggle against the iron resolution and tenacity of the Romans as little else than a costly trading enterprise, proved her ruin.

After the attack on Italy had failed once for all, the decision had necessarily to be fought out in Africa. But there the relation of Carthage towards her subjects and allies had rather deteriorated than improved, and the stubborn power of resistance which the Numidians were to show later under Jugurtha did not aid the ill-starred trading republic. What was to be expected of the Libyan inhabitants of the territory of Carthage had been shown after the First Punic War, when the agricultural population, suffering from cruel oppression, rose and brought the city to desperate straits. The revolt was with difficulty suppressed; but Sardinia, where in the interval the mercenaries had mutinied, fell into the hands of the Romans, who had seized the opportunity.

At no time did the grandeur of the Roman policy, in contradistinction to the shopkeeper's view of the world entertained by Carthage, show itself more conspicuously than in the Second Punic War. Reduced to extremities in Italy, Rome, nevertheless, carried on the war in Spain to a victorious conclusion, and thereby broke the real backbone of Carthaginian resistance. She succeeded in drawing the wavering tribes of Africa to her side, while the formidable army of Hannibal was still loitering in Italy. The Carthaginians succeeded for the moment, with the help of other Numidian princes, in defeating Syphax, whom the Romans had won over; but affairs took a fatal turn from the moment of the defection of Masinissa. The Carthaginians had tried, indeed, at first to attach him to their cause by establishing bonds of relationship; but he had been roused to the greatest indignation when the bride promised to him was given to the more powerful Syphax. When the attacks of the Romans on Africa itself began, the entire weakness of the Carthaginian position in Africa was revealed. The most trustworthy assistance Africa lent the Carthaginians was the supply of elephants, in search of which the general, Hasdrubal, went in person; but the open hostility of Masinissa and the ambiguous friendship of Syphax were ruinous. The Phœnician settlements clung most loyally to Carthage, but the fall of the city was only delayed thereby. After the defeat at Zama, humiliated Carthage finally abandoned her station in the world. Many of her great merchants might not be displeased to see the costly wars ended and trade resume its rights again. The wealth of the city, in fact, rapidly increased; but her opportunity of retrieving, by means of this wealth, all that had been so long neglected and of strengthening her position in Africa, was definitely gone.

At the end of the Second Punic War the nomad princes of Numidia and Mauretania, with Masinissa, the implacable enemy of Carthage, at their head, stand as formidable neighbours on the borders of the Punic republic. It is quite certain that precisely during Punic wars the intractable nomad hordes of North Africa had been moulded into political aggregates; that the princes of these states had acquired a definite consciousness of their power, and by the introduction of a higher civilisation, and, above all, by the founding of fortified towns, and

by the advancement of agriculture, had laid a secure basis for their power. Carthage could no longer win these new states as allies. The encroachments of Masinissa, the favourite of the Romans, compelled the ill-fated commercial city finally to declare war. This immediately led to the interference of Rome and to the destruction of Carthage in the year 146. In blood and flames sets the sun of the Phœnician city, once the proud mistress of the sea, and with it disappears the Carthaginian people as such from the history of mankind.

C. The Roman Rule

Rome now entered on the inheritance of Carthage and formed the province of Africa out of the territory of the republic. The region preserved its prosperous condition even in the Roman period. The towns which had stood most loyally by Carthage were destroyed, and others were administered by Roman prefects. Only Utica and Hippo, which in the last war had taken the side of the conquerors, retained the greater part of their privileges: Utica gained greatly by the fall of Carthage, of which it took the place for some time in matters of trade, and could compete with Rhodes and Alexandria in wealth and commerce. But Carthage itself rose from its ruins. The attempt of C. Gracchus to plant a colony on the historic site failed, it is true; but Cæsar, and after him Augustus, successfully prosecuted the scheme. The new settlements enjoyed for centuries fair prosperity.

But the inheritance of Carthage did not consist of the rich corn-land and its commanding position on the Mediterranean, so favourable for trade. The Romans inherited from their predecessors the war with nomad states, the real sons of North Africa, who with restless spirit swarmed round the borders of the rich province. The wise policy of Masinissa had made the Numidian empire a formidable power, and its territory extended from the borders of Cyrenaica to Mauretania. After the death of this most loyal ally of the Romans, it required but a slight pretext to renew the old struggle between agriculturists and nomads in the form of a war between Rome and Numidia.

Under Micipsa, the successor of Masinissa, friendly relations remained undisturbed. The feud broke out when, after the death of Micipsa (118 B.C.) and the murder of Hiempsal, the crafty Jugurtha, grandson of Masinissa and nephew of Micipsa, ascended the throne. For the first time a genuine son of North Africa came forward in the theatre of war — a man who combined Punic cunning with brigand bravery, and who, as an ally of the Romans, had learnt the art of war among a people who aspired to the dominion of the world. For the first time, too, a people of Aryan race came into conflict with the native genius of North Africa in a struggle for supremacy on the shores of the Mediterranean. Jugurtha, according to Roman stipulation, had received only the more valuable western part of Micipsa's kingdom, that is, the present Algeria, with the exception of the most easterly portions and of Cirta, the capital; while his adopted brother, Adherbal, was allotted the east, corresponding roughly to the present Tripolis. Adherbal's good fortune was short-lived. In 112 Jugurtha found a pretext for war: Adherbal was besieged in his capital, Cirta, and in the storming of the town was killed, together with many of the inhabitants. Rome had now no choice but to take up arms against the usurper on the trivial pretext that

among the slain inhabitants of Cirta were a number of Roman citizens. In reality, the war which now began concerned the security of the province of Africa, which was not only a valuable possession, on account of its natural wealth, but a corner-stone in the fabric of the Roman empire. Carthage, to her own destruction, had postponed the necessity of firmly establishing her position in Africa by a decisive war with the growing Numidian power, and had preferred to purchase with gold the wavering alliance of the nomads. The Roman senate was at first disposed to employ the same convenient method and to close its eyes to the serious gravity of the situation. But to the ambitious spirit of the Roman people the insecure state in which the Carthaginian republic had lived to the end, must have eventually seemed a disgrace. And when the sword of Rome was resolutely drawn from the sheath, the primeval dispute between husbandman and nomad was again decided in favour of the former. The so-called Jugurthine War began in the year 111, but ended for the time in a shameful peace, for Jugurtha knew how to avail himself artfully of the venality of the senatorial party and of the consul, Calpurnius Bestia, who had been sent out against him. Indeed, when the leader of the popular party, Memmius, succeeded in obtaining the summons of the Numidian king to Rome, the wily African was able to extricate himself from all difficulties, thanks to the corruption of the parties in power, which astounded the king himself. It was only when he carried his audacity to such a pitch as to cause his cousin, Massiva, who was staying in Rome, and had put himself under the protection of Roman hospitality, to be treacherously murdered, that he was forced to leave the city and prepare for a new war. The senatorial party once more conducted the war unenergetically and unskilfully. A division of the army was actually cut off by Jugurtha, and had to purchase its liberty by a shameful submission.

At last the popular party, which then embraced the more active element of the Roman people, succeeded in breaking the influence of the former leaders in the state, in enforcing the punishment of the chief offenders, and in placing incorruptible generals at the head of the army. Jugurtha, hard pressed by the consul, Metellus, succeeded in uniting temporarily the whole power of nomad North Africa against the Romans by making an alliance with his father-in-law, King Bocchus of Mauretania. The Mauretanian kingdom already existed in the time of the Second Punic War, and probably included the greater part of Morocco, while in culture it did not stand much behind Numidia, since the old Phœnician influence on the west coast of Morocco must have left some lasting traces. It must remain undecided whether the Romans would have succeeded in completely getting the better of their allied opponents, for the defeat of the two kings at Cirta by no means settled the question. But the alliance soon came to an end. Bocchus gave up his son-in-law to the Romans, who adorned their triumphal procession with him, and allowed the miserable captive to die in a subterranean dungeon. The Numidian kingdom was divided: one part was assigned to Bocchus, another joined to the Roman province, the rest was given over to two Numidian princes. There was no attempt even in later times at a complete subjugation of North Africa by the Romans. The country was always a border district of the Roman empire, and not an outpost on the through route to Nigritic Africa, whose treasures trickled scantily to the north through the dreaded desert and enticed the Romans to no trading enterprises on a grand

scale, to say nothing of warlike expeditions. If the Roman rule in North Africa did, however, in time secure a stronger position, it was due more to an advance in civilisation and the common progress of the agricultural and town classes than to political measures. Where agriculture took hold, there the Roman influence also gained entrance; and the intellectual ascendency of Rome was followed by a political ascendency, which made the Romans the natural protectors of every peaceful people in North Africa.

While the province of Africa was in time transformed into a genuinely Roman territory, Numidia, too, did not escape the fate of being Romanised. Masinissa had diligently encouraged the settlement of agriculturists in his dominion. By so doing he laid a firm foundation for his power and first rendered a united Numidia possible; but he at the same time abandoned the standard of pure nomad life, under which alone the Numidians could hope to resist the influence of Rome. The partly accidental circumstance that King Juba of Numidia, in the struggle between Pompey and Cæsar, placed himself on the side of the first and was involved in his fall, led to the change. Augustus annexed the eastern half of Numidia as a "new province" to the Roman empire and left Juba only in possession of the less cultivated west, as well as of Mauretania, which, however, only recognised the rule of the king to the smallest extent. From this time the name of the Numidians begins to be disused and the designation of "Mauri" becomes universal for the inhabitants of North Africa, especially for the nomads. The amalgamation of the different aboriginal populations into a new race is thereby completed.

The Romans saw themselves soon compelled to protect the cultivated lands now subject to their rule by lines of fortresses and a sort of military frontier against the nomads, who, driven back into the steppes and mountains, allowed themselves to be won over quite temporarily as fickle allies, but were always ready to make inroads into the corn-growing district, and as after the final decay of the Numidian power no formidable enemy threatened Roman Africa, a comparatively small number of troops was always sufficient to protect the country. Two legions (later only one) had their permanent station in Africa; indeed, as the accompanying plate ("Moorish Cavalry, under Lusius Quietus, fighting against the Dacians") plainly shows, the military strength of North Africa was trained by Rome to be used in foreign wars. Outside the province only the agricultural districts were under Roman influence; and as these districts lay like oases in the regions occupied by nomads, there never was any attempt at a complete subjugation of the country. This applies particularly to Mauretania, which never became an integral part of the Roman empire.

The external history of North Africa at the time of the Roman emperors presents little worthy of narration. Of all the border countries of the Roman empire, it was the least threatened. At the same time it belonged to those regions which offered little prospect of territorial expansion, and, therefore, never had to serve as the centre of military operations. Such favourable circumstances contributed greatly to the prosperity of the country. Roman Carthage, which had grown up on the site of Rome's annihilated rival, flourished, in spite of the curse which Scipio once pronounced over the smoking ruins of the Phœnician city, to such a remarkable degree that it could compete in wealth and population with Alexandria. The grain exported from Africa had long become indispen-

MOORISH CAVALRY UNDER LUSIUS QUIETUS FIGHTING AGAINST THE DACIANS; FROM THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

As throughout the Roman Empire, so also in Mauretania, irregular troops helped to strengthen the imperial garrison in time of need. In the more important campaigns, they were also employed outside their own country: thus we come on Moorish cavalry, e. g., in the army of Marcus Aurelius, in that of Macrinus as he marched against Elagabalus when he was proclaimed Emperor at Emesa, and in the army of Severus Alexander. On the fragment of the column of Trajan at Rome, reproduced on the opposite page, is represented the detachment of Moorish horsemen fighting under Lusius Quietus in the war against the Dacians. They sit, clad in a short shirt fastened by clasp on the shoulder and a belt, without saddle or bridle, on their small horses, the manes of which are artistically plaited with braids. Their weapons consist merely of a lance and small shield. The lances which were once probably painted on the marble are no longer to be seen.

(After René Cagnat, L'armée romaine d'Afrique et l'occupation militaire de l'Afrique sous les empereurs.)

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MOORISH CAVALRY UNDER LUSIUS QUIETUS FIGHTING AGAINST THE DACIANS: FROM THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN.

(After Cagnat, L'armée romaine d'Afrique.)

sable for Rome and Italy, where the country population steadily diminished; a portion of the stream of gold which poured into Rome was thus diverted to the African province. The arts and sciences, when they sank from their high place in Rome, enjoyed a second period of prosperity in some provinces, and especially in Africa. But luxury and immorality, the evil associates of wealth, found a splendid soil.

Perhaps both phenomena, intellectual development, and material luxury, caused Christianity to strike deep root in Africa in a short time and favoured the further spread of the new teaching from this centre. We see the influence of Africa on Christianity embodied in the mighty form of Augustine: an intense and forceful nature, he sought fruitlessly to find the fulness of existence in pleasure, until an hour of true knowledge led him into the path of self-denial, which he trod with the same fiery impetuosity. That harsh and gloomy view of religion which formerly impelled the Libyphœnician inhabitants of Carthage to sacrifice their dearest object on the altars of the gods, was still apparent in the pitiless logic with which Augustine demonstrated the predestination of mankind to salvation or to damnation, preparing thereby the first great schism in the Church. African Christianity triumphed with Augustine. While it made the culture and wealth of the country of service to its cause, it gave Africa an important place in the civilised world, which it was destined to keep for only a short time and then to lose for ever.

D. The Kingdom of the Vandals in Africa

Augustine himself in the last year of his life saw hostile armies appear before the town of which he was bishop — armies which were destined to tear Africa away from the Roman empire and to reduce it to a condition of misery, from which it did not rise until the time of the Arabs. In the great migratory movement, which had affected all the tribes of East Germany, the Vandals, who were settled in western Silesia, had not remained quiet. Their relation to other Teutonic peoples is not quite clear; many historians of the period of the migration class them with the Goths; according to other surmises, they would belong to the great Suevian group. Pure Germans in the anthropological sense they could hardly have been. They were largely intermixed with that older population which must have settled in Germany before the inroad of closely federated Teutonic tribes. Indeed, it has been concluded from the name of the Vandals that Slavish (Wendish) tribes were merged with them. At any rate, the Vandals are considered the least important of the Teutonic peoples that marched southward, the least courageous and the most barbarous of them all.

At the time of the wars with the Marcomanni the Vandals had already moved towards the Roman frontier in small hordes, until finally the whole people, moved by a spirit of unrest, began to look for new abodes. An unauthenticated account, however, would lead us to suppose that some remnants of the stock remained behind in the old home. Partly as enemies, partly as allies of the Romans, the Vandals then, as later, a people whose armed strength principally lay in cavalry, appeared on the Danube frontier. Beaten and almost annihilated by the Goths, they at last placed themselves entirely under the protection of Rome and received settlements in Pannonia, until after a long period of quiet,

and aroused apparently by the fortune of their countryman, Stilicho, they moved towards the Rhine; in alliance with the Alanes they defeated the Franks on the Main and poured over Gaul, which almost without resistance fell a prey to their predatory hordes. Three years later the treachery of German frontier guards opened to them the passes of the Pyrenees; and now Spain, which, like Gaul, accepted her fate with dull resignation, learnt all the horrors of a war with barbarians and of a foreign supremacy (409). After some years of unrest the victors divided the land among themselves, though a part of it still remained Roman. Already better times seemed to be dawning for the vanquished, when the attack of the West Goths brought new disorders into Spain. A part of the Vandals were completely exterminated; the rest retreated towards the south and once more acquired considerable power there for a time. That they then began definitely to apply themselves to maritime matters and to build a fleet, is an important proof that they recognised their situation; and though we might not be inclined to form too high an opinion of their fleet, it permitted them not only to undertake predatory expeditions to the neighbouring islands and coasts, but, in case of need, to flee with their families before the onset of enemies. The perfect development of the Vandal fleet was to take place in Africa.

At the time the Vandals pressed forward to the Straits of Gibraltar, Africa, rich and almost defenceless, had already attracted the attention of the princes of the Goths; and it was mainly an accident that the Vandals anticipated them and appropriated the enticing spoil. During the momentous feud of the Roman generals, Boniface and Aëtius, the former in rage had recourse to the desperate expedient of appealing to Geiserich, King of the Vandals, for help. It was gladly granted. In May, 429, the army of the Vandals landed on the African coast; according to the most trustworthy account, there were, including women, children, and old men, some eighty thousand souls. Boniface, who, meantime, had become reconciled with the Roman court, hurled himself against the invaders without avail, although he held Hippo Regius, the seat of the bishopric of Augustine, against the barbarians. After the defeat of Aëtius he returned to Rome, where he died of his wounds. Hippo fell, so that in 435 almost the whole of Africa, with the exception of Carthage, the capital, was abandoned to the Vandals. Since nothing was done to ensure the security of this last and most important Roman centre, Geiserich grasped a favourable opportunity and took the town by a sudden assault, the effeminate inhabitants offering no serious resistance (439). After prolonged struggles a new treaty was concluded, which, strangely enough, conceded Mauretania and western Numidia to the Romans, while the rich east fell entirely to the Vandals (442).

In all these wars there is no trace of any serious resistance offered by the inhabitants; Boniface had defended Hippo with Gothic mercenaries, while the native population lent no appreciable assistance, and the nomad tribes of the country either adopted a dubious attitude or availed themselves of the difficulties of the Roman governor to make attacks and engage in predatory expeditions. This demoralisation resulted from social conditions, which had, perhaps, developed more unfavourably in Africa than in other parts of the Roman empire. The free peasants had long ago become the serfs of the great landed proprietors, and were little superior in position to the masses of slaves who were everywhere to be found. But the great landowners became in their turn easy victims of the

policy of extortion followed by unscrupulous governors to an increasingly unprecedented extent in proportion as the dignity of the imperial power sank lower. No man who had anything to lose would now take a place in the senate of the large towns, which had once been the goal of the ambitious; for the senators were required to make up all deficiencies in the revenue, which, with increasing oppression, became more and more frequent. At last Jews, heretics, and criminals, were forced into posts of honour and stood at the head of the town government which in Roman times had been so powerful. Bloody insurrections repeatedly broke out, always traceable ultimately to the pressure of taxation. The people had long since lost all military efficiency; for while the greatest part of the inhabitants of North Africa had lost all energy of character under the unfavourable social and economic conditions, the citizens of the towns had sunk into extravagance and vice. "Just as all the filth collects in the bottom of a ship," says Salvian," so the manners of the Africans contain, as it were, the vices of the whole world. All other nations have their particular vices, as they have their peculiar virtues; but among almost all Africans no single vice is missing."

Only one thing gave a certain stability to the African population and a power of resistance, though only passive resistance, against the Vandals in particular, and that was religion. The Vandals, during their sojourn in Spain, had developed into fanatical Arians. They cruelly persecuted in its African home the Catholic faith, which Augustine had firmly planted; but in doing so they planted in the vanquished the feeling of brotherhood, while they themselves remained like a strange body in the conquered land, without entering into permanent relations with the people or the soil of Africa. The fact that the Vandals came into Africa entirely as conquerors forced them immediately to organise their political system without special consideration for the conditions of the defeated. In particular, they did not attempt to draw over to their side or even to spare the two most powerful orders, the great landowners and the clergy, but actually proceeded to exterminate them, and when they had seized for themselves all their property, assumed the position of the former owners of the soil.

But in so doing they were compelled to stop half-way, for the number of the Vandals was too small to enable them to bring the whole conquered territory under their immediate influence; so that, at least in the more outlying and less fertile regions, old conditions continued, while the richer lands in the vicinity of the capital, Carthage, fell partly to the king, who unfairly advanced his own interests, partly to his army. Even the king saw himself soon compelled to settle Roman farmers on his estates or to leave the old proprietors as serfs on their farms; and other leading Vandals followed his example. The downfall was, therefore, not so complete as might seem at the first glance; and a considerable part of the African population, after the first storm of conquest had blown over, might find themselves not worse off under Vandal rule than under the control of corrupt Roman governors. The Africans had even less to do with military service than in the Roman times. Besides the serfs and the slaves there were also native officials, who were treated by the conquerors almost as equals; and the caprice of the Vandal ruler left here and there free landowners in the enjoyment of their property. We thus see the Vandals, after a certain state of tranquillity had set in, almost entirely concentrated in the

Carthaginian territory. From there, as from the watch-tower of a castle, they observed their African kingdom and kept it in obedience, while in the greatest part of Africa the Roman institutions remained almost undisturbed, and only the revenues were surrendered to the Vandal overlord. There was no attempt at any fusion of the conquerors with the old inhabitants of the country or even of the formation of a new race.

The satisfactory state of their country caused the Vandals to turn their eyes from the soil of their new home and impelled them to found their power on the insecure base of piracy and marauding rather than on the development of their territorial possessions. The spiritual victory of African Christianity signified the tardy triumph of the old Carthaginian land over Rome, the mistress of the world; now a fleet was destined to set sail from the harbour of Carthage under the command of the fair-haired Geiserich, which was to bring on Rome all the horrors of devastation. With this pillage of Rome in 455 a long succession of Vandal predatory expeditions begins. Almost yearly King Geiserich harassed the coasts of Sicily and Italy with his fleets; and he knew how to avoid successfully a dangerous blow, planned by the emperor, Majorian (458), in alliance with the West Goths. The confused state of affairs in the western empire constantly afforded him new pretexts for marauding expeditions; and when the Byzantine emperor interfered, the Vandal king welcomed the opportunity for completely devastating his territories on the coast. The campaign of vengeance which the emperor, Leo, undertook in 468 with all his forces absolutely failed, after the Byzantine fleet had been annihilated by a night attack of the Vandals. Some years later Geiserich, whose restless spirit began at last to feel the burden of old age, concluded a peace with Byzantium and soon afterwards with Rome. This most powerful of the Vandal kings died in 477. His kingdom at his death embraced not merely North Africa as far as Cyrene, but also Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Isles, and a part of Sicily. But, indeed, in internal strength it had lost rather than gained, since the numbers of the Vandals necessarily were steadily diminished by their constant predatory expeditions. It is significant that under his successor, Hunerich, a number of the Moorish tribes regained their independence, while Hunerich himself entirely forfeited what popularity he had among the natives through his cruel persecutions of the Catholics. Still more grave was the defection of the Moors under King Gunthamund (487-496).

The efforts of King Thrasamund (496-523) by every means, and wherever possible by conciliatory measures, to establish the supremacy of the Arian faith in his kingdom, and thus to root the Vandal power more firmly in the soil, failed as completely as the previous attempts to do so by violence. Nor was the king successful in the wars against the Moors. An alliance with the East Goths, cemented by the marriage of the king with the Gothic princess, Amalafrida, might have been of great use to the realm, but it was not lasting. Disturbances arose among the Vandals themselves. And when Hilderich, successor of Thrasamund, who sought to gain the support of Byzantium, and was inclined to Catholicism, was driven from the throne by his general, Gelimer, the Byzantine emperor, Justinian, believed that the time had at length come to reassert his old claims on Africa. The attempt succeeded beyond his expectations. The towns of the Tripolitan coast, which had no Vandal garrison, submitted without demur; Carthage offered no resistance; and when Gelimer mustered his Vandals

for the decisive battle, he sustained, in spite of the enemy's inferior numbers, a crushing defeat.

This ended the Vandal rule. The Catholic population of the country greeted the Byzantine general, Belisarius, as their liberator; the Moors remained neutral or availed themselves of the confusion to make raids on friends and foes. This was all the more grave, because the Vandals had early begun to form a part of their armies out of Moorish mercenaries, and in particular could no longer dispense with the Moorish archers. King Gelimer, who had thrown himself into a frontier castle, surrendered in the spring of 534. Subsequent risings of the Vandals only brought about the result that the rest of the nation were exterminated or banished from Africa. This fact is important, because the attempt has been made repeatedly to trace back peculiarities of North African peoples to a strong admixture of Vandal blood, while, in reality, even at the time of the Vandal rule religious differences prevented any widespread amalgamation, and afterwards the Germanic conquering race entirely disappeared from Africa. Even the language and customs of the Vandals have left little or no trace.

The emperor Justinian, after the conquest of the country, did not find it hard to reintroduce the Roman institutions, which had only partially been superseded by the Vandals, and among them the Roman system of taxation of detested memory. But as the Vandal conquerors had carried on (though with decreasing success) the traditional war of the settled population against the nomads, which they had been forced as owners of the cultivated land to take up, difficulties increased for the Byzantine governors, who had to hold the province with untrustworthy foreign mercenaries. An imposing command of Justinian, that the petty Moorish principalities, which were practically independent, should in the future submit to the Roman laws, made little impression. Continual risings of the Moors depopulated the land; and, in addition, religious dissensions among the Africans, who were zealous supporters of the faith, found the best soil. Thus the moral and economic forces of North Africa had sunk to the lowest depths when the wave of the Arabian conquest came rolling on.

The West Goths from Spain had temporarily planted foot on the African coast; but the importance of their possessions can hardly have been greater than that of the present Spanish *presidios*, which exercise not the slightest influence on the interior.

E. The Arabian Conquest

Naturally, the storm of Arabian invasion fell first on Egypt, which in 641 came under the domination of Islam. In the first ardour of conquest the Arabian armies pressed on further, and, perceiving the feeble resistance of the Byzantines, went beyond Tripolis without, however, at once attaining any permanent results. The difficulties of communication and of sending reinforcements by land always made it possible for the Byzantines, who were the masters of the sea, to win back what was lost. It is obvious that the settled population was again diminished by these wars; but at the same time the importance of the nomad Berbers grew, and the contending powers had more and more to reckon with them.

It seemed as if after the founding of Kairuan in the vicinity of the old capital, Carthage, the Arabian supremacy was secured. But in 683 the general, Okba, was defeated by the united forces of the Byzantines and the Berbers.

The Berbers, who essentially are disposed to extreme political disunion, combined this time to a great extent under the leadership of a heroic priestess, Damia (Kahinah), defeated the Arabian general, Hassan ibn Noman (696), drove the Arabs back into Cyrenaica, and endeavoured to make the return of their opponents impossible by devastating the frontier lands. Hassan's successor, Musa ibn Noseir, first succeeded in conquering North Africa, or at least in driving out the Byzantines; but he used the hard-won territory as a bridge for passing into Spain. There, in a fertile land, that had been cultivated for centuries, he founded a strong frontier post of Islam (712). In this way the victory of the Mohammedan religion in North Africa was assured.

No foreign rule had such far-reaching effects on the coast of North Africa as the Arabian. The Arab invaders were the natural protectors of the settled population, on whose work and tribute their own existence depended. But they were at the same time a people of the desert, who found in the steppes of the conquered land a welcome scope for their love of nomad life. North Africa became a real home to them. While spreading their religion and their language, they assimilated the aborigines to themselves to a continually increasing degree, or drove back the refractory tribes into the mountains and deserts. But by their side rose in rapid growth the native race of the Berbers, to whom the religion of Islam, with its disputes and its infinite sects, gave a new spiritual outlook and supplied the core of a national unity. The struggle between Arabian civilisation and refinement and the rude strength of the Berbers occupied for centuries the history of North Africa, and even to-day the civilisation of the Arabs is not everywhere victorious.

Of the greatest importance, however, for North Africa, and especially for the most westerly and most uncivilised district, for Mauretania, or the later Morocco, was the conquest of Spain and the close relations which were thus necessarily formed between the Mohammedans in Spain and Morocco. The marvellous blending of Eastern and Western civilisation in Moorish Spain, the pure blossoms of art and science which in the "gloomy days of the Middle Ages" flowered here in fabulous abundance, of which the memory even now glorifies the ruins of Moorish grandeur, did not fail to make a deep impression on the rude sons of Mauretania. But as the advance of the Christian Spaniards began gradually to reduce the territory of Islam in Spain, bands of Moors, skilled in the fine arts, streamed over the straits, and, finding a refuge in the towns of Morocco, transmitted their industry and their skill to the old inhabitants of the land, as later the French refugees brought the germs of industry and skilled production into distant German countries. Only one famous craft of the Spanish Moors need be mentioned, the dyeing of leather, which, under the name of Corduan, was formerly exported to all countries, but is now no longer prepared in Cordova, as of old. In Morocco the dyeing of leather is even to-day one of the most important and flourishing industries. Nor merely in Morocco; far to the south, on the banks of the Niger and its tributaries, the same craft is practised, which, introduced probably by emigrant Moors, has found its way thither over the desert. Even direct relations between Spain and the Sudan can be proved, for we find architects, especially from Granada, in the service of Sudanese princes.

Such facts make it plain that intercourse with the countries of the Nigritic

races must have been developed in a quite different and more important fashion than during the Roman and Vandal times. The growth of the Sudanese trade is, in fact, a further and most valuable result of the appearance of the Arabs in North Africa. When numerous Arab tribes scorned to settle in the corn-growing land as lords of the agricultural population, but turned as true nomads to the steppe and the desert, they brought the influence of Islam into the wide desert belt, whose natural dangers and hostile inhabitants had until now restricted all brisk commercial intercourse. Things were immediately changed when the Arabs began to act as guides for the merchants. The trading spirit of the Arabian race, which showed itself conspicuously in the first centuries after the conquest, helped to surmount all difficulties. Even the political influence of the Arabian power extended further south than that of the Roman empire; for the armies of the conquerors penetrated to the oases of Fezzan and even Kauar, that is to say, half-way to the Central Sudan. And as they then succeeded in spreading Islam in Negro land, North and South were united by a spiritual bond, and the severing tract of the Sahara formed no longer a hindrance to the streams of trade and culture.

Communication with the Sudan had, however, other results for North Africa than the accumulation of wealth; those coast towns which lay safe behind their walls and defended harbours showed often an almost republican independence in their dealings with the kalifs. For the treasures of the East and West, which the Arabian merchant forwarded to the banks of the Niger and of Lake Tchad, the Sudan offered in return gold and ostrich feathers and, above all, men, sons of Ham, destined in the eyes of believers, to be slaves. In the markets of the north coast black slaves were a staple article of sale; negro women filled the harems of the wealthy, and negro guards protected the governors of Africa and the Spanish kalifs. The result was that beneath the original population of the north coast, which, under Arabian influence, was being absorbed into a new Islamitic nationality, there lay a deeper social stratum, a proletariat, which, in undertaking all hard labour, lightened the burdens of the upper classes, but influenced them unfavourably by the unavoidable mixture of blood. This applies chiefly to Morocco, when even the present ruling dynasty has a goodly proportion of Nigritic blood in its veins, and everywhere marriages with negro women are of ordinary occurrence. This had not been the case in earlier times to at all the same extent. And as the country already possessed in the powerful Berbers an element not amenable to culture, the hampering influences on civilisation must have inevitably grown stronger with the rise of the negroes.

The enormous empire of the kalifs, to which the long range of countries on the African coast and outlying Spain were now linked, and which embraced the most varied nationalities, tinged only superficially with the Arabian spirit, carried in itself the germs of decay. In Africa the supremacy of the kalifs of Bagdad was maintained for only some hundred years. During this period the greater part of the Berber tribes were won over to Islam, but not without frequent risings, which disturbed the peace. The Berbers, who had already taken part in the conquest of Spain as the picked troops of the army, proved dangerous and obstinate opponents; and though Islam made continued progress among them, the number of the Arabs diminished to a serious extent in the constant battles. An utter defeat of the Arabs near Tangier in 740 is known as the

"Battle of the Nobles," on account of the number of nobles and generals slain. When, on the overthrow of the Ommiads, the kalifate went to the Abbassides, Africa became temporarily independent, and was not reduced to submission until 772. In the meantime, a prince of the Ommiads house, Abd ur Rahman, made himself master of Spain, and all efforts of the Abbassides to win back the land were successfully frustrated. The loss of the African possessions was henceforth only a question of time, and depended chiefly on the fact whether, with the help of the united Arabs and Berbers, an independent dynasty, unsupported by external aid, was to be founded in these districts.

Mauretania, the present Morocco, which in early times had always been least accessible to foreign influence, owing to its outlying position and its geographical conditions, was the first to break away from the world-empire of Islam. Under the leadership of a descendant of the kalif Ali, Edris ibn Edris, the Moors succeeded in finally shaking off the yoke of the Abbassides. It is a significant fact that Berber tribes were the first to join the new rulers. Immediately the zealot trait in the Berber nature made itself known, since now, for the first time, the forcible conversion of Christians and pagans, who were still numerous in the land, was carried out. The empire of Morocco has preserved even to the present day the reputation of being a stronghold of Moslem intolerance. The town of Fez was founded in 806 as the centre of the new state, and within its walls a not unimportant civilisation was soon developed.

The rest of Africa was held only a few years longer by the Abbassides. The kalif Harun al Raschid thought he had made a good choice when he entrusted the governorship of Africa to the energetic and wise Ibrahim ebn al Aglab; but only too soon the loyal subject was transformed into the ambitious rebel. He found but little opposition, for even the kalif made no serious effort to recover the lost province. The centre of the empire of the Aglabites remained Kairuan; Tripoli and the greater part of the present Tunisia and Algeria formed the most valuable portion of the dominion. Tunis succeeded Carthage as a great commercial town. The Arabian possessions in Sardinia and Sicily, naturally, fell to the Aglabites, who strengthened their position considerably by the conquest of the important town of Syracuse in 877.

The dynasty of the Aglabites was displaced in 908 by Obeid Allah, who posed as the Mahdi promised by Mohammed. He also dislodged the Edrisites from the throne of Mauretania, and united all North Africa, with the exception of Egypt, under his rule. But Egypt, too, was lost to the Abbassides in the year 968, and fell into the power of the Fatemides. These shifted the centre of their power to Cairo, and gave their western possessions to the family of the Zeirites to hold in fee (972). The history of the Zeirites shows how at that time, just as much as in the Roman period, North Africa was filled with partially and sometimes completely independent petty states and tribal districts, and how in the hands of a brave leader an empire could be formed that might either last or break up again quickly into its component parts. The Zeirites firmly established their power in the struggle with the feudal lords of Africa, and now, although nominally they remained dependent on Cairo, completely took the place of the Fatemides. Africa remained united, outwardly at least, for nearly a century, until Morocco once more attained its independence, and began to exercise a decisive influence on the history of the surrounding countries.

Religion gave once again the pretext for a national revolution. Arabs became this time the spiritual leaders of an insurrection, which had, however, mostly to be fought out by the Berbers. An Arabian tribe, whose suddenly awakened religious zeal was sharpened by a famine, under the leadership of its chief, Abu Bekr, took possession of the town of Sejelmesa, and there arose the new dynasty of the Molathemides, or, as it is usually called, of the Almoravides.

Under the second ruler of the line, Yusuf (1069-1109), the greater part of Mauretania was subdued and a new capital, Morocco, founded in the southwest where the pasture grounds of the victorious tribe lay. The forces of a rude, but brave and hardy, people, which Yusuf now united under his command, enabled him to prosecute his conquests. While, on the one hand, the empire of the Zeirites was become so disorganised that it finally and irretrievably broke up, on the other hand, the Moorish princes of Spain, who were subject to the rule of the Christians, implored the aid of the African ruler. Nothing could have been more welcome to Yusuf. Received as protector and saviour, and supported by all the forces of the Spanish Moors, he inflicted a crushing blow on King Alfonso VI. of Castile at Zalaca in 1086; but he soon showed how little he intended to content himself with the grand but thankless rôle of a liberator. The rulers of Granada and of Seville had in turn to renounce their powers. The cultured Islamitic Spaniards now saw themselves with reluctance ruled by the rude sons of Africa, whose brutal strength they, however, no longer ventured to resist. The conquest was, on the other hand, most advantageous to Yusuf and his African subjects: the overthrow of Islam had been successfully prevented, and Spain had been made a source of strength to Africa; but the rude Berbers, who crossed the straits, found not only wealth in Spain, but learnt to value in some degree the attractions of a higher civilisation. It is true that they lost their original strength thereby, just as the former incomers. Yusuf himself was certainly little affected by more polished customs. "He shunned all ornaments," says the Moorish historian, Abul Hassan, "for his clothes were of wool, and he never wore other. His food was barley and camel's flesh and his drink camel's milk until the end of his life." The age of the Almoravides seems to have been for Africa a period of increasing prosperity and of tolerable internal tranquillity.

The second successor of Yusuf was defeated by an opponent, who employed the same means of coming into prominence as formerly the founder of the Almoravidian dynasty, only with the distinction that this time a genuine Berber from the Atlas was at the head of the movement, Mohammed Abdallah ibn Tomrut. The proclamation by this successful fanatic of his descent from Hosein was one of the favourite means employed by politico-religious reformers to win universal respect. In reality, his success signified a new victory of the native spirit and a further strengthening of the Berber influence. The effect of Spanish civilisation, from which the Almoravides had not been able to escape, gave the desired pretext for a rising among a people which then, as now, reckoned it the true and only virtue to scorn all enjoyment and to wander about in filthy rags. The sharp antagonism to enlightenment, so characteristic of Berber life, becomes more distinctly seen in the course of history. After bloody civil wars the new dynasty of the Almohades obtained undisputed sway in Morocco (1149). On them as heirs of the Almoravides the task devolved of supporting the Moslem states in Spain, which could not, unaided, hold out against the Christians, and

on the overthrow of the Almoravidian dynasty had again come into great straits. Once more the African saviours proved dubious friends, and it was only after numerous conflicts that the greater part of Islamitic Spain consented to acknowledge the supremacy of the Almohades.

Though the centre of the African power lay in western Morocco, and the fate of the state was repeatedly decided there, the eastern districts of the north coast stood only in very loose connection with the empire of the Almoravides and Almohades, and maintained (as, for example, the district of Bugia) under their own dynasties almost complete independence. Sicily, the rampart of Africa, had fallen in the eleventh century into the hands of the Normans, who soon afterwards gained possession of several towns on the African coast, as Tunis and Mahadia; and it may well be imagined that the Berber tribes of the mountains and steppes would hardly recognise a lord over them. It was only in 1159 that Abd al Munen, a prince of the Almohades, succeeded in once more setting foot firmly in the East, in conquering Bugia, Tunis, and Mahadia, and in driving out of the land all Christian inhabitants, some of whom may, perhaps, have been living there since the time of the Romans.

The claims of the Almohades to Spain became in the end fatal to them. By the ever-increasing power of the Christian states, they saw themselves driven to incessant wars, in which the flower of their armies was destroyed. Their dominion received, however, the most terrible blow in the battle at Tolosa (1212), in which the enormous army they had collected with the greatest exertions was utterly crushed. Their African empire now began to fall to pieces. In 1206 Tunis was lost to an insurgent, who was able to establish his power firmly, and founded the dynasty of the Hafides. In Tlemcen the Zionites ruled from 1248. The Spanish possessions also regained their independence. And, finally, after civil war the dynasty of the Merinides eventually gained the throne of Morocco in 1269, after the founder of the family had already asserted his independence in the province of Schaus (1213). Thus, then, the African empire of Islam was finally destroyed; and the chief states of subsequent times already begin to develop, i.e. Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis. The relations of Islam to the Christian states on the Mediterranean had, meantime, completely changed. The West once more advanced to the attack. The African states soon saw themselves harassed on their own soil by the armies and fleets of the Christian rulers. Then first, and more for defence than for aggression, the fleets of the "Barbary states" were formed, which were destined to remain the scourge of the Mediterranean countries down to the nineteenth century.

For many years the Merinid princes still made attempts to interfere in the affairs of Spain, without, however, gaining much gratitude from the Spanish Moors, who had learnt to know the dubious worth of African aid. The internal development of Morocco offers for centuries nothing worthy of remark. The land became more completely sealed to all foreign influence. Notwithstanding the immigration of Spanish refugees, who came in especially large numbers across the straits after the fall of Granada, the African character of the land and people, so rigidly hostile to civilisation, was more and more emphasised. The repeated dynastic changes had little significance. Not until 1588 did the empire of Morocco expand, and then, which is significant, not towards the east or north, but towards the south. A small Moorish army occupied Timbuctoo, and

the town was in 1680 still in the hands of Morocco. Here and in the western Sudan their influence has been maintained until almost the present day. The opportunity was thus presented to the princes of Morocco of enlisting large numbers of black troops, which were of great service to them in the frequent civil wars, but also continually increased the Nigritic element in the population of northwest Africa. The negro guards, naturally, found many opportunities to decide the fate of the rulers and ruling houses. The expulsion of the Moors from Granada was of still greater importance for the eastern African states than for Morocco. The small states in Algeria and Tunisia had led up till now an unimportant existence, which had only been temporarily disturbed by the adventurous and completely unsuccessful crusade of King Louis IX. of France against Tunis. With the increasing influx of Moors, who were filled with a burning thirst for vengeance against Spain, and who also had the means to fit out pirate ships, the small states came into hostile relations with Spain, and in the beginning distinctly to their disadvantage. The punitive expedition which Cardinal Ximenez undertook in the year 1509 struck panic into the whole coast region. From that time the Spaniards occupied not merely Oran, Bugia and a fortress in the harbour of Algiers, but exacted tribute from some petty states, while the Berber tribes in the mountains were practically independent. The town of Tripoli with some other places on the coast was in the hands of the Knights of Malta, and the Genoese occupied the island of Tabarca. Thus the resistance of the African states was limited to petty acts of privateering, until they in their turn were drawn into that new movement of Islam which started with the Turks, and was destined to send out its offshoots as far as the borders of Morocco.

F. The Turkish Rule

The man who gave life to the new influence was the renegade, Horuk Barbarossa, a Greek from Lesbos. As captain of a privateer, fitted out by traders of Constantinople, he sailed to the western Mediterranean, and made the town of Tunis the starting-point of successful predatory expeditions. He was soon in possession of a complete fleet of well-equipped ships, the crews of which were, for the most part, Turks. He gradually made himself master of several places on the coast, and at last of the town of Algiers; the expelled ruler tried in vain to recover his small territory by help of the Spaniards in the year 1517. After the death of Horuk his brother, Cheireddin, extended the newly formed robber state, and put it on a permanent footing by placing himself under the overlordship of the Porte.

The period of Turkish rule which now begins was, on the whole, a sad time for the countries on the coast of North Africa. The real rulers of the country were the Turkish garrisons. By the side of these the pasha, appointed by the sultan, enjoyed only the merest semblance of power, while the Arabian and Berber inhabitants of the country were exposed helplessly and unjustly to the caprice of the rude soldiery. Little or nothing was done for the internal development of the country. Piracy became more and more the only source of wealth for the unhappy countries. The reason why this source was not soon stopped by strong measures, was chiefly that Spain, diverted from her design on Africa by the discovery of America, gradually sank into political impotence. Charles V.,

by the conquest of Tunis (see the subjoined plate, "The Sack of Tunis by Troops of Charles V.") in 1535, had taken the first step towards ending the curse of piracy. But the attack on Algiers failed; and in 1574 Tunis was finally lost. In Tunis the Turkish military rule was, likewise, instituted. As in Algiers, the representatives of the soldiers formed a sort of republican government, or "divan," at the head of which a dey with uncertain influence was usually placed. The relations between Algiers and Tunis were, as a rule, unfriendly: in 1757 Tunis was actually conquered and sacked by Algerian troops, and its reigning lord deposed. As compared with Algiers, the Turkish vassal state of Tripoli fell into the background even more than Tunis. It had been founded in 1551 after the expulsion of the Maltese by an old subordinate officer of Cheireddin Barbarossa, Dragut. Here also the Turkish militia had things completely in their hands.

All the three states, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, obtained an unenviable reputation for piracy, although, in reality, it was not the nature of privateering itself as practised by them which distinguished them, but only the long persistence of a condition which had been gradually abandoned by the other inhabitants of the Mediterranean. In the Middle Ages the Christian states had fitted out corsairs as much as the Mohammedan, in order to capture the hostile merchantmen and to plunder their enemy's coasts. The order of the Knights of Malta waged in this way a continual "holy" war against the infidels. But while in other parts more peaceful relations and sounder views as to international law came to prevail in course of time, the Barbary states continued in a mode of activity which now became the mainstay of their existence. In vain were the fleets of individual states destroyed by those of European powers, and in vain were the coast towns bombarded — there could be no possibility of thoroughly extirpating the curse unless the districts on the coast were brought under the dominion of a Christian state. But for a long time no nation showed any desire for a difficult and thankless undertaking of this kind; and it was thought preferable to secure immunity by treaties. This succeeded partially, and the whole burden of the loss naturally devolved on those states which could not come to an agreement with the corsairs. On the whole, the power of the Barbary states sank steadily in the course of centuries; and petty enterprises took the place of the great predatory expeditions of the earlier times. But as the number of possible victims was much lessened, the sphere of these raids must have been extended. In fact, the corsairs appeared quite early on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar. In 1617 Madeira was plundered; the Irish coast was devastated in 1631; Iceland invaded in 1637, and even at the beginning of the nineteenth century Algerian pirates cruised as far as the North Sea. The object of these voyages was not only the seizure of gold and property, but also of men. The sums obtained as ransoms for captive Christians were an important source of income to the rulers and inhabitants of the Barbary states.

G. French Colonisation

The more the power of the Turkish rule decayed, the more pitiable was the spectacle which the states of Europe presented in their unworthy relations with the robber nests of the African coasts. A change was inevitable and only a

THE SACK OF TUNIS BY THE TROOPS OF CHARLES V. IN 1535; CARTOON BY JAN VERMAYEN

(After the heliogravure in the "Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses;" Vol. IX.; Vienna, Ad. Holzhausen.)

matter of time. The tide of Islam was ebbing, and Christian influence prevailed in the Mediterranean once more. Napoleon Bonaparte had already stretched his hands out to Egypt and unfolded the French colours on African soil; and France was destined to be the power that dashed to the ground the most important of the Barbary robber states, and thereby put an end to an intolerable anachronism. After keeping fairly quiet from fear during the Napoleonic wars, when strong fleets of warships cruised in the Mediterranean, the Algerian corsairs began, on the conclusion of peace, to resume their predatory expeditions with fresh spirit, but soon met with hard trials: the warships of America, England, and the Netherlands, wreaked punishment on the Algerian fleet. More fatal was the conflict that broke out with France in 1827. The French government felt the necessity of relieving the tension at home by operations abroad, and seized the welcome opportunity to shine as representatives of Christian culture and at the same time to gain a footing on the southern shore of the Mediterranean. After a blockade of Algiers had led to nothing, a French army landed in June, 1830, defeated the Turco-Arabic levies, and forced the town of Algiers to surrender on July 5. The Dey reconciled himself the more easily to his fate, because he was not sure of his life among his own troops. The Turks, who in the course of time had immigrated in comparatively large numbers, were taken back to their homes by the French. This nationality was, therefore, practically once more separated from the mixture of North African nationalities.

The final conquest of Algeria demanded great sacrifices of blood and money; for the French, like all earlier invaders, struck against the stubborn resistance of the Berber tribes, which had been almost entirely independent at the time of the Turkish rule. The most dangerous antagonist of the French, before whom the Arab and Berber temporarily forgot their old racial hatred, was Abdel Kader, the Emir of Mascara, in the province of Oran. Supported by Morocco, he held out until 1847 with varying success; and the subjugation of the emir only followed after France had compelled the ruler of Morocco to adopt a neutral attitude. It required ten years more of war to subdue the Kabyles of the mountains. The War of 1870 against Germany gave the signal for new risings; and even in 1881 the insurrection of Bu Amena proved how peculiarly unsafe is the foundation on which the French dominion rests. Disturbances on the frontier gave the French in the same year the desired pretext for occupying Tunisia, and in this way to round off the African possessions towards the east. A mere shadow of his power was left to the Bey of Tunis.

It is, on the whole, an immaterial question to ask whether the conquest of Algeria by the French is or is not a blessing for the inhabitants. There was no need of a lamentable French bureaucracy, the stupid and brutal acts of the soldiers and officers, the countless orders and counter-orders, to make European culture hateful and insupportable to a population which sees the goal of existence in the idle satisfaction of their wants. The severing boundary-wall of religion seems besides this to be of invincible strength. The colonisation of the country by Europeans proceeds everywhere slowly, and in this sense it is an unfavourable accident that France, of all countries, with her small surplus of population, has undertaken the difficult task of planting Western civilisation once more on the stony and arid soil of North Africa. A more thorough change of conditions may be expected only when the isolated character of the region is destroyed by inter-

course with the world, when railways run from the coast of the Mediterranean to the Sudan, and trains laden with the commerce of the world, shall thunder through the valleys of the Algerian mountains. If France should now decide to withdraw from Africa, the land would absolutely relapse into that uncivilised condition which Morocco presents even at the present time.

H. Morocco at the Present Day

In Morocco the last powerful remnant of the North African genius is embodied. To-day, as centuries ago, it stands opposite the flourishing states of Europe, like a fanatical fakir proud of his poverty and his rags. Its shores and people are inhospitable; and only reluctantly can it be moved by its powerful neighbours to recognise even superficially the principles of international law. What power still lies in this mediæval state Spain learnt in the year 1859, when it tried by war to obtain satisfaction for the hostile behaviour of Moorish subjects towards the Spanish *presidios* on the coast. With great difficulty the Spanish army made its way from Ceuta to Tetuan; and the success of the campaign would, perhaps, have remained doubtful, had not disturbances in the interior of the land made the Sultan of Morocco inclined to submission. The strength of the country lies, indeed, more in the people than in the government, more in a fanatical religion than in political unity, of which there has never been any trace in Morocco.

And thus in the future also Islam in its rigid North African form will remain the most dangerous and almost invincible foe of European civilisation, and occupy the place of organised states — strangely enough, for a country which once had partially borne an evil fame as the home of unbridled luxury. Contrasts meet here, too; out of a dirty, idle fanatic may be formed a lazy voluptuary, perhaps; but never a man of honest, well-directed industry. How greatly at the present day fanatical antagonism to culture has become the most powerful influence in North Africa, is shown by the history of the Snussi order, a party of reform, organised in the true North African spirit of hostility to civilisation. The founder, who came from Tlemcen in Algeria, tried to spread his teachings in Mecca without meeting with success; but after he removed the home of his sect to the oasis Siwah, he found a continually increasing body of followers. From here the supporters of the order have spun, as it were, a net round North Africa and even the Sudan, and acquired an influence with which every ruler of the separate countries and every European colonial power has seriously to reckon. The order became, exactly according to the intention of the founder, the great countermove of the native population to the seizure of Algeria by the French. The pious undertaking was approved even in Constantinople. The death of the founder in the middle of the sixties did not harm the movement. Under his successor the oasis of Siwah is still the centre of the Snussi influence, and the home of a burning hatred of Christianity. And this spiritual resistance has shown itself stronger than all efforts at secular supremacy.

V

GREECE 255-301

By PROF. RUDOLF VON SCALA

1. THE INFLUENCE OF PHYSICAL CONDITIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREEK RACES 255-6

The continent of Europe contracts towards the southeast into the great Balkan Peninsula, 1200 kilometres in breadth where it joins the mainland and 800 kilometres broad in the latitude of Constantinople. It then breaks up into configurations that steadily decrease in size, from a breadth of 220 kilometres between the Gulf of Saloniki (Thermaic Bay) and the Acroceraunian Mountains to one of 120 kilometres between the Gulfs of Zituni (Malis) and Arta (Ambracia), and, as a last ramification, it sends off the Peloponnesus, connected with Central Greece by an isthmus less than four miles wide. Violent pressure from the east, during geological times, raised not only the entire Dinaric Alps, but also the western part of the Balkan Peninsula, which is a portion of the same system, and formed a wrinkling in the earth's crust that extends over Crete and Rhodes as far as Lycia. Pressure from the north caused the mountains of Eastern Greece to rise and created Eubœa and the Cyclades.

This juxtaposition of foldings in the earth's surface, a chaos from the very beginning, was due partly to the great force exerted and partly to the various directions in which the pressure was brought to bear. A confusion of intersecting mountain chains, of basins without outlets, and of deeply cut valleys existed during Eocene times; and later, in the Pliocene Age, a new period of destruction followed. Gigantic clefts broke up the folds into single divisions, into peninsulas and islands; and great furrows caused the appearance of what are now the Gulfs of Zituni and Corinth, the east Arcadian plain, and the Channel of Talanta. Thus arose the most complex series of geological formations in Europe.

To be sure, the process of disintegration in the Peloponnesus slackened in later times, when solid land arose anew amidst the confusion of islands, peninsulas, sinuous gulfs, and inland seas. The ruggedness of outline became less striking as the sea overflowed the land: thus the great furrow southwest of Messenia, which descends 2700 metres within a distance of 2500, and a short stretch further on shows a depth of 3600, is now recognisable by means of soundings only. Finally, denudation and diluvial deposits have had a smoothing

and leveling effect; but, in spite of all, Greece remains a land of petty physical divisions, with no central point, no great plains, excepting that of Thessaly, no navigable streams (the Achelous, Alpheius, and Pamisus are very unimportant exceptions), and no easy lines of travel by land, the best means of communication being those furnished by the sea. Greece, the most individualised land of the earth in form, has thus separated its inhabitants from one another and has thrown them back upon the sea.

The lower the stage of civilisation, the closer is the dependence of the human race upon the soil. The intelligence that masters the earth does not make its appearance until late, and even then it scarcely ever succeeds in severing all the ties by which man is joined to the earth from which he has sprung. The geological conformation of Greece, with its mountainous regions and lack of plains, led of itself to the separation of races into isolated groups and to their dependence upon the sea. The area of Greece (Ancient Greece, including Epirus and Thessaly) is 71,826 square kilometres (81,593 including the islands) — an area which, if it were in the form of circle, would have a circumference of some 950 kilometres only, while, in fact, Greece has a coast-line of almost 3100, by far the greatest development of seacoast in Europe; for Italy, with an area of 159,600 square kilometres, has a periphery of but 2780 kilometres. In the southern part of the Peloponnesus the greatest distance of any point from the sea is 52 kilometres; in Central Greece, 60 kilometres; and in Northern Greece, 102 kilometres. The magnificent harbours formed by the Gulfs of Ambracia, Corinth, Argolis, Saronicus, and Pagasæus must at an early time have led men to take to the sea; and another influence were the landmarks that are almost always visible to the mariner: Athos, 1935 metres in height, which may be seen from nearly every point in the northern Ægean; the mountains of Eubœa (1745 metres), visible from most points in the central Archipelago, and Ida in Crete (2460 metres), which serves as a guide for almost the entire southern Ægean.

The climate of Greece is tempered by the sea to a far greater extent than one might suppose, considering the size of the peninsula. To be sure, there are important variations; for example, Messenia with its magnificent climate presents the most striking contrast to the mountainous regions of West Arcadia. In Athens, the point where the greatest differences in temperature are to be found, the average temperature is 43° in January and 82° in July. The influence which the climate, together with the beauty and brilliancy of the blue summer sky and the clear outlines of physical objects, had upon the development of the Greek love for beauty of form, and the effect of the mildness of the temperature and the rareness of tempests upon architecture and the development of household surroundings, have long been recognised.

Thus the influence of geographical configuration on the history of Greece may be clearly seen: the development of the Greek races took the most varied forms; and through their very dissimilarities and varying interests the different tribes must in turn have had great influence on the intellectual activity of the people as a whole. All the defects and all the merits peculiar to individualism — to the egoism, however, of small groups rather than of individuals — are united in Greece; and from the combination of these defects and excellencies arise great talents in individual men and isolation in states.

2. THE PRE-GRECIAN AGE

THE Balkan Peninsula and the islands of the Ægean were the scene of the beginnings of European history. There, for the first time in the continent of Europe inscribed stones spoke an intelligible language; and there, too, from the uninscribed remains of ruined palaces, citadels, and sepulchres, modern investigation obtains testimony of centuries that passed away long before writing was invented. Fragments of pottery proclaim the connection of primeval settlements with definite spheres of civilisation; indeed, they even afford the possibility of arranging these spheres of civilisation chronologically; and comparative philology throws light upon the significance of obscure names of places, often proving them to be the last remains of races about whom tradition is silent or makes but indistinct mention.

Archæology and comparative philology do not, however, supplement each other perfectly. We are not able to confirm with absolute certainty the hypotheses advanced by archæology regarding the connection of ancient remains with any one of the strata of populations to which they are referred by philological investigation. Probability that has almost become certainty upholds us in calling the possessors of that early civilisation which we call Mycenæan, Greeks; and, again, it is probable that of the Greeks the Achæans, or the early Dorians, built and perfected the fortresses of Mycenæ and Tiryns. English excavations at Melos (Milo) have revealed a prehistoric palace beneath a Mycenæan, and thus the Greek population of the Continent is connected with the old pre-Grecian settlements and sanctuaries.

The oldest population of the northeastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, the Phrygo-Thracian races, concerning which important information has recently been obtained through the discovery of a grave-mound near Saloniki (see above, p. 48 *et seq*), was hard pressed by the Greek peoples 4000-3000 B.C., and furnished many emigrants for Asia Minor, who repeatedly settled the hills of Hissarlik (see Vol. I., p. 176 *et seq.*) Small excavations, each encompassed by four simple stone slabs, mark their final resting-places. Implements of stone, such as axes, saws, and arrow-points; and chisels, awls, and needles of copper, later made of an alloy of copper and tin (see Figures 8, 12, 24, Plate "Greek Implements," p. 174) were already in use. Beak-shaped vessels for pouring, and jugs with shapeless bodies, formed the household utensils of this Trojan civilisation, which spread far out over the islands, even to Amorgos. Strangest of all are the vessels displaying characteristics of the human body, clumsily and fantastically imitated indeed, but showing that the first groping attempt at art of this people was to represent man. Coloured ornamentation was already employed in the form of awkward figures and lines drawn upon earthenware.

The wealth of Oriental art was inaccessible to the Trojans; they stood in connection with the West, where as far as Bosnia (Butmir; see Vol. I., p. 177), traces of related human aggregates may be followed out. There was no intervening people to connect them with the civilisations of the East, already highly developed; only through the medium of the primitive inhabitants of the Troad were the lines of traffic drawn as far as Cyprus.

The oldest population of the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula, as well

as of a great number of the islands of the Ægean Sea, did not belong to the Aryan branch of the human race, but to a people of Asia Minor (Asiatics), which in time became divided into Carians, Lycians, Pisidians, and western Cilicians. Not later than 3000 B.C. these tribes spread from Asia Minor over the Archipelago, where they established themselves in Kos, Crete, Paros, Patmos, Leros, Icaros, Delos, and Eubœa. Traces of their presence on the mainland have been left in the names Bœotia, Attica, and Argolis. The supposition that there was any connection between the migrations of the Phrygo-Thracians to Asia and the tribes of Asia Minor to Europe becomes untenable if one remembers that the Phrygo-Thracian emigration to Asia Minor must have occurred earlier than the settlement of Greece by the Greeks, and that the latter must have taken place at an earlier period than the emigration of the tribes from Asia Minor to Europe.

The worship of earth-spirits who dwelt in chambered caves was peculiar to the Asiatic tribes, as is shown by the cult connected with the cave of Psychro in Crete; the name of the Carian god Labrandus has been preserved in "Labyrinthus." Thus, probably, the worship of other cave-gods rests upon the old cults of the inhabitants coming originally from Asia Minor; that of Palæmon on the Isthmus, of Hyacinthus in Amyclæ, and perhaps those of Python in Delphi and of Æsculapius in Epidaurus.

Aside from what we have learned of them from other discoveries — for example, the sacrificial altar of Zeus Dictæus — these earliest inhabitants were already possessed of an alphabetical writing in Crete at the time of the Mycenæan civilisation. This alphabet spread to the other islands, but only a few letters, used as ornaments or as marks of ownership, penetrated to the Greeks of the mainland. Even earlier, between 2000 and 3000 B.C., a system of picture writing resembling that of the Hethites was in use in the eastern part of Crete.

The Cretan civilisation of the races that came originally from Asia Minor was stimulated by a vigorous traffic carried on with the Grecian mainland and by constant contact with the products of Mycenæan art, and attained its highest phase of development at a period contemporary with the twelfth Egyptian dynasty. They also carried on communications with Egypt, so that the identity of the peoples known to the Egyptians under the collective name of Keftiu with the Cretans is certain. The widespread dispersion of the inhabitants of this island is evidenced in the legend, founded perhaps upon fact, that the Philistines emigrated from Crete — Kefthor — to the coast of Syria.

The tribes of Asia Minor long remained upon the islands; even in historical times an inscription in their language — by Præsus — was written in Crete; and old sepulchres, discovered during the fifth century B.C., were, with just remembrance of the past, ascribed to the "Carians."

3. THE IMMIGRATION OF THE GREEKS

About 3000 B.C., the Greeks, already differentiated into tribes or hordes, seem to have entered the Balkan Peninsula. They must have remained stationary for a long time in the North, where prehistoric centres of civilisation arose about the Gulf of Janina, and where, no doubt, encouragement was whispered to them by the sacred oak, the oracle of Zeus at Dodona.

ENTRANCE-GATE TO THE UPPER CITADEL OF TIRYNS

The so-called Cyclopean walls, built during Mycenean times.

GATE OF THE LIONS AT MYCENE

So named on account of the two lions standing opposite one another on their hind-legs, resting their fore-paws on the top of an altar, in the centre of which stands a column.

VIEW OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT TROY (HISSARLIK)

In the centre a heap of débris left intact in order that the relations of the various strata to one another may be seen. Of the nine layers (1. Prehistoric settlement, 2. Prehistoric citadel, 3–5. Lesser prehistoric settlements, 6. Homeric Troy, 7. "Lydian" Stratum, 8. Grecian, 9. Roman town) the first is clearly to be seen.

VIEW OF THE TAYGETUS MOUNTAINS

Seen from the Leonidas monument in Sparta.

raphs.)

Afterwards the fertile Thessalian plain became a central point for the wandering hordes of the North; and with Thessaly the name of Pelasgians is associated. To the ancient Greeks the term Pelasgian originally served to bring back merely the memory of their primitive home; but as time passed it became the designation of a misty, pre-Grecian population, and for thousands of years it has been a cause of confusion: the knowledge that Pelasgians never existed as a people is a result of the most recent criticism.

Through the subsequent invasion of Thracian races from the northeast, isolated branches of which penetrated far into Greece, and of Illyrian races from the northwest, pressing towards Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia, the southernmost branch of the Greek people was pushed overland into the extreme southern part of the Balkan Peninsula. This branch spoke a dialect akin to that which survived in later times in Arcadia, in the eastern part of Laconia, in the names of single strongholds, the Pohœdæa in Helos, and on the island of Cyprus. It was closely allied to those races which in historical times were in possession of Thessalia, Bœotia, and Lesbos. Other tribes followed and settled in Attica. It is improbable that these Greeks were as yet strong enough to exterminate the original Carian-Asiatic population. A process of amalgamation, and of transmission of customs from race to race, is much more likely.

At first they wandered in, not as tribes, each having its own deity, but in great hordes, all of which worshipped a god of the heavens, the god of light, enthroned upon all mountain tops that are first struck by the beams of the rising sun, and remain glorified in the sacred light long after the darkness of night has swept down into the valleys. He was the god of the clouds who sent down the rain and hurled the lightning and the shaggy weight of clouds, the Ægis, against his enemies. Property was not recognised; the hordes united for war and plunder. They dwelt in round huts, from which the smoke escaped through a hole in the roof. They became divided up into tribes, where the freemen in councils of war debated over questions of policy, meted out justice as the emanation of the divine will, and honoured the might of the gods in the sacred symbols. The god of herds, who dwelt in the fold; Apellon, or Apollon, the god of shepherds; Hermes, the god of roads to whose glory, and for the benefit of later wanderers, heaps of stones and sometimes rude statues, Hermæ, were erected to point out roads and to mark boundaries; Hestia, the goddess of the hearth — all of these appear in the primitive Greek mythology. They were represented in the most primitive forms, usually those of animals; as, for example, deer and owls. A moral conception of the gods and the coarsest form of fetichism were strangely intermingled in prehistoric Greece.

4. THE HEROIC (MYCENÆAN) AGE

THE Mycenæan civilisation, which has become known to us through recent excavations, is on a plane higher than that of the culture attained by the early hordes of the North, and its development may be most easily explained by the intercourse between the Greek tribes of the southern and central Balkan Peninsula and the peoples of Asia Minor. The latter brought to the Greeks the civilisation of Egypt and the East, and the Greeks developed this culture on lines of their own, and in some respects improved on it.

The civilisation of this period takes its name from Mycenæ. In addition to Mycenæ, its chief centres were Tiryns, Orchomenus, the citadel of Gulás at Lake Copais, the early acropolis of Athens, and the sixth stratum (or city) of Troy. Other districts also have demonstrated the wide diffusion of Mycenæan culture: Nauplia, Vaphio, in Laconia, and Campus in Messenia, Spata, Menidi, Halyce, Thoricus, Aphidna, Eleusis in Attica, Salamis, Ægina, Goura in Phthiotis, Delphi, Demini in Thessalia, Thera, Therasia, Calymnus, Melos, Crete, Rhodes. Both the Greeks and the peoples of Asia Minor had acquired at that time a uniform civilisation; the vast development of culture led to an increase of population and an increased need for land, and, consequently, to a great wave of emigration over the sea. The Æolian and partly Ionian conquest of Asia Minor, the invasions of Egypt by the "nations from the north" (*cf.* pp. 49-50 and Vol. III.), and the spread of Mycenæan civilisation over Sicily (Matrense, near Syracuse) and Egypt (Kahun and Gurob), are the natural offshoots of the Mycenæan culture at its height. In consequence of recent excavations at Mycenæ, Tiryns, it is no longer a matter of great difficulty to obtain a fair idea of the life of that time.

A. Tiryns

Although it rises no higher than from forty to sixty feet above the plain, the citadel of Tiryns, with its massive walls and prominent towers, gives one an impression of great strength and magnificence. The walls themselves were to the Greeks mysterious tokens of a long-forgotten past, and were attributed by them to the Cyclops. Some of the gigantic blocks of stone are hewn into complex forms, and others are covered with ornamentation. Along the approach, past the lower citadel, we may walk between the walls of the ancient town and the fortress to the main entrance of the upper citadel, or acropolis (see Fig. 1, "Views to illustrate the History of Ancient Greece"), where the walls reach the astonishing thickness of fifty-seven feet. Arches or casemates are built into them, such as have been discovered in the ruins of Phœnician cities. Indeed, the same proportion between length and breadth is to be seen here as in far-distant Carthage and in other ancient towns of northern Africa. Passing through the doorway, the propylæa, ornamented with pillars, and proceeding over the fine lime floor of the great court, in which an altar to "Zeus of the enclosure" once stood, and, finally, through a vestibule and anteroom, we reach the great court of the men, the megaron, in which there was once a fireplace 38 feet 9 inches long and 32 feet 2 inches wide. This hall was lighted from above, and was built at a higher level than the neighbouring apartments, just as the central hall of the temple of Solomon was raised above the surrounding rooms, and, later, the halls of Roman dwellings and the naves of mediæval churches. The walls were brightly painted with rosettes, blossoms, pictures of pastoral life, and conventional designs, such as we now see in oriental rugs. Such a pattern in red and blue was traced on the lime plastering of the floor. Doors with one and two wings, in part hung with curtains, led to the women's quarters, consisting of rectangular courts with columns and porches, a great main hall, and corridors and passages of great length, all copied from the palaces of Egypt and Syria.

1. 2. 3. Gold plates found in the third sepulchre at Mycenæ. (1. Spiral ornamentation. 2. Palm leaf. 3. Conventionalised butterfly.)

4. Cuttlefish (gold) from the third sepulchre. [Schliemann, also 1–4 in Perrot-Chipiez.]

5. Perforated ornament of gold belonging to a necklace, from the third sepulchre, intaglio. [Schliemann, Mycenæ, 174, no. 254. Schuchhardt, 238, no. 201. Reichel, Homeric weapons, no. 2. Tsountas-Manatt, 181, no. 75.] Battle-scene. The figure to the right in helmet with plume has placed his shield upon the ground in order to wield his lance with both hands; the shield is oval, covered with ornamentation (represented here by dots), and is bent in at a sharp angle on one side at about the middle of its length.

6. Gold ring from the fourth sepulchre at Mycenæ. [Schliemann, 223, no. 335. Schuchhardt, 257, 231. Reichel, Homeric weapons, 8, no. 11. Perrot-Chipiez, 859, no. 421.] Battle-scene. To the left a bearded man, evidently wounded, resting on the ground, supported by his right arm, his left leg drawn up and the right extended — a favourite position in later sculpture. In the centre a warrior who has forced one enemy to his knees, and who now lifts his dagger to strike; one opponent has drawn his sword against the victor, and is supported by the lance of a companion who is completely covered by a half-cylindrical shield. The combatants appear to be naked except for the short trousers worn by the central figure.

7 a and b. Blade of dagger. [Bull. Corr. Hell. 1886, Pl. 3. Perrot-Chipiez, Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, 6, Pl. 17.] Cat-like animals in pursuit of water fowl along a stream in which fish are represented. The stream is bordered with lotus. Pale and deep gold and silver are curiously combined in the design.

8. Fragment of a silver goblet from the fourth sepulchre. [Ephem. Arch. 1890. Pin. 2. Reichel, Homeric weapons, 19, 17 a. Perrot-Chipiez, 774, no. 363. Tsountas-Manatt, 213, no. 95.] The siege of a town constructed according to architectural principles. To the left, an ornament, perhaps originally part of a handle. The country about the town is planted with olive-trees. To the right, a citadel, consisting of three storeys, built upon an elevation; it has windows and a gate, the latter, represented by parallel lines, is closed. The wall (built of hewn stones, among which beams are laid, with wooden bulwarks above) is crowded with weeping and lamenting women. Naked slingers and archers (the latter crouching, as in Odyssee, ϕ 419) are fighting with the enemy, while two men, with spears and shields, are watching the contest (as the Gerontes, Hesiod, Ἀσπίς, 237 ff.). On the lower edge of the fragment, the upper part of the body of a warrior, wearing a plated helmet and short-sleeved chiton. To the left, perhaps the remains of three other helmets. The figures are hammered out, the spears of the men with shields and the signs (writing ?), below the slingers and archers, are scratched in. In spite of Egyptian influence, the racial characteristics are throughout foreign to Egypt.

9. Fragment of the Warrior-vase. [Furtwängler–Löschke, Mycenean Vases, 47, 43. Schuchhardt, 300, 301. Perrot-Chipiez, 935, no. 497. Tsountas-Manatt, Pl. 18, P. 190.] Soldiers setting out on the march; Homeric time. To the left, a woman, lifting her arm as in prayer. The warriors (with shaven upper lips and pointed beards) wear fringed chitons, coats of mail with metal plates, greaves, and sharp-pointed sandals. Pouches, perhaps for supplies, are fastened to the spears. The shields are short and only protect the upper part of the body; the helmets (*αὐλῶπις*) have in front two tubular ornaments, and a plume falls from the peculiarly shaped apex.

10. Double-handled goblet from the fourth sepulchre at Mycenæ. [Schliemann, Mycenæ, 237, no. 346. Helbig, Hom. Ep. 371. Perrot-Chipiez, 964, no. 531. Tsountas-Manatt, 200, no. 36.] A *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* — a similar goblet was the Nestorian, Iliad, Λ, 632 ff. with four handles and eight doves.

GREEK ANTIQUITIES OF THE MYCENEAN AND HOMERIC AGES.

B. Mycenæ

Here a street 11½ feet wide, hewn out of the cliff and supported by cyclopean rocks, passing over stone bridges pierced for the flow of water, led to the walls of the citadel. The entrance was the lion gate (see Fig. 2, plate at pp. 258, 259), so called on account of the two lions standing opposite one another with their forepaws resting on an altar, in the middle of which a column is erected. The upper classes of the Mycenæans, judging from pictures on vases and remains discovered in the tombs, were in the habit of wearing pointed beards and their upper lips shaved. Ornaments of gold plate with palm-leaf and lotus designs glittered upon their clothing. They carried sword or dagger, richly inlaid with metal in various patterns; the handles terminated in fantastically shaped knobs, of which one example is a dragon's head in gold with glistening eyes of cut rock-crystal. The blade of one dagger recently discovered is ornamented with a representation of lions pursuing antelopes; another shows four men, protected by shields, setting forth on a lion hunt; on a third are represented ichneumons in chase of water-fowl in a papyrus landscape. (See Fig. 7*a* and 7*b*, plate at pp. 260, 261.) Heavy gold signet-rings were also worn (see Fig. 6, same plate).

The inner walls of the houses were inlaid with precious metals and amber, as in later times were the walls of the temple of Solomon. Articles of furniture were in part covered with thin gold, as well as with plates of artificial lapis-lazuli. Amber beads have been found in the ruins, as well as a gigantic ostrich egg. Women of the nobility and ruling classes wore many gold ornaments; their upper garments were somewhat scant, the breast being partially uncovered; their hair strayed in ringlets over the forehead from beneath a low, round turban, and was allowed to fall behind in a thick braid, the end of which was turned outwards and enclosed in a spiral of gold. A diadem of thin gold ornamented the forehead. Large, golden breast-pendants, and neck-chains, earrings, bracelets, and finger-rings, and the tight-fitting garment, pleated in horizontal folds below the waist and decorated with gold, contributed to an appearance less pleasing than showy. It is hard to conceive this people as Greek, or as living upon the soil of Greece, for their civilisation was so deeply influenced by the customs and artistic genius of the East, that not only their appearance but also their manners and customs were almost wholly oriental.

C. Characteristics of the Heroic (Mycenæan) Civilisation

Chariots, both in battle and in hunting expeditions, were used in the same manner by the Mycenæans as by the races of Western Asia. The fallen warriors were embalmed in honey, according to the primitive Babylonian custom; their faces were covered by masks of gold, and in their hands were placed double-edged axes, exactly similar to those which we may now see pictured in Assyrian bas-reliefs.

Belief in the power and influence of the soul led at an early age to the worship of the dead. Members of royal houses, heavily laden with ornaments, were laid on the ashes of the burnt sacrifice which had been offered up

to them, in the same manner as the deceased are found to have been placed in the barrows and *tumuli* of the North. Sacrifices were offered because of the general belief in the power of the dead; and for the same reason the movable possessions of men were laid in the graves at their sides. Such sacrifices were not only made at the time of burial, but also afterwards. Above the fourth burial pit at Mycenæ a round altar, hollow in the middle, has been discovered; and through this altar, as through a tube, the blood of the sacrificed animal flowed directly down to the dead. Thus it was a permanent funeral altar, pointing to the permanent worship of souls, for the residence of which in the later sepulchres the entire chamber was designed.

The so-called dome tombs, which are evidently family sepulchres, have an approach sometimes 115 feet in length and 20 feet in breadth, consisting in part of carefully laid hewn stones. There is also a short entrance, or vestibule, with richly ornamented walls (slabs of red, green, or white marble; slender, embedded columns of dark grey alabaster, and pieces of red porphyry) and a beehive-shaped dome upwards of 50 feet in height. One of these domes is constructed of thirty-two superimposed circles, each smaller than the one below, and is ornamented with bronze rosettes, fastened with nails of bronze to blocks of bluish marble. The great development of technique is shown by the fact that in one tomb a stone weighing one hundred and twenty-two thousand kilogrammes was let into the wall for the support of the lintel of the inner door; the floor of the baths at Tiryns consisted of one stone slab, weighing twenty thousand kilogrammes.

Many treasures have been brought to light in the domed sepulchres: finger-rings (see Fig. 6, plate at pp. 260, 261), silver ladles, and bowls, swords with gold nails and gold ornaments, necklaces with richly decorated clasps (see Fig. 5 on same plate), and, finally, two golden goblets, discovered at Amyclæ (Vaphio), 3.15 inches and 3.86 inches in diameter at the top, weighing, respectively, 776 and 780.5 grammes. These cups are made of two layers of gold plate, the inner smooth, and the outer, to which the handles are attached (as in plate, Fig. 10), ornamented. The decoration is artistic, and consists of a representation of shepherds in pursuit of wild African cattle, amidst a landscape of tall palms and olive trees with knotted trunks. The shepherds are naked, except for the loin cloth and girdle with hanging ends; their feet are encased in Syrian sandals with sharp toes; their faces are smooth shaven after the Syrian fashion, and, nothwithstanding an unmistakable Semetic trace, are Egyptian in cast, with prominent pupils of the eyes.

In Mycenæ the age of bronze attained its highest development — a development that could not have been reached, except through the instrumentality of a powerful centralised government. The excellence of the art and the difficulties overcome in building can but lead to the conclusion that a division of the population into classes had already taken place. Such tremendous results are attained in primitive societies possessed of but few mechanical appliances, only by the enslavement of workers through the power of a supreme ruler. Social inequality must have developed spontaneously; and, as may be seen from an examination of the numerous sepulchres of the ruling classes, not only were the princes and chieftains of higher station than the mass of the population, but there must also have been many men of lesser rank — a numerous

class of nobles who already resided in the town, and who no longer merely lived in the country upon their estates. Differences in the extent of possessions brought with them economic inequality, a condition that must even at an early time have led to inequality of rights. The possession of landed property conferred certain privileges, and these privileges led to territorial dominion. Together with the magnificence of the daily life of the nobles, the monuments and antiquities also show us the political form of a society ruled by a powerful kingship. It is possible that the earlier inhabitants, when conquered, were enslaved; at any rate, it is certain that slaves stood at the command of the sovereign and nobility, or, at least, that the majority of the population was socially far removed from the minority, and ministered to the love of ostentation and display of the latter.

Nevertheless, the Greek genius prevailed over this Oriental love of splendour. From the primitive gold masks, moulded from the features of the dead, one can recognise the Greek type: regular features, finely cut noses, and smoothly arched brows, in the very midst of an environment foreign to the Greek spirit. Even in the external forms of life, which Oriental influence had so largely pervaded, certain characteristic Greek traits survived. Although the rulers resided in palaces, built after Asiatic models, the rest of the Mycenæans lived, not under flat Asiatic roofs, but under European pitched roofs with gables. Vases of Mycenæ, the earlier ones with glossy surfaces, the later with dull surfaces, predominated in the entire basin of the Mediterranean. The early, as well as the later, Greeks made use of the fabulous animals of the East in ornamentation; but, on the other hand, their observation of the life of the sea, is truly Western: shells, starfish, corals, cuttlefish, and argonauts, drawn upon the vases, prove at what an early time the manifold life about and in the sea was observed by Mycenæan eyes. Butterflies were modelled in gold; plant life, too, was accurately observed and imitated. Designs of tendrils and leaves drawn after nature and not conventionalised appeared for the first time on Mycenæan vases. The continuous as well as the interrupted designs so familiar in friezes and put to so many decorative uses by the Greek artists, had their origin in the heroic age.

D. The Approximate Date of the Heroic Age

The high plane of development indicated by the style of the Mycenæan vases was coincident with the culminating point of Mycenæan culture; and from this fact we are enabled approximately to fix the date of a civilisation that otherwise, so far as time is concerned, would remain indefinite. Some years ago the discovery in the lower city of a porcelain image of an Egyptian scarabæus, bearing the name of an Egyptian king of the fifteenth century B.C., coupled with the finding in the remains of a house in the acropolis of Mycenæ of another scarabæus, inscribed with the name of the wife of this king, tended to determine the date of Mycenæan civilisation. Nevertheless, there is still the objection that the scarabs may have been dropped there by a trader or collector at a much later period; although, strangely enough, a similar scarab, bearing an inscription written during the reign of the same king, has been found in similar Mycenæan strata on the island of Rhodes. It has also been determined that the princely

gifts which were brought to another Egyptian king by the inhabitants of "The Islands of the Great Sea" are similar in every respect to the antiquities — small, ornamented goblets, and silver cows' heads that have been found in Mycenæ. Thus the heroic civilisation must have spread over the Grecian Archipelago and, above all, over Crete. Finally, conclusive evidence has been established by the discovery of Mycenæan vases and goblets in Gurob, an Egyptian town, which was destroyed during the fifteenth century, B.C. We do not go so far as to determine the nationality of the settlers in this town from the signs scratched in various metal objects which have been found, but so much is certain: they possessed the Mycenæan civilisation, and must have penetrated into Egypt as early as the fifteenth century B.C.

Antiquities and remains have borne their testimony; let us now hear what men have had to say. The utterances of Mycenæan kings are audible to us only as a faint murmur echoing in the stories of tradition: for this people had no written language, and have left to us no written records. But the historical documents discovered in Egypt speak for them. During the days of King Rameses I., warriors, whose dress was European — nay, Greek — appeared in the Syrian army; they were Javans, in other words, Javons, or Ionians, and they wore the feather plume that has served even in later times as a distinctive mark of the Asiatic Greeks. During the reigns of Menerptah and of Rameses III. there were invasions of "men from the north," as we are told by Egyptian inscriptions (cf. Vol. III.), and the weapons of these wanderers were those of the races of Europe and Asia Minor. On water and on land, in ships and in ox-carts, bringing their wives and children with them, hordes of northern peoples, against whom the native forces could only defend themselves with the greatest difficulty, burst like a storm over Egypt. The names of these peoples, Aquaivasha and Danauna, but half conceal the words Achæans and Danæans. (See above, pp. 49-50).

5. THE MIGRATIONS OF THE GRECIAN RACES

THE development of the Mycenæan civilisation must have led to a great increase in the populations of the oldest centres of culture, and have given the people occasion to embark on expeditions for the conquest of new territory. Since the coasts of Asia Minor and the islands of the Archipelago were settled by the Greeks as early as the year 1000 B.C., it follows that the earliest of these Greek settlements, those of the Æolians, must have taken place during the Heroic Age, the age of the Mycenæan civilisation. The entire process of Æolian settlement, and perhaps of a part of the Ionian, are connected with the teeming population and the high phase of culture of the heroic epoch. The many islands formed bridges, as it were, from one people to another, and joined them all together in closer union with the Asiatic mainland.

The first settlement was made by the Æolians, whose dialect was spoken in Thessalia, Bœotia, and Lesbos, and was nearly related to the languages in use in Arcadia and Cyprus. The Æolians were closely connected with those inhabitants of Attica and Eubœa who gradually detached themselves from Bœotia, and had later developed into the Ionian race of Asia Minor, where they came to forget their earlier relationship to the Bœotians. The northwestern Greeks, usually

known by the name of one stock, the Doric, included even in historic times the Epirots, Æolians, Acarnanians, the inhabitants of Phthiotis, the Phocians, Locrians, and the peoples of Achæa.

To the Æolians belonged the inhabitants of the towns of Mycenæ and Tiryns, and also the tribes that emigrated into northwest Asia Minor and Cyprus, and there engaged in long wars with the original inhabitants. The Trojan War must be looked upon to-day as a great military expedition of Greek chieftains, assisted by the princes of Mycenæ, to Asia Minor, where they burnt the city of Troy: for the sixth city upon the acropolis at Hissarlik, constructed in complete harmony with the Mycenœan style of architecture and provided with flying buttresses in the same manner as the citadel at Gulás at Lake Copais, was sacked and destroyed by fire, as we have learned from Dörpfeld's excavations in 1894. Thus traditions come to life again after a lapse of thousands of years. It would be too much, however, to claim the possibility of extracting historical details from Homer: that would be equivalent to reading the minor events of the wars against Attila the Hun out of the *Niebelungenlied*.

The second group of Greek races, the Ionian, settled the greater portion of the western coast of Asia Minor, where they established large, city colonies. It was there that the Ionian stock developed its versatility, freedom of spirit, and rich and manifold interests. Composed as it was of various sections of the Greek people, it also absorbed elements from Asia Minor, and transmuted the Asiatic civilisation into Greek culture. Thus the Ionians gave a higher dignity to the old hero epics, and made the beginnings of Greek science.

Finally, the third group, the northwestern Greeks, continued to live in their northern home in single tribes, and, indeed, remained longer than any other Greek race in connection with the Italian stocks; whence the curious resemblance between Doric and Roman towns and town government observable in the three gateways and the number of functionaries. A portion of this group, the Dorians, soon settled in central Greece, then crossed the Bay of Corinth at its narrowest point, and colonised the northern portion of the Peloponnesus. As their progress was obstructed by the mountains of Arcadia, they swung off partly to the west, occupying Elis, and partly to the east, where the inhabitants of Argolis, with a highly developed but already decadent civilisation, were forced to yield to their greater vitality and superiority in arms, sinking, in a great measure, to the position of serfs, but leaving the greater part of their civilisation to the conquerors. Thus the power of the primitive inhabitants fell. Of the fortresses at Mycenæ and Tiryns, nothing but ruins remained; and not until the seventh century B.C. were temples again erected there to the worship of the gods. The wave of Dorian invasion now flowed out over Crete, Melos, Thera, Rhodes, and Cos, where faint traces of an earlier Æolian substratum are still to be recognised, forced its way as far as Pamphylia even, and finally penetrated to the southeastern part of the Peloponnesus. Legends have adorned the Doric migration with a thousand details; not only the folk-sagas that tell us of the deeds of heroes, but also the traditions of historians who endeavoured to explain how each tribe wandered into its ultimate territory. The fact of the Doric migration is not to be disputed; but all details regarding it are worthless, and not supported by later discoveries, must be cast aside as of no historical value.

The Æolian settlers took with them to Asia Minor the remembrance of their

daring voyages, of their advance towards the East, of the centuries of battle and foray, and of their earlier domination over golden Mycenæ.

6. THE GREEK MIDDLE AGES

(The Homeric Era)

Even in the Homeric poems there is still an echo of the great migrations. "As on days of sunshine masses of cloud follow the mountain ridges, but seldom take their form," so have myths and legends followed the general course of history; but they have covered it over with clouds of the imagination. The traditions of wars on the soil of Asia Minor have been perpetuated in the epic poems, the sublime productions of the Greek Middle Ages; for thus we name the period that now began and lasted until the time arrived when coined money came into use.

How did these epics, which for centuries were ascribed to a certain minstrel, Homer, arise? As a rule, the speech of men flows along quietly and without method; but when the breast is shaken with emotion, when the heart is uplifted in happiness or oppressed by pain, when men are overwhelmed with an emotion of reverence for the gods, when joyful events lead to outbursts of delight, then rhythm intrudes into speech, and words are uttered in a succession of accented and unaccented syllables. Songs are transmitted from mouth to mouth; their subjects are supplied by the remembrance of great days and of great battles; they are filled with recollections of the shining forms of the heroes of olden times. At first men of high birth themselves sing in alternating verse, as did Achilles and Patroclus; and, later, with the increasing tendency to form classes in society, and with the introduction of the division of labour, a poet caste comes into being. For the most part, men who are blind take to the minstrel's art; to them the charm of combat and the glory of war are closed; and, lyre in hand, they wander from court to court, spreading abroad the fame of heroes in song. Such a minstrel was the blind Demodocus, who, in the Odyssey, sang to the Phæacians; such men were the blind Aœde (gleeman) of Chios, who figures in the Homeric hymns; Bernlef the blind Frisian, and the blind bards of the Slavs, among whom the word "blind" (*sliepac*) became a generic name for minstrels, being also applied to men who were in full possession of their sight. In this same manner the blind singer Homer was looked upon as the author of the heroic epics.

These poems, which first came into being among the Æolians, and were inherited and enlarged by the Ionians, required hundreds of years for their growth, developing from short and simple compositions, treating of the wrath of Achilles, into vast heroic epics, celebrating the glory not only of single heroes, but also of entire races. Hundreds of minstrels, journeying from palace to palace, co-operated, and although hampered by the limitations of a set form, were, nevertheless, skilled in the art of improvisation. They delved into the life of the people and into the wealth of stored-up legends, reciting for the pleasure of the ruling nobility, adding new songs to old in honour of single families and in praise of the model aristocratic state. Thus they composed

songs which reflect the knightly lives, the philosophy, and the highest thoughts of the greatest men of their time. The pre-eminent artistic abilities of certain individuals are plainly visible, and even to-day the greater creations of particular minstrels may be separated from the mass of inferior work. The Homeric Poems had their beginnings in Mycenæan times, when they had already developed an old, never spoken, but universally understood literary language that reached its zenith in the ninth or eighth century, B.C.

The youthful strength of heroes and their resourceful wisdom, the entire scale of emotion, from the gentle stirring of sentiment in the love-dream of the young princess to the sad farewell of wife to hero, and the melancholy compassion of the victor with the aged father of his fallen enemy — all this we find in the Homeric songs. Nothing could be more touching than the lines in which Hector takes off his shining helmet to soothe the fear of his babe and bids farewell to all; or those in which Odysseus is recognised by his faithful dog. With his last breath the poor animal greets his master, wags his tail, and dies. All nature lives in these poems; the changing moods of the sea in storm and in sunshine; the fire that roars through the forest; the lightning that flashes down from heaven and shatters the strongest oak into fragments; the leaves of the forest which put forth and grow and fall before the wind, as races of men increase and wither and disappear in the storm of life; the cranes that fly through the air in compact ranks; the lion with flaming eye and lashing tail; the bird which perishes of hunger that its unfledged young may eat — all this lives in the pages of Homer. The character of the human race at a time when the individual is as yet unborn and only the class exists, is drawn with the most affecting simplicity. Here are those great, restful outlines which move us so deeply in the works of the Italian masters; whether it be a knightly combat, undertaken in a spirit of chivalric daring, or the quiet, domestic life of the housewife that is represented, the imagination is free to wander whithersoever it will, and movements and actions are deprived of none of their natural and living charm.

In those parts of the Iliad which had their origin in Æolia, Achilles, the greatest of the heroes, is represented as the embodiment of impetuous strength; a composite figure, that, in truth, portrays all the unrestrained emotional changes of an uncivilised people. The art of writing was still regarded as a kind of evil enchantment, to be mastered only by the few. Not until later, at the time of the Odyssey, does the conception of a cultured society (the Phæacians) arise; a community of harmoniously developed, serene, almost ideal beings, where woman, like man, is allowed to attain to complete intellectual development. In Odysseus, the archetype of sagacity, skilled in handicraft, in music and gymnastics, a man who excels all minstrels in harmony, and all masters in artistic narration, in whom there is a union of calm lucidity and quiet renunciation, the Greek spirit had already created the lofty conception of the free and perfect man. In later times philosophy borrowed this ideal from poetry, and developed it in masterly fashion. The problem of right living and the careful development of personality, in other words, the relation of the individual to the race has never been more wisely treated than by the Greek philosophers.

The degree of civilisation attained is clearly reflected in the various sections of the epics. An entirely different world meets us in the oldest poems, which treat

of "The Wrath of Achilles," in all probability products of the tenth century, from that pictured in the Telemachiad, which came into being as late as the seventh century. The finest portions of the Odyssey belong to the eighth century B.C. Tradition, religious myths, and stories that read like fairy-tales, are mingled together in ever-varying form.

The age that is described to us in the Homeric poems is no longer affected by the pomp and display of the Mycenæans. The towering fortresses with their Cyclopean rocks have yielded to smooth walls of brick and to earthen embankments with wooden bulwarks. The interior arrangements of palaces have become greatly simplified, and of the intricate network of courts and corridors, antechambers, and halls, only the most necessary parts remain in the homes of Homeric kings. The walls are no longer covered with bright paintings, but with a simple coating of lime; the gaily decorated plaster floors, too, have disappeared, and their place has been taken by floors of smooth-beaten clay. Instead of burying the dead in enormous domed sepulchres — in the latest tombs the use of masks for the dead had gradually been given up — men hoped, by burning the body forever to banish the spirit. Simple graves conceal the ashes of Homeric heroes.

The despotic kingship, which plays a prominent part in the older portions of the Homeric poems, gradually declines in power, and disappears as the strength of the nobility increases. To be sure, the Homeric ruler is still a powerful, hereditary monarch, whose power came from Zeus, father of the gods, under whose care and protection he stood. The king owned property, and was supported by the tribute of the people; but his relations to his subjects are rather those of a patriarch to his clan, negotiating with foreign powers, sacrificing to the gods, and, during time of war, having the power of life and death. But advisors were always by the side of the king, and upon their decisions great weight was laid. The council of nobles became stronger with time; the upper classes were differentiated from the masses. The former were distinguished from the latter by the fact that, after chariots fell into disuse they fought on horses. The connection between large estates, aristocratic government, and knight service, is ever inseparable. In the Homeric poems the power of the nobility becomes more and more evident, until, finally, the king appears as only the first among his peers, who, like him, levy tribute, meet in council at their own initiative, and invite the king to attend. The council seems constantly to have increased in power until it finally put aside all prerogatives of the sovereign, leaving him only his name and his office of high priest. To perform the real duties of kingship, a number of high officials were chosen.

Thus the Oriental influence constantly decreased, and, naturally, the more representative rule of the nobility was less despotic. It was also the time of the fall of the Oriental monarchies, and intercourse with them became casual. In spite of this, however, it would be a great mistake to look upon the Homeric Age — the age in which the germ of elevated intellectual life first began to develop — as one in which the genuine Greek spirit was nationally personified. Oriental influence still played the chief rôle. Were we to reproduce that charming scene from the Iliad, of Helen and the old men at the gate, after the model of the Age of Pericles, we should absolutely destroy the picture that appeared before the mind of the poet. As the poet must have pictured it, Priam and the aged Trojans

were dressed in close-fitting garments, that extended to their feet; the folds were stiff; there was nothing loose or flowing; the red cloaks fitted smoothly over the under-garments, and were in part richly decorated in bright colours. The upper lips of the men were shaven, according to the custom of the peoples of Western Asia; they wore pointed, wedge-shaped beards, although their hair hung loose, and was no longer arranged in braids, as during Mycenæan times. Even Helen would have resembled a Greek woman but little. According to the poet, she would have been dressed in a tight-fitting, gay-coloured, intricately patterned robe, fastened by clasps and by a girdle, adorned with tassels and knots, according to the Oriental fashion. Her arms were free, the peplum, or mantle, was looser than in Mycenæan costume, covering a greater portion of the body, as more adapted to the climate of the Ægean Sea. The veil used in the Orient to conceal the countenance hung down over both cheeks; a cloth worn like a hood, and fastened in front by a glistening diadem, covered the far-famed head.

Although the Oriental influence had decreased, it still asserted itself. The Age of Iron — weapons are no longer made of bronze — became all the poorer, because of the decline in the skill of craftsmen. Above all, the vases betray striking signs of retrogression: the place of the Mycenæan has been taken by Dipylon vases — so called from the place of their discovery, near Athens — upon which, to be sure, every possible object in life is represented, but with considerably less art; and in the border ornamentations nature is no longer drawn upon, but gives way to simple geometrical designs.

Religion attained to an extraordinary development during the Homeric Age. In the epics the gods are endowed with human qualities, and were supposed to have endured all the hardships and trials of humanity. The entire pantheon of later times was, if not borrowed from, at least popularised through the medium of the epics. The Homeric minstrels made a place for even the various tutelary deities of cities in their poems, and thus contributed to the formation of the Greek mythology; and for this reason the philosophers of later times, notably Xenophanes, accused "Homer" of having created polytheism. Demigods also came into being through the epics, as a result of the poetical custom of conferring the highest rewards to heroes after death, and allowing them to approach the state of deities. The gods were worshipped by means of altars under the open sky or in temples set aside for the purpose, and they were represented in the form of men — a great advance on the fetichism of earlier times.

7. THE SECOND PERIOD OF MIGRATION

(The Age of Colonisation)

Social conditions led to a second migration of the Greek races, which took place at the time the later epics were written, from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the seventh century.

A rapid increase of population gave rise to emigration. Political dissatisfaction occasioned a centrifugal movement, and a surplus of energy led to new enterprises. Religious feeling consecrated the new settlements, and even before the habitations of the new town, located and planned under divine guidance, were

built, the altar to Apollo was erected. Thus the colonies of the Greeks, whether on the rivers that water the Russian steppes, or on the coasts of Africa; whether on the lava-covered slopes of Ætna, or on the fruitful plains of southern France, remained parts of one people, honouring the same gods, speaking the same language, and applauding the same poets; the Athenian, far away in Italy, among the Etruscans, felt himself to be one with his countryman who had been born and brought up in Cumæ. Thus the necessity arose for designating all the members of the race by one name. The word Hellenes was taken from the small tribe that Achilles had governed in Thessalia, whose name went back to the time of their halt at the Gulf of Janina. In the fifth century B.C. this term was applied to the entire Grecian people. The name Greek, on the other hand, derived from *Græcoi* (a latinisation of the tribal name of the *Græi*, who dwelt on the Euripus, and who once lived in the Northwest), was first introduced into Greece from Italy during the days of Aristotle, as shown by the Latin termination (*Gra-icoi*, as *Op-icoi*), and its spread marks the triumph of a tribal name, similar to that of the Norwegian word *Ruotsen*, which gave its name to Russia.

Miletus, Corinth, Megara, Chalcis, and Eretria, took the lead in the great movement. Miletus became queen of the sea, the mother of more than eighty city colonies. The entrance and the coasts of the Black Sea, Sicily, and the southern part of Italy, were all colonised. And as the Ægean Sea formerly, the Mediterranean now became an inland sea of Greece through the activity of this enterprising age.

All these colonies flourished, whether they were trade depots, like the towns on the Black Sea, or agricultural settlements, as in Sicily and southern Italy, or centres for cattle-breeding, as in Cyrene. In colonies there is a beneficial union of economic conditions seldom found together elsewhere. In lower stages of civilisation we find a superabundance of land, but a great lack of labour and capital. In higher stages the opposite is true. But when highly developed races settle down on virgin soil, all three necessary conditions are present. The immigrants bring with them capital, and occupy the land; the original inhabitants of the country supply the labour. Hence the wealth of all city colonies. According to Thucydides, the Chians were the richest of the Hellenes; the inhabitants of Cyrene were envied because of their "costly rings," worn by everybody; and it was said of the inhabitants of Agrigentum that they built as if they hoped to live for ever, and dined as if they expected to die the next day. A modern parallel, that may give some idea of the financial prosperity of the colonies of Greece, is the development of North America, where, with an increase of thirty-three per cent. in population in ten years, there was an increase of eighty-two per cent. in the quantity of specie. Even bodily stature and strength becomes greater, as shown by the giants of West Virginia, for example, compared with the dwarfed inhabitants of the southern Italy of to-day. To be sure, the strength and freedom of thriving colonies do not always find the most agreeable forms of expression. Colonists are conscious that the basis of their power lies only in themselves; and enthusiasm for the mother-country, historical gratitude, as it were, is known as little to America as it was to the Greeks of Sicily, who regarded the mother-country with contempt, conscious of their own superiority in the useful arts. The insolence of the Sicilian Greeks was almost incredible; they wrote parodies on the poetical masterpieces

of the mother country. It is characteristic that after the first sea-fight of the Greeks, in which Corcyra broke loose from Corinth, a description of which has come down to us in the shape of a very primitive chronicle, the daughter town entirely ceased to fulfil any of the so-called duties of piety to the mother town. What Turgot, his minister of finance, said to Louis XVI. applies to the history of the colonies of Greece and to the gratitude they showed towards their founders: "*Les colonies sont comme les fruits qui ne tiennent à l'arbre que jusqu'à leur maturité; devenues suffisantes à elles-mêmes, elles feront ce que fit depuis Carthage, ce que fera un jour l'Amerique.*" "Colonies are like fruit which cling to the tree only until their maturity; once become self-sufficient, they do what Carthage once did, what America some day will do."

8. THE CENTURY OF GREAT REVOLUTIONS (THE SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.)

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Owing to the process of colonisation that began in the eighth century, the agricultural inhabitants of Greece developed into a trading and manufacturing race. In earlier times manufacture had only supplied local necessities and not very long before, the importation of goods from the East had been general. Now, however, the colonists in distant countries had even a greater need for weapons and other metal implements, for woven materials and pottery, than did the Greeks who stayed at home. The barbarians of the inland regions had been made acquainted with such products and had grown accustomed to their use. Thus an increase in commerce led to a heightened activity in manufacturing. The Greeks of the colonies soon needed new and trained labour, and this was supplied from without. Slave labour began to a great extent in Chios, and increased with such rapidity that finally some states found it necessary to legislate against it.

As early as the time of the Odyssey we hear of iron being exported; the manufacture of metals was carried on in the mother-country at Chalcis and Corinth, and cloth-weaving at Megara. Pottery was made at Corinth and at Athens, where a potters' quarter was established. The resources of the East were exploited. Greek commerce became dominant in the northeast of Spain, in Egypt, and on the Adriatic and Black seas, in spite of the fact that Greek ships were still of the old fifty-oared type, and mariners were so exceedingly cautious as to suspend all traffic during the winter months. Only such cities as were able to carry on trade came to the front. Towns in the interior lost their prosperity. Suburbs, in which all sorts of trades were carried on, arose everywhere about the seaports, the original town often being transformed into a citadel. In this way the great cities, great according to the ideas of the time—we must remember that we are speaking of the very beginnings of Greek history — such as Miletus, Corinth, and Sybaris, grew until their populations numbered from twenty to twenty-five thousand. Everywhere the country was tranquil; bands of robbers had ceased to exist; peaceful occupations were the rule; and men of various countries were appointed in towns to act as hosts and protectors to strangers of their own nation. It is true that the Greeks did not give up piracy so readily, for this was carried on vigorously until the middle of the fifth century.

The Babylonian system of weights was adopted, with some alterations (1 talent equalling 50 shekels, or 100 half shekels or drachmas). And, as in earlier times cattle and metal had been used as a medium of exchange, men now employed uncoined bars of iron or copper in trade. These rods of iron were called *obeloi* (spears); and six, the number that could be grasped in the hand at once (*drattesthai*), were equal to one drachma. The actual striking of standard coins arose first in Lydia and afterwards in Phocia. An alloy of gold and silver — *electrum* — was coined in the early days, and, later, gold. From this time on the ratio of gold to silver, 1 to 15½, continued constant. Two standards of value were in use in Greece, that of Ægina and of Eubœa. The western countries did not as yet require minted coins, for they had not passed beyond the stage of barter. Field labourers were still paid in products of the soil.

It was with difficulty that agriculture maintained its place as an industry during this total revolution of economic conditions. The small farmers of southern Greece were unable to compete, products flowing in from the wonderfully fertile regions of southern Russia. The greater number of farms in Greece were divided upon the owner's death, among his sons, degenerating into mere kitchen-gardens, and becoming so heavily burdened with debts that eighteen per cent. was looked upon as a low rate of interest. Piles of rocks, showing the amount of the mortgage — an invention of Attic money-lenders — rose about the land like gravestones of prosperity.

In the meanwhile, however, a change of the utmost importance for the Greeks had come about. In some regions — we are not positive in which, but, at any rate, in several places at the same time — the Phœnician-Syrian alphabet was adapted to the Greek language. The Semitic alphabet, owing to its method of designating consonants only, was syllabic; and thus, although much more convenient than the primitive Cretan hieroglyphic, or picture writing, was still very imperfect. The Greeks, however, introduced improvements, changing the Semitic aspirates to the vowels *A, E, I, O,* and creating a new sign for *Y,* so that there were now twenty-three symbols, or letters. In later times, the Greek alphabet developed into the most varied of forms; and not until the fifth century did it become uniform, through the general adaption of the Ionian letters.

The enormous transformation brought about in the intellectual life of Greece through the introduction of writing, found expression, first of all, in matters pertaining to legislation. The day of the Homeric nobility, when writing was unknown, was gone forever, and with it had disappeared to a great extent the conception of unequal rights and privileges. *Written* law protects all citizens alike. The old tribal organisation had become too weak to protect the members of the tribe, and there was need of a power to watch directly over the safety of the individual. Thus the age of individualism in this case coincided with the expansion of governmental power. It is quite evident that the city colonies were quite as advanced in their development in this respect as was the mother-country; for the fact that, together with Corinth and Thebes, Locri and Catana also appear among the cities which adopted a written law, is no less well established than the backwardness of Sparta, where the introduction of any law other than traditional was resisted on principle. The new codes were compilations of old customs. In part they were strictly conservative; but they were also favourable to progress, and endeavoured to secure the results of

previous development. The written law protected the lives and the property of all citizens, subjected the blood-feud at least to the regulations of the state, determined penalties, and sought to influence public morality by numerous commands and precepts.

The attempt to effect an improvement in the calendar is closely connected with the introduction of writing, and the written law. Time was reckoned according to periods of eight years (*octaëteris*), divided into five years of twelve months each, equal to 354 days, and three years of thirteen months each, equal to 384 days, so that the count became wrong by one month at the end of every 160 years.

Finally, this century had the effect of broadening the intellectual horizon of the Greeks. This can be seen from the legend of the Argonauts, which was born of Milesian discoveries in the Black Sea region, and from the removal of the gates of Hades from the western coast of the Peloponnesus, which had sufficed for the narrower views of earlier times, to the extreme end of the greater Syrtis, and later to Iberia, the Islands of the Blest lying somewhere beyond in Oceanus. From the extreme northeast of the Greek sphere of civilisation, from the city of Olbia (see p. 76), which lay among salt lakes and swamps, knowledge finally came to the Greeks of the ancient caravan road that led to Central Asia, extending from the mouth of the Danube, near the swamps of the Bielosero, through the wooded plains of Kama to the Thyssagetæ (perhaps the Tschussawaia of modern times), crossing the Ural Mountains between Nisse, Tagilsk, and Yekaterinburg, descending into the region between the Irtysh and the Obi, where the Iurks, the ancestors of the Magyars, dwelt, following the Irtysh, past the Semipalatinsk of to-day, and ending on the other side of the Altai. At that early time information had already come to the Greeks of the Turkish races, the Arimaspi (Huns), as well as of the Chinese, as is shown by Aristeas, the author of the epic of the Arimaspi.

From a feudal state the Greeks had developed in a surprisingly short time into a manufacturing and trading community. The kingship lost its leading position in the greater number of towns; and a powerful nobility had been evolved, whose strength in time of peace consisted in great landed possessions, and in time of war, in military service. But the course of development pressed onwards irresistibly without stop or stay. With the rise of trade and manufacture and the creation of an enormous sphere of commerce through the agency of the colonial centres, with the introduction of new intellectual ideals and standards through the art of writing, and of new material values through a minted coinage, a new and flourishing town population, rich in personal property and spurred on to activity by a full knowledge of the world, arose in place of the old inhabitants, divided into tribe and clan. Personal property won for itself an important position in the Greek state. Greece, with the exception of some of the mountain stocks of Æolians and Acarnanians, passed at one step from the obscurity of her mediæval age into the clear light of history. Instead of landed property or cattle and metal bars, the ancient mediums of exchange, money became the measure of wealth, and by destroying ancient restrictions and creating new lines of action, furthered the growth of states.

9. THE PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION (SIXTH CENTURY)

A. Efforts Towards Unity

The spirit of economic activity that had arisen on all sides, supplying work for thousands of hands, had one great effect in knitting men closely together. The necessity of co-operation, of finding helpers among one's fellow-beings, brought with it the need for joining still closer together those who already possessed common ties of family, language, and environment, and a common past. The city, which, by reason of its vast influence, drew all the forces of the country to itself, assumed the position of leader; and towns, which, owing to their favourable situation for commerce, promised greater comfort in life to the dwellers in the country, increased in size and in prosperity to a far greater degree than their less favoured neighbours. Countries became more or less closely knit together internally, according to the degree of pre-eminence enjoyed by the chief centre. The impulse towards union was felt far beyond the confines of the district or canton. A flood of religious conceptions, preserved from time immemorial, lent its aid to the general movement towards consolidation. To pray to the gods in common, in the same manner as fathers and forefathers had worshipped together, to consult the oracles, not only in reference to political matters, but also with regard to ordinary events of daily life, such as to discover a thief or to find out whether or not a journey should be undertaken — these were all absolutely necessary to the Greek character. About the oracles and centres of cults new communities ever tended to grow up.

The ancient religious centre, Olympia, in the country of Elis, had long played a prominent part in the gradual drawing together of all Greeks, of the mainland, of the islands, and of the West. In a quiet valley, far removed from the world, where the Alpheus, the tributary of the Cladeus, and the pine-clad hills formed a natural amphitheatre, the people of Greece united in the exercise of body and of mind, learned that "possession was nothing, and meritorious acquisition everything." The Greek people, whose foremost representatives competed here for the wreath of olive, and, returning victors to their homes, received extraordinary honours, here learned to strive towards an ideal. Weapons were at rest throughout the whole of Greece when the games began, and the peace of the gods accompanied the pilgrims to Olympia. A common method of reckoning time, according to Olympiads (beginning with the year 776), was adopted. To be a competitor in the games, it was necessary to be a pure-blooded Greek and a descendant of freemen. Moreover, it was taken for granted that no blood-feud, guilt of sacrilege, or the crime of refusing to fight for his country, rested upon a man who entered the lists. The contests were in leaping, throwing the discus, spear-casting, running (600 Olympic feet equal 630 feet) and wrestling; and in the chariot races (2.79 miles), an idea could be obtained of the progress of Greek horse-breeding.

During this period the art of sculpture advanced rapidly in development; and, instead of the rude, wooden figures of gods, familiar to us from the designs stamped on coins, images were made in bronze, and sculptors sought to obtain a true likeness in their statues of the victors in the Olympic games. The Heraium

ANCIENT GREECE.
Scale 1:3 500 000.
Hellenic Races:
Aeolians
Dorians
Ionians
Macedonia
Epirus
ATTICA
ILLYRIA
MACEDONIA
THRACE
PROPONTIS
BITHYNIA
MYSIA
PHRYGIA
PONTUS EUXINUS
Chalcidice
Cephallenia
Zacynthus
Cythera
Melos
Lesbos
Chios
Samos
Andros
Tenos
Icaria
Naxos
Thera
Rhodes
Carpathos
CRETE
Myrtoian Sea
CARPATHIAN SEA
Hellespont
Troas
Lemnos
Imbros
Thasos
Samothrace
Cyprus
Paphos
Sidon
Tyre
Ascalon
Jerusalem
Jericho
Gaza
Rhinocorura
Pelusium
Memphis
Heliopolis
Alexandria
Canopus
Naucratis
Sais
Bubastis
Tanis
Pelusiac Mouth
Sebennytic Mouth
Bolbitine Mouth
Canopic Mouth
Phatnitic Mouth
Mendesian Mouth
Tanitic Mouth
Delta
Nile
Red Sea
Arabian Gulf
Gulf of Suez
Gulf of Aqaba
Dead Sea
Sea of Galilee
Lake Sirbonis
Lake Mareotis
Lake Menzaleh
Lake Timsah
Lake Bitter
Lake Moeris
Lake Tritonis
Lake Libya
Lake Pallas
Lake Triton
Lake Phenea
Lake Stymphalis
Lake Copais
Lake Lerna
Lake Trichonis
Lake Pamvotis
Lake Ascuris
Lake Prespa
Lake Ochrida
Lake Lychnitis
Lake Doiran
Lake Cercinitis
Lake Bistonis
Lake Apollonia
Lake Volvi
Lake Koronia
Lake Ismaris
Lake Mesolonghi
Lake Vistonis
Lake Xynias
Lake Karla
Lake Kopais
Lake Marathon
Lake Vrana
Lake Kopais
Lake Kopais
Lake Kopais

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Pityusa, I. [Petsa, Spezzia] . . . E5
Plataea [Kokla] . . E4
Poemanenus [Manias] I2
Polyaegus, I. (Aegean S.) [Pelagonisi] . F3
Polyaegus, I. (Myrtoian S.) [Polinos] . F6
Polyrrhenia . . . E7
Pontus Euxinus [Black Sea] L1
Poseidium, town [Posidi] I7
— Prom. (Chalcidice) [Posidi] . . . E3
— Prom. (Phrygia) [Bozburun] . . . K2
Potamus * . . . .
Potidaea [† Kassandra] E2
Prasiae D5
Priansus G7,8
Priapus [Karabogha] . I2
Priene [† Samsun] . I5
Probalinthus * . . . .
Proconnesus [Marmora] I2
Propontis [S. of Marmora] . . . IK2
Prusa [Brussa] . . L2
Psacum, Prom. [Spatha] E7
Psaphis * . . . .
Psophis C5
Psyra [Psara] . . . G4
Pydna [Kitros] . . D2
Pylus in Elis . . . C5
— in Messenia [Pal Navarino] . . . C6
Pyra, Mt. [Kathavothra] D4
Pyrrhi Castra . . . B2
Rhamnus * . . . .
Rheba [Riva] . . L1
Rheneia [Megali-Dili] G5
Rhium, Prom. . . . C4
Rhithymna [Rethymnon, Retimo] . . F7
Rhodian Chersonesus . K6
Rhodope Mts. [Despoto-Planina] . . FG1
Rhodus, I. . . . IK5,6
Rhoetium H2,3
Rhyndacus [Adirnastschai] . . . L3
Salamis I. [Kuluri, Salamis] . . . E5
— B. of * . . . .
Sale G2
Same [Samos] . . B4
Samonium, Prom. [Sideros] . . . H7
Samos, I. & town [Samos] H5
Samothrace, I. [Samathraki] . . . G2
Sane E2
Sardes [† Sart] . . K4
Saronic G. [Aegina] E5
Sarus [Saria] . . I7
Sason, I. [Saseno] . A2
Satnioeis [Tuzla-tschai] H3
Scamander [Menderez] H3
Scampa [Elbassan] . B1
Scarpheia . . . D4
Scepsis I3
Sciathus [Skiathos] . E3
Scione E3
Scolus DE2
Scotussa (Thrace) [Demirhissa] . . E1
— (Thessaly) [† Supli] D3
Scylace K2
Scyllaeum, Prom. [Skyli] E5
Scyllus C5
Scyros [Skyros] . . F4
Sellasia D5
Selymbria [Silivri] . K1
Seriphos, I. [Serphos] F5
Sestus [Boghali] . . H2
Sicinos [Sikinos] . . G6
Sicyon [† Vasilika] D5
Sidene [Bigha] . . I2
Sigeum [Jenischehr] H3
Sigrium, Prom. [Sigri] G3
Singus, G. of [Hagion Oros] . . . EF2
Singus [Sykia] . . E2
Siphnos, I. [Siphenos, Sifanto] . . . F5,6
Siphylus Mts. [Manisa Dagh] . . . I4
Sirrhae, Sirae [Seres] E1
Sithonia [Longos] . E2,3
Smyrna [Smyrna, Izmir] I4
Sollium B4
Sparta [Sparti] . . D5
Spartolus DE2
Spata * . . . .
Sperchelus [Alamana] D4
Sphacteria, I. [Sphagia] C6
Sphendale * . . . .
Sporades . . . H5,6,I6
— North EF3,4
Stageirus [† Lymbiada] E2
Stenyclarus . . . D5
Stratus [† Lepenu] . C4
Strophades, I. [Strivali] BC5
Strymon [Struma] . . E1
Strymonic G. [Rendina] EF2
Stymphalus . . . D5
Styra [Stura] . . . F4
Styx [Mavroneri] . . D4,5
Sunium, Prom. [Kavo Kolonnaes] . . . EF5
Sybota, I. [Syvota] . B3
Syme [Symi] . . . I6
Syracellae [Malgara] H2
Syrnae, Is. [Sirini] H6
Syros, I. [Syra] . . F5

Tabae [Davas] . . K5
Taenarum, Prom. [C. Matapan] . . . D6
Tanagra [Grimada] E4
Tarsius [Manias-tschai] I2,3
Taulantii A1,2
Tauriana [Doiran] . D1
Taygetus Mts. [Pentedaktylon] . . . D5,6
Tegea [† Piali] . . D5
Telmissus [Makri] L6
Telos [Tilos, Episkopi] I6
Tempe, Valley [Lykostomon] . . . D3
Temple of Athene Helotis * . . . .
Tenedos H3
Tenos, I. [Tinos] . . G5
Teos [Sigadschik] . H4
Teuthrania . . . IK3
Teuthrone [Kotronaes] D6
Thasos, I. [Thasos] F2
— town [† Palaeapolis] F2
Thaumaci [Domokos] D3
Thebae (Thessalia) D3
— (Boeotia) [Thiva] E4
Thera or Calliste [Santorini] . . . G6
Therasia [Thirasia] G6
Therma (Thessalonice) [Saloniki] . . . D2
Thermaic G. [Saloniki] DE2,3
Thermum [Petrochori] C4
Thermopylae, Pass D3
Thespiae [† Erimokastron] . . . E4
Thesprotii . . . B3
Thessalia . . . CD3
Thessaliotis . . . CD3
Thorae * . . . .
Thoricus [Therikos] F5
Thracia GH1,K1
Thracian Pen. [Galipoli] H2
Thracian Bosporus [Bosphorus] . . L1
Thracian S. . . . { EF3, { FG3
Thria * . . . .
Thriasis, Plain * . . . .
Thyamis [Kalamas] B3
Thyateira (Pelopia) [Akhissar] . . . I4
Thybarna I4
Thyrea D5
Tiryns [† Palaea Nauplia] . . . D5
Tlos [† Duvar] . . L6
Tomarus Mts. (Epeirus) [Olytzika] . . . B3
— (Illyria) [Tomor] AB2
Toronaean G. [Kassandra] . . . E2,3
Torone [† Toroni] . E3
Trachis D4
Tralles [Aidin-Gizelhissar] . . . I5
Trephia, I. [Agrinion] C4
Tricca [Trikkala] . C3
Tricorynthus * . . . .
Triopium, Prom. [C. Krio] . . . I6
Tritaea C4
Troas H2,3
Troezen [Ruins near Damala] . . . E5
Troy [Ilion] . . . H3
Tymphae . . . B2,C3
Tymphe Mts. [Mitschikeli-G.] . . . BC3
Tymphrestus, Mt. [Veluchi] . . . C4
Tyrissa C2

Xanthia G2
Xanthus, R. [Eschen-tschai] . . . I,6
— town [† Ginik] . . L6

Zacynthus, I. & town [Zante] . . . B5
Zarax [Porto Geraka] E6
Zelcia [Sarikoi] . . I2
Zone G2

and the temple of Zeus Olympus abounded in statues of ivory and gold; and the treasure houses of Byzantium, Sybaris, Cyrene, Selinus, Megara, and Metapontum, prove the close connection of all the regions of Greece with Olympia.

Delphi, the ancient seat of the oracle of Apollo and centre of the Amphictyonic league, was the most important of all the towns of central Greece. Through the medium of the Amphictyonic league, international laws were introduced, thereby rendering war less cruel. The water supply, for instance (of besieged cities), was not to be cut off, and no town, a member of the league, was ever to be destroyed. Soon roads were built, leading to the mountain valley, far from the bustle of the world, from which as a centre the influence of the priests of Apollo went out over the whole of Greece through their oracle. It was in the sixth century that competitions in poetical composition and improvisation were introduced at the autumn meetings of the Amphictyony.

Centres of local interest sprang up on the Isthmus of Corinth, in Nemea, and in Delos, where the inhabitants of the country-side united at the festivals, fairs, and games in honour of Poseidon, Zeus, and Apollo; and here, too, various competitions were introduced.

The feeling of the unity of all Greeks was furthered by common rites of worship, common aims, and common customs. At the same time, however, the different states increased in strength; and among them two were especially distinguished as being the most perfect embodiments of the Doric and Ionian races: the military state of Sparta and the commonwealth of Athens.

B. The Military State: Sparta

The Doric race developed its peculiar form of state in the valley of the Eurotas, beneath the snow-caps of the Taygetus Mountains. (See Fig. 4, plate at page 260). Its character might be found expressed in the athletic competitions at the various festivals: the development of bodily strength and of will power. Whoever examines philosophically the form of the Spartan state as an aristocratic and despotic oligarchy, imposed upon a conquered population of different race — the various gradations of the people remind one of the various relations of the population of England, according to the Domesday Book — will at once recognise that it was the result of years of steady development; that it could not have been the outcome of a single lawgiver. Lycurgus, the mythical founder of Sparta, was originally a Peloponnesian deity, who not until later was given by man the attributes of a human being.

The form of government founded by Lycurgus was marked by a double kingship, originating in the hostility of two families. The idea seems primitive to us. The kings were the high priests of the nation and the supreme commanders of the army. The ephors, who had the power of summoning even the king before their tribunal, stood as the embodiment of the people of Sparta. The council of the ancients (*gerusia*), consisting of twenty-eight citizens of sixty years and over and including the king, wrested the position of supreme judicial power from the ephors. In the Apella the people had the privilege of voting for councillors, ephors, and other functionaries, as well as of deciding political questions, such as alliances, declarations of war, and negotiations for peace.

The land was probably at first portioned out into equal lots; but in historical times it was divided among such citizens as were possessed of full rights (*Homoioi, Spartiates*), who dined in common (*syssitiæ*), each furnishing a certain fixed contribution. In case of any member being unable to supply his quota, he was thrust out of the circle, and reduced to the rank of a man possessed of fewer political privileges (*hypomeiones*). The pre-Doric towns which had been peaceably won were inhabited by *perioeki*, small farmers, who paid tribute and rendered service in war. The conquered in battle became state slaves (*helots*), whose task was to cultivate the land of their masters. The Spartan education, which began so early and was devoted to producing a harsh, inflexible character, supported by the custom of dining in common, completely destroyed all possibility of family life; but this disciplinary education meant everything to the Spartans — men were wont to forget even their own parentage.

The diffusion of the Spartans over the fertile plain of Messenian and the subjection of the pre-Doric population, was a result of the two Messenian wars, of which the poet Tyrtæus, who himself played an important part in the Spartan development by reason of his spirited battle-songs, composed during the second war, furnishes the best description. Owing to the spread of her power over the southern part of the peninsula, Sparta drew other states within her sphere of influence, and with the assistance of Corinth and Sicyon formed the Peloponnesian league, the fame of which — owing to the fact that two-thirds of the allied forces were placed at the disposal of Sparta, and by reason of the splendid training of the warriors of the latter country, which assumed the leadership with unlimited power — penetrated as far as Asia, and procured an alliance with Crœsus, King of Lydia. Even an unfortunate campaign against Polycrates of Samos had but little effect on the renown of the Spartan people in battle; and the results of the Persian wars only proved what a tremendous advantage Sparta possessed over Athens, at least as a military state.

C. The Commonwealth of Athens

The Ionians were characterised by remarkable versatility and the capacity of developing all their intellectual powers, thus standing in strong contrast to the Spartans, with their one-sided development of muscular power and of will alone. As Odysseus was to Heracles, the hero of the happy and serene mind and most varied of talents, to the man of gigantic physical strength and iron will, who took all possible labours upon his own shoulders, so were the Ionians to the Dorians, excepting only that the individual of the latter race first laboured for the benefit of the community, and only later in the interest of his own person. Athens was at first a tribal state under the rule of kings; later, it was governed by an official (basileus) chosen from the ruling house, who held his office for life, until the increase in duties led to the appointment of three functionaries (basileus, polemarch, archon), chosen every ten years. Finally, nine officials were elected each year (six thesmothetæ, in addition to the three already named), who, upon expiration of their term of office entered the state council or *Areopagus*, which exercised the highest duties of supervision. Eligibility to office was restricted to members of the old tribes, who formed their own associa-

tions for worship, and upon whom during the very earliest times the right of ownership of the entire land of the state had devolved.

The first important alteration in the form of the original tribal state took place, perhaps, in the seventh century — the exact date is uncertain — and was occasioned by financial and maritime considerations. Those propertied families, or tribes, which were not noble (although they had their own associations for worship), were now to all intents and purposes recognised as belonging to the nobility, and were united with the old aristocratic tribes in forty-eight revenue districts, called *naucrariæ* (from *naus,* a ship), on account of their maritime importance. Among these districts, the three hundred and sixty tribes (divided, respectively, into four phyles of three phratries each) were distributed, eight tribes to each of twenty-four districts and seven tribes to each of the other twenty-four. In the distribution of tribes, the original homes of the various families were taken into consideration. The extreme wing of the old nobility endeavoured to prevent this breach in the ancient form of government, and, under the leadership of Cylon, rebelled, assisted by Megara, but without success.

The introduction of written law in the codification of the old traditional penal regulations by Draco indicated a further step in development. It is said that Draco, in addition to being a law-giver, was also a political reformer; he determined that political rights should be extended to all men who were able to produce a complete equipment for war, while the possession of a certain definite income was necessary in order that a citizen might be eligible to hold office. The account of Draco's reforms have come down to us from partisans of the oligarchy who lived in the fifth century, and thus may, indeed, have been invented at that time.

The adoption of a financial system during the seventh century, and the attendant transformation of economic conditions, caused a great disturbance in domestic affairs. It occasioned much dissatisfaction among the smaller land-holders of Attica. The poor were the debtors of the rich, and cultivated their land almost entirely for the benefit of the wealthier classes: the yield of the greater part of the land belonging to the *hectemori* — so called on account of their being permitted to keep but a sixth part of the harvest for themselves — fell into the hands of creditors. "Many a man, having lost all hope, fled from his creditors, and wandered far away from land to land," said Solon; and others were sold as debtors "into foreign servitude."

Solon, the first really clear-cut personality of Athenian history, was elected to the office of arbiter and archon in 594, and endeavoured to remedy the evil. From him emanated a truly refreshing breath of idealism; his elegies — addresses to the people in verse — show him to have had a luminous practical mind, and to have been aware of the needs of all classes: "Never have I allowed injustice to win the day."

The *seisachtheia* (emancipation from burdens) freed debtors from the necessity of supplying their creditors with produce from the mortgaged estates. Borrowing money on the security of one's person was forbidden; and as this law brought with it the impossibility of any further borrowing, it is probable that Solon must have abrogated the law of tribal rights in property, and have made land the transferable possession of the individual. A limit was set to the quantity of ground that could be owned by any one man, in order to prevent

the bulk of the property from falling into the hands of a few large owners. The enormous prices to which foodstuffs had arisen, owing to their free exportation — oil alone excepted — were reduced through a general law forbidding the exportation of food products; and, through the adoption of the Eubœan system of coinage, weights, and measures, relations were established with the great commercial powers, Chalcis and Eretria. Political rights were divided proportionately among four classes, according to their incomes (500, 300, 200 measures of grain and less); and thus the classes of society were made up of wealthy men, leaders in politics or war, small landowners, and labourers. From the first class the highest state officials, archons and treasurers, were chosen; the fourth class was excluded from all office, but formed part of the popular assembly and the courts. The three upper classes were drawn upon for the heavy-armed soldiers; the fourth class composed the light infantry and also furnished the seamen. The council of the Four Hundred, to which citizens of the three upper classes were elected, was subordinate to the Areopagus, which now acted as the official censor and protector of the constitution. The privilege of appeal from the decision of any magistrate to the popular tribunals tended to increase the rights of the people. Officials were chosen by lot from a list of candidates.

In spite of its good intentions, the body of laws instituted by Solon was unsatisfactory to the various classes: to the inhabitants of the coasts (*paralioi*), who, for the greater part, were members of the middle class and possessed the largest industrial interests; still less to the landowners of the plains (*pediakoi*), who were not prepared to support measures designed for the amelioration of the position of the lower classes; and, least of all, to the radically inclined mountain dwellers (*diakrioi*), who pursued all sorts of doubtful callings in life. It was chiefly owing to the support of the mountaineers that Pisistratus was enabled to found his tyranny, which, twice interrupted, in 536 and 527, continued after the second date undisturbed until his death. Improvement in the administration of justice, internal colonisation, the establishment of external relations with Thessaly and Naxos, and a personal supervision of affairs, characterised the rule of Pisistratus, the remembrance of which lived in the minds of the Athenians as "life under the good Cronos."

The period was marked by great intellectual and economic activity, the unification of the inhabitants, by a gradual reconciliation of class differences, and by an outburst of profound religious thought. Temples and aqueducts were built in Athens and Eleusis. Now for the first time solemn processions, in which representatives from Athenians dwelling in foreign countries (later, of all the citizen colonies) participated, ascended the acropolis in honour of Athena, and celebrated the festival of the Panathenians. A religious state, almost, arose from the national religion. It was characteristic of the wise and patriotic rule of Pisistratus that both the rural cult of Dionysus and the performance of tragedies, which were linked with it, were furthered and promoted. Athenian commerce, and especially the trade in the matchless ornamented pottery produced by Athenian masters, prospered as it never had before; and, together with external splendour, there came about a great refinement in character. Not without the assistance of the followers of Pisistratus was the worship of Orpheus carried on, and directly by their aid the Eleusinian cult of Demeter was raised to one of the most ardently cherished religions of the state.

Of the two sons of Pisistratus, one was murdered, and the other finally had to yield to the Alcmæonidæ, a tribe that had been banished to Sparta, and had there won the favour of the priests of the oracle at Delphi. The troubles that followed were ended by Clisthenes, who, as representative of the people, enabled Athens to take the greatest step yet attempted on the road towards a complete commonwealth. The tribal state of Athens was transformed into the Attic democracy. The whole country was divided up into demes (townships), varying in population, each governed by its own demarch, who watched over the office-holders of his deme, and whose duty it was to convoke the assemblies of the citizens of the district. Every deme chose its own candidates for the council; and their number corresponded to the number of inhabitants, an entirely modern idea. The candidates were elected by lot. All demes of the coast, as well as the demes of the interior, and the city of Athens and its surroundings, were united into ten districts (*trittyes*). Every district of the coast was joined to a district of the interior and to one of the city, thus forming a phyle (tribe), with the result that the ten newly created phyles were not made up by the union of noble families, as had formerly been the case, but constituted mere electoral districts, and became the foundation of the new territorial military system, according to which each of the ten phyles was pledged to supply a regiment of foot and a squadron of horse. At the head of the Athenian state stood the Council of Five Hundred, elected by the tribes, and entrusted with the duty of considering in advance all measures that were to be laid before the popular assembly. The Five Hundred succeeded in narrowing the sphere of activity of the archons, in the same manner as the Roman senate later restricted the authority of the consuls. The minor affairs of the council were administered by a committee of fifty, the prytany, and the rotation of these committees, ten in number, led to the adoption of a new calendar, by which the year of three hundred and sixty days was divided into ten prytanies of thirty-six days each (leap-year, three hundred and ninety days). The preservation of the constitution was entrusted to the care of all citizens; for, by the institution of ostracism, any person deemed dangerous to the commonwealth might be banished from Athens for a period of ten years by popular vote.

Athens vindicated its new constitution in two successful battles against Thebes and Chalcis. A brazen quadriga, portions of whose pedestal we still possess, and the fetters of the Chalcidians, which Herodotus saw in the citadel at Athens, testify to that happy war, in which Athens, freed from all fear of her Peloponnesian enemies by the refusal of Corinth to join them, defeated the Bœotians, and after a second victory over the Chalcidians, divided the land of Chalcis among its poor citizens (the first *kleruchia*). According to this military and economic institution of the *kleruchia,* individuals to who land was granted retained their citizenship, but did not possess the right to transfer the newly acquired property. They were not permitted to rent out the land, but were obliged to cultivate it themselves. They did not have the right to coin money; and this, together with the fact that they sent sacrificial animals to the Athenian festivals, demonstrated their dependence upon the mother-country. We still possess the fragmentary remains of a popular decree respecting the despatch of *kleruchs* to Salamis. Their standing before the law was regulated by what became later the *kleruchian* canon.

Thus in the sixth century Athens, proceeding in a very different manner from that adopted by Sparta, succeeded in utilising all the forces of the different classes of her population; and, by giving a broad foundation to her political system, ensured the utmost elasticity and endurance to her political and military life.

D. General Conditions in the Sixth Century

The work of civilisation begun in the seventh century was actively continued during the succeeding period of a hundred years. The striving after a moral ideal became general in the people; and their lives were influenced by the homely wisdom contained in the pregnant maxims of great men, about whom tradition spun a circle of legends, just as it did about the heroes of the age (The Sayings of the Seven Wise Men of Greece).

The idea that moral wrong is the foundation of misfortune became firmly fixed in the minds of men. Nowhere was the demand for purity in life more deeply grounded than in the teachings of Pythagoras, who founded his school in Crotona. There the youths of the upper classes listened to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as well as to the explanations of mathematical principles (the problem of the squared hypotenuse). They learned that sounds imperceptible to sense could be explained and measured by means of the relations of numbers; and thus, finally, according to this primitive philosophy, numbers came to be looked upon as the elementary principle of the world of sensation. It was already known that the earth, like the other heavenly bodies, was a globe, revolving about a central point, which — according to Pythagoras — was the invisible internal fire.

In contrast to the mathematical exactitude of the Pythagorean teachings stood the doctrines of Xenophanes, who seems to have been a complete sceptic. He would admit only the *probability* of human knowledge, and with special emphasis denied the pantheon of the epic poets, accepting but one deity.

A multitude of new conceptions arose in the minds of this people, which ever endeavoured to fathom the secrets of the universe, and struggled on towards the discovery of universal laws. The Ionians were especially distinguished as investigators and students; and, as a result of their fruitful activity, not only laid the foundations of philosophy, but made the beginnings of natural science and of the knowledge of different lands and races. By methods first employed in Babylonia, Thales was enabled to foretell the eclipse of May 25, 585. Anaximander, by collecting and arranging statements made by seamen, traders, and colonists, endeavoured to construct the first map. He emphasised the contrast between the manifoldness of the world and the unity of the eternal, infinite substance that lies at the base of all things. Knowledge of human character was extended further and further. Passion and longing ring in the songs of Sappho and Alcæus, and, with increasing independence, poets ventured to tear the old legends from their epic frames, working them up singly, in the full exercise of their own imagination, as did Stesichorus of Himera. The artistic genius of men was unweariedly employed, striving to free itself from Oriental tradition and from the old wooden technique. Powerful attempts at the delineation of facial expression and at the representation of muscular play

were presented in the statue of Artemis in Ephesus, and also in the naked figures of youths (the so-called Apollos) of Tenea and Andros.

Contemporary with this assertion of individuality, and with the escape from the fetters of tradition and untrained observation, was the tendency towards the unity of all the Greek races. In worship, custom, language, writing, poetry, and the plastic arts, the influences of the different tribes developed into a system of ramifications, extending from country to country. The feeling of unity increased with knowledge of life. Only some great external catastrophe was needed to produce a united Greek people, composed, it is true, of many different grades of culture, but internally one and indivisible. Through the support of a common cause against some external foe, the already matured city could grow into a great power. The Persian wars were the making of the Attic empire.

10. THE AGE OF GREAT WARS (THE PERSIAN WARS)

THE Assyrian empire had greatly weakened the resisting powers of the other Asiatic nations, and, indeed, had almost destroyed them so that it was quite easy for the Persian empire, which reaped the benefit of this development, rapidly to expand into a world empire. The empire had been founded by Cyrus, organised on a sound financial basis by Darius, and was endowed with moral ideals by the teachings of Zoroaster. It had acknowledged the superiority of Greek civilisation by employing Greek architects for the building of Susa, and had learned to value the superior talents of its Greek subjects in Asia Minor. (See Vol. III.) An insurrection among these Ionian Greeks, not very serious, it is true, was, however, sufficient to call the attention of the Athenians to Asia, awakening in them an anti-Persian feeling; so that finally the plans of the kings of Persia were directed against Athens itself. The great sympathy of the Athenian people with the fate of the Ionians was shown by the effects of the performance of a tragedy of Phrynichus. It so moved the Athenian audience that its presentation was forbidden.

The battle of Marathon (September, 490) shattered the attempt of the Persians to extend their dominion over Greece, and removed all terror of the Persian name. The Athenians, whose individuality had been developed to the highest degree, and who were fighting for their homes, led by a man from the Thracian Chersonesus — Miltiades — won a brilliant victory over the disorganised Persian rabble. In a second and more severe encounter (480), Spartans took first place among the Greek patriots, owing to the sublime courage and heroic death of their king, Leonidas, and his faithful followers; although, indeed, such a useless sacrifice could not be called precisely successful from a military point of view, and can only be explained by the desire of Sparta to make it appear — and with the least amount of loss to herself — that she desired to fight for the cause even of non-Doric Greece. But already at Salamis it required the highest diplomatic skill of an Athenian, Themistocles, who had built the Athenian fleet with the revenue from the state mines, to force the unwilling allies to take part in the naval battle. Together with Themistocles, the entire Athenian nation deserved the highest praise for their self-sacrifice; and also the

Areopagus, for its wise management of affairs. The battles of Platæa and Mycale (479) completed the victory of the Greeks. It is true that on the scrolls of the brazen columns of Constantinople, dedicated in gratitude to the Delphic Apollo, the Lacedæmonians stand first in the list of thirty-one Greek states who participated in the war; but in the hearts of the Greeks the memory of the noble position taken by Athens in the wars for independence lived on; and a new confederation, the Confederacy of Delos, was formed, by which Athens became the leader of the insular Greeks. The quotas of money contributions and ships of war were arranged in detail by Aristides; and 460 talents were paid in at Delos, the administrative capital of the league, during the first year. The victory won by Cimon at the river Eurymedon decided the struggle in Asia Minor in favour of the Greeks. The prosperity of Athens during this time is inseparably bound up with the work of Themistocles and Cimon. The construction of two fortified walls, which connected Athens with the harbours, and of the southern walls of the acropolis, the laying out of the state cemetery, and the foundation of a great temple to Athene can all be traced back to these men.

The tragedies, performances in honour of the god Dionysus, had become broader in scope, inasmuch as a member of the chorus now played an independent rôle, discoursing with the latter, and thus relieving the monotony of the earlier monologue. Citizens vied with one another in improving the equipment of the choruses in which they took part, and there was a general rise in the elaborateness and richness of stage properties. In "The Persians" Æschylus (525-456) depicted the period of the recent Persian War, giving full expression to the religio-mythic tendencies of the Athenians; the same play was performed, under the patronage of Pericles, at the opening of the new Dionysus Theatre in 472. Through the introduction of a second player in his dramas, Æschylus gained greater freedom, and in his works the old myths came to life once more. According to his philosophy of life, an inexorable law of the universe governed both gods and men; but it was a just law, and the unwavering faith in the Supreme Power that we find in the dramas of Æschylus seems to have been an inheritance from the deeply religious age of Pisistratus. Never was an author an educator of the people to such an extent as Æschylus.

Aside from Æschylus, this great period found its expression in Polygnotus. In the works of the great master of painting, who impressed the stamp of his genius on the art of his time, we find, closely connected with a deeply religious feeling, the glorification of Athens as leader in the struggle against barbarism, and the representation of every phase of human emotion and passion. We are able to study his influence in the drawings upon the red and black figured vases, which now became broader and firmer in touch, and to recognise traces of it in the delineation of womanly beauty, in the soft, clinging draperies, which permitted portions of the body to shimmer through, and, lastly, in the representation of passion and pain. The splendid exultation of the Athenians in their victory was embodied in his pictures, which hung in the decorated hall of the Parthenon: the fall of Troy and the battle of Theseus with the Amazons were companion pieces to the triumph of the Greeks over the Persians at Marathon. The vigorous representation of the destruction of the wooers of Penelope by Odysseus, found in a sepulchre in Lycia ("Heroon of Gjoelbaschi"), in which the influence of an original by Polygnotus that was once to be seen in the temple

of Athene at Platæa can be clearly perceived, furnishes us a clear conception of the greatness of his art. But both he and his school also chose scenes of ordinary daily life for their subjects, which later were to be found in a thousand varieties in the vase paintings. Never, up to the present day, has the passion for beauty in household furniture and utensils penetrated to such a wide circle as then; never has art been so popular as it was then, as shown by the paintings on the vases, to which even the greatest masters contributed models and drawings.

11. THE AGE OF PERICLES (466-31)

THE fascination that the Athens of Pericles has ever exercised upon the minds of men does not spring from a sentimental spirit of glorification, but from the appreciation of the many-sided and rich development of personality which we are accustomed to call culture, and which reached such a marvellous state of perfection at that time. The following words of Thucydides in the mouth of Pericles are singularly true, and particularly applicable to the golden age of Athens: "Great men have all lands for their sepulchres; their glory and memory are not confined to the inscriptions and monuments in their native lands, but live without the aid of written words, preserved even in distant regions, not in memorials of stone and brass, but in the hearts of men." To accuse the age of which Thucydides wrote: "We love the beautiful without extravagance, and knowledge without exaggeration," of a one-sided æstheticism is no less incorrect than to accept without reserve the gossip and the jests of comedies as historical testimony; and this, strangely enough, has happened with the writers of to-day who follow the example of the historian Ephorus.

Pericles perfected the organisation of the democracy. Already during his early days the conservative Areopagus had been robbed of its authority by Ephialtes, and the spheres of action of the popular assemblies and tribunals had been extended. The possibility of becoming a member of either of these institutions, as well as of the council, was opened to all by the payment of salaries to judges and councillors. The same object, the aid of the poorer classes in the exercise of their political rights and duties, was aimed at in the introduction of payment for the troops and for the support of the chief officials. The position of archon, to which shortly before citizens of the second class had been made eligible, was now opened to the third class, the small landowners. An opportunity to taste of the highest kind of pleasure the Athenians could enjoy was afforded to all when the theatre was thrown open to the people during the three days of the representation. In view of such an extensive participation in the government by the Athenian citizens, the necessity arose for investigating whether individuals were full-blooded Athenians; and on the proposal of Pericles himself the right of citizenship was limited to the children of citizens. The council was still to be consulted as to all questions that arose in the popular assembly; but an appeal from its judgment of any public official or candidate for office could be lodged with the popular tribunals; and the supervision of all public authorities, which had already been transferred from the Areopagus to the council, fell, in the course of development, into the hands of the popular assembly.

A change also took place in the foreign relations of Athens. The Confederacy of Delos, owing to the unwarlike disposition of its members, who became more and more inclined to offer cash subsidies in lieu of specific services, gradually developed into an empire, whose head, Athens, drew tribute from all territories. The last remnant of the old league disappeared with the removal of the treasury from Delos to Athens (454), by which the latter town obtained the unconditioned disposal of the funds of the confederacy. Finally, governmental districts, or provinces, for the collection of tribute were established. The Hellespontine, Thracian, Ionian, Carian, and island districts included all the cities liable to taxation.

The closer union of the separate parts of the empire with Athens as a centre was brought about by means of the *kleruchian* policy of Pericles. By the formation of colonies of citizens, the poorer classes were cared for, and the capital was rid of its restless unemployed. A mandate of the popular assembly, which has been preserved to the present day, respecting the emigration of citizens to Brea in Thrace, shows that the emigrants were taken entirely from the third and fourth classes. Such colonies were formed in Thrace, on the islands, even on the coasts of the Black Sea. The paternal government succeeded — at least in its teachings, if not in practical life — in lessening the prejudice against labour: "It is not poverty that is looked upon with contempt, but the spirit of idleness that refuses to defend itself against it," said Pericles, according to Thucydides.

The enormous territorial expansion of Athens increased the contrast to Sparta. The growth of Athenian commerce and the occupation of Megara and Achæa, rendered even greater the difference between Athens and the Peloponnesian commercial powers, especially Corinth and Ægina. When the latter, as well as Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris, became parts of the empire, Athens stood at the summit of her power. A better idea of her imperial policy can be obtained from a glance through the list of losses sustained by one tribe of Erechtheis during a single year (459-58) on the battle-fields of Cyprus, Egypt, Phœnicia, Haleis, and Ægina, than from words. The victory at Salamis in Cyprus (449) was the last battle of the Persian War in which Cimon was leader; and it was the occasion of a much-disputed, so-called Cimonic treaty between Athens and Persia, in which limits are supposed to have been set to the territories of the two empires. The defection of Bœotia, Locris, and Phocis from the confederacy was, in a measure, retrieved by the acquisition of Eubœa as an Athenian colony; but as early as 445 Athens, in the Thirty Years' Truce, resigned her possessions in the Peloponnesus.

Pericles was not entirely successful in his domestic policy: his great attempt to extend maritime commerce, through a national congress of all the states of Greece, and his scheme for a common memorial of the Persian wars, through the reconstruction of all the temples that had been destroyed, failed completely. Many steps in the development of the power of the Athenian democracy have wrongly been traced back to the influence which he exercised by virtue of his office as strategus and commissioner of public works, the highest position in the state. In spite of this, however, he appears to us as the incarnation of the great era in which he lived. Themistocles, far away in Magnesia on the Mæander, set up the statue of the "Demos," the ideal of the people, corporealised, as it had been set up in his own home; and it may seem to us to-day as if the features of the

"Demos" of Athens, in spite of its being above the law, and in spite of its autocracy, were those of Pericles. And even if the close intimacy between Pericles and the great artists and scholars of his time — Phidias, Sophocles, and Anaxagoras, for example — is in part mythical, the productions of that age needed for their being at least the atmosphere of the Athens of Pericles, the financial contributions supplied by the subjected members of the confederacy, the patronage of the well-to-do citizens, who prospered owing to the flourishing trade in the Black Sea that had followed the undertakings of the great statesman, and the intellectual consciousness that endowed the old state religion with a new significance, and directed the heightened activity following upon successful war towards the development of a higher moral life.

During this period the works of Phidias attained to perfection. His Athena Lemnia is the most noble of all representations of the goddess. The Bologna head (belonging to the statue now at Dresden) has a most charming expression of mild severity, blended with kindness. The lines of the slightly oval face are so delicate, the nose so finely cut, the thick, waving hair so beautiful, the mouth so powerful, that, in spite of the lips, which are a trifle heavy, we recognise in the perfect features of this masterpiece an image of ideal beauty. Although in this particular statue the spirit rather of the inner life of Athens is incorporated, the Athena Parthenos, forty feet in height, made of wood covered with ivory and gold, must have represented to the full the warlike, victorious self-confidence of the Attic people. The deep-set eyes, formed of precious stones, looked far off into the distance; the nostrils were distended in the joy of the play of life; over the transfigured lips flitted a smile of ineffable wisdom, and hair of gold flowed down beneath the helmet. The proud spirit of self-consciousness rested on the memory of the deeds of a glorious past; her left hand was supported by her shield; in her right glistened a golden goddess of victory, representing a people now at rest, harvesting the fruits of that which had been won in former days. In the ornamentation of the shield in relief, Pericles is to be recognised as one of the foremost in a battle with the Amazons. Although we may behold the Athena Lemnia in the original, and the Athena Parthenos in replica, our knowledge of the Olympian Zeus is gained only from descriptions and copies on coins. But it is certain that equal perfection was attained by Phidias in this work also; that only a purified conception of the god would have been possible to him, such only as would come to the mind of a man who himself had struggled to approach the perfection of the gods.

The frieze of the Parthenon, in which the pan-Athenians are portrayed for us with the most powerful versatility and the utmost perfection of technique — shown in the play of light and shade and in the matchless drapery — appears to us a symbolic representation of imperial Athens. The noble and beautiful youths, the rulers, soldiers, priests, and priestesses, the sacrificial animals, brought from all parts of the empire, the dancing girls and flute players — all pass before us in procession, expressed, as they only could be, by a self-conscious and powerful community. Even though the friezes and gables of the Parthenon are not of Phidias' own handiwork, but were fashioned according to his plans and sketches by skilled masters; nevertheless, the least of their figures breathes of the spirit of the age. The birth of Athene, the conception of which reminds us of Klinger's picture of "Christ on Olympus," and the guardianship exercised

over the city by Athene and Poseidon, the national deities, are especially appropriate to this period, which also saw the supremacy of Athens established on the sea. Thus Phidias was the artistic embodiment of the age of Pericles; and, in a certain sense, Cresilas, the sculptor who carved the "soul-entrancing" Pericles, and sounded the depths of art in his representation of the dying Amazon, may, as a master of portraiture and genre, be looked upon as a complement to the greater artist.

This was the time when Ictinus drew his plans for the Parthenon, the temple of Athene, goddess of the city. The difficulties caused by the differences of elevation in the slope of the acropolis were splendidly overcome by the propylæa: a wall, pierced by five doors, with six Doric columns, resting upon four steps and enclosing a roofed court, which was divided into three wings by six Ionic columns. Passing through the doors, one reached a court of somewhat higher level, and from its furthermost end arrived at the highest point of the acropolis. This highest point is crowned by Ictinus' Parthenon, built upon old foundations, ascribed to Themistocles. It is a building pervaded with mysterious life; an indescribable enchantment is called forth by its marvellous proportions: the steps are slightly arched in the middle; the walls and entablature curve inwards, the cornices and antefix outwards; lightness and grace are obtained by the swelling of the corner columns, and the regular fluting of all, which gradually taper upwards towards their capitals.

The colouring, too, was extraordinarily rich and magnificent, the blue of the triglyphs of the frieze contrasting with the red ground of the metopes: a song of triumph, as it were, of the Athenian spirit, which was also given utterance to in the Eumenides of Æschylus: "But I, in the glorious competition of battle, will jealously grant to this city victory over every other city on earth." And Sophocles, the great dramatist of the age of Pericles, in his prayer for Athens: "May it be blessed with all that leads to triumph and victory," expresses the poetic apotheosis of his land. The increase in the number of players to three, and the introduction of painted decorations, aided in the attainment of the highest development by the tragedy. The apt choice of material from the myths of Attica, the rich experience in life and of men, the deep insight into nature, the splendid development of the plot, and the profound grasp of the immutable laws of the universe, with which the vicissitudes of human fate are skilfully contrasted, lend an imperishable value to the dramas of Sophocles.

Herodotus (484-25), born in Halicarnassus, under Persian rule, increased men's knowledge of the world by his many journeys. Greatly influenced by the enthusiasm of his age, he has described for us the battles of the Greeks with the barbarians. His history breathes the passionate devotion of the war for independence. In it the motley world of Oriental peoples is painted, and the differences in the genius and customs of races are described by one who possessed a broad view, yet neglected no detail, and who could form just conclusions as to the greatness of different nations. Herodotus was not, perhaps, the most acute of critics; his powers of discrimination were not so developed that he could invariably distinguish the true from the false or the probable in myths and traditions; his faith was still, for the most part, fatalistic; and knowledge — above all, the knowledge of languages — did not yet correspond with the demands of a riper age. In spite of this, the descriptions of battles between the ancient

ATHENS AND THE ACROPOLIS; THE SOUTH-EAST SIDE, FROM THE VALLEY OF THE ILISSUS

On the heights, the Temple of Athena Parthenus. Below on the left, the Odeium of Herodes, and joining the Stoa of Eumeneia. In front to the left, the sixteen Corinthian columns of the Olympieium, temple of Zeus Olympius; farther to the right, the Arch of Hadrian, the boundary between the old city and "Hadrianopolis." On the slope to the right, behind the Olympieium, scarcely recognisable, the rows of seats of the Theatre of Dionysus; above them a grotto, now the chapel of Panagia Speliotissa.

Orient — that now must share its acquisitions, gained through thousands of years of slow development, with the youthful West, which, poor in soil but rich in will power, had steeled its sons for the contest — move us to-day even as they once moved the Athens of Pericles, where the populace received with acclamation the accounts of the great historian.

Anaxagoras, the friend of Pericles, was the first to conjecture that the universe was composed of a multitude of primal elements; and, reasoning in a dualistic sense, he considered these primitive forms of matter, at least in the beginning, to have been moved by spirit (νοῦς). This motion then continued according to mechanical laws; sun, moon, and stars, were hurled from one another by centrifugal force, a rapid rotation holding the heavenly bodies far from the earth, though occasionally messengers from the former, in the shape of meteors fall to the latter. His meteorological explanations of the Nile floods as occasioned by the melting of snow on the mountains, and of the winds as caused by differences in temperature and in the density of the atmosphere, have received due recognition only in recent times. The builder of the Piræus, the astronomer, meteorologist, and engineer, Meton, who conducted investigations as to the altitudes of mountains, and placed a sun-dial upon the Pnyx, also endeavoured to harmonise solar and lunar time — the metonic cycle of nineteen years.

Thus development went on in every line of human activity during the age of Pericles, and the importance of Athens was established for all time. At no period has the conservative element in the character of a people been so harmonised with the impulse towards progress that rules in men of genius. It was characteristic that the old Athens of narrow, crooked alleys and sharp turns and angles should send out colonists to Italy, where the great architect of cities, Hippodamus of Miletus, built for the settlers a magnificent pan-Hellenic town in Thurii. The glorification of the religion of the people in art, the poetic purification of the great treasure-stores of myths, the representations of the great war, and, finally, the participation of the very lowest class of citizens in the government, were all entirely successful. This city of the fifth century B.C. was like a great theatre of the sublime and beautiful, even though her people were unable to follow the boldest thinkers of their time, and accorded to Anaxagoras a very similar fate to that which in later days was the reward of Galileo. To conceive of genesis as the mere combination, and of death as the resolution, of elements, was to think thousands of years ahead of time.

12. THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY BETWEEN THE DORIC AND IONIAN RACES (THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, 431-04)

The Ionian race had come to maturity; the development of the Doric people, which had taken place in comparative isolation, was also completed. The commonwealth of Athens was distinguished by the free artistic activity of the individual and by a pronounced tendency towards the equality of all men; the military state of Sparta was pre-eminent for discipline, conservatism, and the illiberal restriction of political rights to the upper classes. Here, ruggedness finally changed to barbarity, and mean ends and interests led to a narrow-mindedness

and pettiness, of which nothing is more characteristic than Sparta's advice to the Asiatic Ionians, to abandon their country. Attica, surrounded by the sea, which afforded an extensive sphere of activity, soon lost all local narrowness. The influence of the spirit that urged the people forward to a united Greece, was everywhere apparent, not only in the wars against the Persians, but even in the internal disputes of Sparta. The Ionians and the Dorians stood opposed to one another: a many-sided Odysseus against a towering Heracles — a Heracles, however, who had long ceased to labour for a common cause — or as the fulness of spiritual life and passion in the works of Polygnotus, Phidias, and Cresilas, is contrasted with the magnificent development of muscle and complete lack of intellectuality in the statues of the youths and athletes by Polyclitus.

But Athens soon underwent a transformation, the effect of which was greatly to weaken the powerful state that had been created by Pericles and his predecessors. It was a change in the disposition of the Athenian people, and it led to the destruction of the unity of aim and of consciousness that had for so long been a distinguishing feature of Attic life. With the active participation of every citizen in governmental affairs, it was naturally considered indispensable by every man to acquire the necessary means for gaining influence and power; the capacity, namely, of rapid thinking and eloquent speech. Since public instruction did not extend as far as this, men began to look upon a special technical training beyond that of the schools as necessary; and the sophists took it upon themselves to make good the deficiency. They awoke in their pupils — not only through exercises in logic, but also through admonitions in regard to a moral life — the consciousness of a higher perfection, of a higher value of the individual; it was Protagoras himself who uttered the proposition: "Man is the measure of all things." This individualistic conception, carried to the extreme, would mean that a man was free of all considerations of justice and morality, which he might look upon as an invention of the weaker against the stronger, as pretexts, according to which natural rights, which granted a full life only to the "overman," were completely destroyed. No one adopted this teaching as a guide in life with more unscrupulousness, attended by more serious consequences, than did Alcibiades. The destruction of the balance and harmony of the old teaching, together with new developments, taxed the powers of resistance of Athens to the uttermost, and finally succeeded in undermining the state itself. The Athenian empire was based too exclusively upon wealth for it to be able to persist with impunity in its unprincipled treatment of its dependencies; for the same theory of the natural right of the individual was also apparent in the conduct of Athens towards the other members of the confederacy, justice being simply the right of the stronger. Pericles was forced to run that gauntlet of vituperation of gutter politicians, so familiar in the affairs of the modern city, before kindly fate removed him from the scene of struggle. He died of the plague in the year 429.

Nevertheless, Athens still showed herself equal to Sparta during the first period of the Peloponnesian struggle (the Archidamian War). Cleon, the very type of inflexible narrow-mindedness, who had arisen to popularity through his powers of eloquence, but who had not sufficient ability for the conduct of great issues, and, like the venturesome and boastful Euthydemus of Plato, refused the advice of all men, strained the powers of the empire to the very breaking point

by doubling the tribute imposed on the members of the confederacy. The first period of the war ended with the truce of Nicias, concluded for fifty years, in remembrance of which the temple and balustrade of Nikè were built. But peace cannot long be maintained when preceded by an indecisive struggle. New expedients were tried and new allies sought for: first of all, the Athenians won the alliance of Argos, advocated by Euripides in his dramas, as well as by Alcibiades in political life; but the battle of Mantinea dissolved the union. Then a stupendous plan was unfolded: already in possession of Italy, perhaps even dominating Carthage, Athens sought to invade the Peloponnesus and to take possession of it. The idea was contagious; Alcibiades was father to the scheme, which proved the chief cause of Athens' ruin; and all that had been left undone of the general destruction he completed when he deserted his country and went over to the side of Sparta. The advice for Sparta to invade Sicily, occupy Decelea, and employ Persian resources for carrying on the war, came from Lysander, who thus prepared the way for ending the struggle.

Lysander was an unbridled tyrant, possessed of an unbounded vanity that could only be satisfied by statues and songs of praise. He resembled in many ways the type of the foremost men of the Renaissance, but without any of the redeeming qualities of the latter; a man who planned to destroy the Spartan constitution for his own benefit, who looked upon morality as madness, and who had no affection whatever, sentimental or otherwise, or even consideration for Athens' former greatness and merit. The terms of the peace of 404 were, without doubt, his work, although they were formally issued as a decree of the ephors. The Athenian fleet went up in flames, and the walls of the city were torn down to the sound of flutes. Athens was allowed to retain Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros alone of all her former possessions. Thus the way was opened for the rise of a northern empire, which had already been developing in peace for many years (Macedonia); neither Sparta nor Thebes was able to prevent its progress.

In Thucydides (460-400 B.C.) the Peloponnesian War possessed a contemporary historian such as no other decisive struggle before or since ever had. The genius of the Greeks for purity of form fairly culminates in his writing. The bold, broad method of Athenian criticism becomes elevated to a scientific examination of facts, the dispassionate accuracy of which henceforth becomes the type of the highest kind of historical writing. In contrast to the sunny charm of the Ionian Herodotus, who was inspired by victory and the glory of Athenian civilisation, and wrote of the splendours of the Athens of Pericles, we have the melancholy of a man sorrowing for the downfall of his country, who speaks so touchingly of the great past in the celebrated funeral oration delivered at the death of Pericles, and who paints the gloomy present in such dark colours in his description of the Sicilian catastrophe. No ancient writer ever succeeded in giving expression so effectively to the composite character of his time. Single individuals appear on the pages of Thucydides as the living embodiments of universal conceptions and forces.

During the same age a philosopher taught, who, although he created no system and wrote no book, spread abroad nevertheless the most fruitful ideas, and deeply influenced not only youths like Alcibiades, but also men such as Plato, who in the near future were to distinguish themselves in the realms of thought. Socrates arose from the people; and for the people he lived and taught,

seeking not for the unknown and obscure source of Being, but striving to penetrate the mysteries of the human heart, and to show men how to live according to the fundamental principles of the moral life. Knowledge of the good was to be gained by the unwearied exercise of thought, and necessarily carried with it the desire for right living; knowledge and will were one. All the thoughts and endeavours of Socrates were devoted to the development of the individual man, and thus his teaching may well have appeared revolutionary egoism to his contemporaries. But the respect for the common conceptions of truth and morality which he demanded of all, unites men far more firmly than the social instinct; and Socrates never desired a separation from the state religion.

Euripides (480-06) embodied the restlessness of the age in his works, a dissatisfaction that had arisen with the destruction of the old ancestral beliefs by the sophists, who attempted to substitute nothing in their place. His work is filled with a profound hatred of men and with contempt for the men-made gods. Freedom in the treatment of material was prominent in Euripides; he looked upon life from a broad point of view, and won a keen insight into the human soul. Above all, he introduced women, with all their varied feelings and emotions, into the drama; but the effect of his writings is much injured by reason of the inexhaustible bitterness which internal struggles and the lack of popular appreciation and success had brought. He bore his poetical genius as a mark of Cain; he was deceived even in his native city, and the brightest star in its heaven, Alcibiades, to whom he had written an ode on his victory in the Olympic games, turned out to be only a brilliant meteor.

The attempt to seek a refuge from the bitterness of the time in mockery and derision, was made by Aristophanes (450-385). An adherent of the old, upright, Athenian conception of life, he hated war and all men who arose to power and distinction through war, even as he detested the new-fangled plans for the future, that appeared so foolish to him. A profound acquaintance with nature and love for a life of peace are united with the most bitter satire in his comedies. Plays of his, such as *The Birds*, and *The Frogs*, as well as his personal caricatures — that of Cleon, for example — have become the property of all time. "Plunge deep into the full life of men" seems to have been his guiding principle; and, together with the highest realism, he mingled the most charming poetry of the world of fable. With his clouds and his birds the mind of the great poet sought refuge from his own time, in which all things had gone to ruin.

13. THE PERIOD OF MILITARY RULE (404-379)

Now that Sparta had attained to victory over the rest of Greece, the question arose, could this military supremacy serve as a foundation for an empire? The governing class of Spartans, not a hundredth part of the entire population, were such a heavy burden upon all other men that even at this early time conspiracies, such as that of Cinadon, were frequent. The control of the ephors over the Spartan people, who, above all things, were forbidden to introduce any money into the country, was the more extraordinary, owing to the fact that desire for possessions was the guiding motive of all classes. The police officials also made themselves ridiculous in various ways, as when, out of zeal for austerity and

simplicity, they cut away four of the eleven strings belonging to the lyre of a musician.

Ambitious, tyrannous natures, as exemplified by Lysander, became models for the imitation of Spartan governors (harmostes) in the various cities; and in a short time a policy was developed whose features we cannot regard otherwise than as a mere catalogue of political crimes. It began with the complete abandonment of the old Spartan enmity to Persia — indeed, renounced as early as 411 — which resulted from the so-called King's Peace. After King Agesilaus of Sparta, a man of great penetration and iron will, but, nevertheless, a mere *condottiere*, had made several notable conquests in Asia Minor, he was forced to return to Hellas on account of a war — the Bœotio-Corinthian — which the Persians had kindled in Greece. The Spartans soon found out that an alliance with Persia would be more profitable for them, and a decree of the great king, Artaxerxes, reversed all previous relations with the Greeks, and placed the maintenance of peace under the joint supervision of Persia and Sparta. Through the King's Peace of 386 — it received the harmless name of the "Peace of Antalcidas," in order that its true significance might be hidden — the Greeks of Asia Minor were given over to the control of Persia; but Sparta obtained free scope for the carrying out of her own particular schemes. Soon the immigration of Arcadians to Mantinea came to be looked upon as dangerous; and as a result they were forced to return again to their former villages. Spartan troops, under the leadership of Phœbidas, on the march to Olynthus, seized, without warning, Cadmea, the citadel of Thebes. Such actions were, to the rest of the Greeks, only signs that the rule of Sparta was one based on tyranny and force alone.

It was but another proof of the popularity of military states at that time that Sicily, too, soon boasted a tyranny under Dionysius of Syracuse, who, indeed, had rendered the very greatest services to his country during the struggle for freedom against Carthage, a struggle which, in fact, had made the Sicilian state. Powerful fortifications protected Syracuse, the centre of this new tyranny, where the castle of Euryalus, the much-admired defences of which have lasted even until the present day, was built. A division of the land among citizens and mercenaries furnished this military despotism with its necessary material foundation. At that time the sphere of influence of Syracuse extended over the entire Adriatic Sea, where, on the islands and on the coast of Dalmatia (Lissus, at the mouth of the Drin), as well as on the Italian mainland near Adria, Syracusan colonies arose.

A movement in opposition to the exclusive rule of the propertied class arose in Thessaly under Jason of Pheræ, who for a long time was looked upon by the pan-Hellenes as the leader chosen of the gods to restore Grecian unity; but after he had succeeded in rapidly extending his power, he fell a victim to the assassin's dagger.

To a certain degree the tyranny of the Spartocides in the region of the Bosporus, on the eastern fringe of Greek civilisation, may be counted as one of the many despotisms of the time. Their civilisation was a strange mixture of the Greek and the Scythian; the language spoken was Greek, mingled with words of barbarian origin. The legs of the inhabitants were clad in absolutely un-Greek trousers and high boots; and their tastes turned to extraordinary, colossal sepulchral edifices and to an excess of gold ornamentation peculiar to

the Orient. A Greek goblet, on which is represented the quarrel between Ajax and Odysseus, has been found in the neighbourhood of the Obra, and a statue of Hygeia was discovered in Perm.

The people of Greece struggled in despair for internal order and external strength; and during this period they seem most frequently to have attained to both in many points through the leadership of one man, a tyrant. Thus cæsarism grew during these years in the same manner as Plato developed it in theory in the pages of the eighth book of his immortal Republic. But he, too, was only able to procure temporary order in social relations, and to maintain power in a nation through a transferrence of the strength of the state to an army consisting, for the greater part, of mercenaries. When it is impossible to attain to both internal order and outward strength, men strive, at least, to acquire the former; and, in order to do so, are seldom unwilling to subject themselves to the rule of a tyrant if necessary, provided the despot guarantee the desired order, as did, for example, Mausolus of Caria. But now two powers once more sought to play the rôle of leader in Greece, Thebes, and Athens.

14. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THEBAN POWER (379-62)

A. THEBES

THEBES had never been able to establish so close a union of the different parts of Bœotia under her leadership as Athens had succeeded in bringing about. Lack of cohesion was not at all favourable to the foundation of a powerful state, although Thebes herself was strong enough from a military standpoint, by reason of her large population. So far, however, as culture was concerned, Thebes was not particularly distinguished. It is true that Pindar was a Theban, and no poet was able to portray Doric life in more glowing colours than he; but since his time Thebes had contributed nothing to literature except material for the comic writers. The Spartan occupation of the Cadmea aroused all the forces of resistance in the Theban people. Pelopidas, distinguished for his great energy and influence, and Epaminondas, who wisely kept himself in the background until the proper moment arrived for action, were the two men who were chiefly instrumental in assisting Thebes to freedom. Military organisation and the wise use of opposing forces produced as great results in the northern part of the Peloponnesus as they had previously in the south. The successes attained by Pelopidas were temporary rather than lasting; it was not so much the battle of Leuctra (371) that procured the downfall of Sparta for all time, as the reawakening of Messenia and alliance with Arcadia, brought about by Epaminondas. The chief cities of these countries were Messene, possessed of magnificent fortifications, and Megalopolis, a town exceptionally well situated.

Although the death of Epaminondas in the battle of Mantinea (362) may have prevented Thebes from reaping the full harvest of her victories, the chief object, that of hindering the future expansion of Sparta, was finally attained. To look upon the efforts of Epaminondas as having been directed towards the establishment of a pan-Hellenic state is completely wrong; but, nevertheless, his character was one of exceptional charm; his greatness, which consisted in his com-

plete freedom from selfishness, in his capacity for quickness and boldness of action, in his far-reaching plans to raise Thebes to the position of a great sea power, through which were supplied the foundations for future development, is certainly not presented to us in any favourable light on the pages of the one-sided Peloponnesian history — the so-called Hellenica — of Xenophon, who was entirely favourable to Sparta. A large portion of central Greece (Phocis, Eubœa, the two Locris, the Ænians, Heracleotes, and Maleans) had come under the influence of Thebes as early as 370; treaties were made with the newly founded Arcadian league and with Alexander of Macedon; Sicyon, Pellene, Eretrea, even Byzantium and single districts of Ceos were brought into the Theban confederation. Thebes felt far more secure when she had obtained the protection of Persia by following the example of Sparta in recognising the former power as the arbiter of Greek affairs. Bound up with the deeds and names of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, the splendour of Thebes, as well as her ambitions of empire, vanished with the death of these two great men.

B. Athens' Last Attempt at Power (378-55)

In the meanwhile, Athens had sagaciously endeavoured to construct new foundations for a future empire. Immediately after the conclusion of the King's Peace, she had established an alliance with Chios, which was entirely in accordance with the stipulations of the King's Peace, but recognised "freedom and self-government" as the political basis of all Hellenic relations. By means of similar agreements, Byzantium, Rhodes, Mytilene, Methymna, and Thebes, became allies of Athens. But one more step was needed to form a general confederation out of the isolated leagues. In 377 a call was issued, inviting other states to join. Members of the confederation were chosen only from among the states of Hellas and free barbarian nations, and not from the lands ruled by the Great King. It was expressly stated by Athens that no *kleruchian* colonies were to be founded. This second confederation of sea powers under the leadership of Athens, was far more loosely bound than the first; and, although contributions were not lacking, it could not be used as a step to power as had been the case with the first league, notwithstanding the fact that numerous states had become members, the west of the Balkan Peninsula being represented (Corcyra, Acarnania, and Alcetas, the Prince of the Molossians), as well as Thrace (Dion, the Chalcidian) and the Archipelago. The highest triumph was attained when, after long negotiations, Dionysius of Syracuse entered into an alliance with Athens (368-67); in the same manner, Thessaly and King Philip of Macedon recognised the importance of the renovated empire; and the princes of Thrace peacefully arranged among themselves the government of the Græco-Thracian towns in complete harmony with the desires of the Athenian people.

But it was precisely where the foundations of this confederation had first been laid that the process of undermining began. Chios joined with Byzantium, Rhodes, Cos, and Mausolus, Prince of Caria, in a league against Athens. Diplomatic successes with the rulers of Thrace, Pæonia, Illyria, and towns of the North — Neapolis in Thrace — were not sufficient to counterbalance the general lack of fortune in war that led in 354 to peace and to the dissolution of the

confederation, and therewith to the end of the development of Athens as the centre of an empire.

Indeed, so far as the position of Athens as a commercial centre and city of capitalists was concerned, the loss of imperial power caused but little injury; on the contrary, the peace-at-any-price policy had been pursued entirely in accordance with the desires of the capitalists, as shown by a work on the income of the city, written by a financier of the fourth century and falsely attributed to Xenophon, in which it is stated that Athens arose to greatness, not as the capital of a loosely united empire of more or less hostile dependencies, but as the centre of a rich trade, secured by peace and by the pursuance of a sound commercial policy. Thus to the citizens the state was merely a burden, which greatly impeded them in money-making. They looked upon all countries where their possessions could be increased as their home. The doctrine of cosmopolitanism had sprung from a higher ideal than this, but it was accepted by the individualistic capitalists as signifying trading relations that were capable of embracing the entire world. If, then, the fatherland was an idealistic illusion and the state a necessary evil, naturally enough, men sought to escape from their duties to their country: the citizen army gave place to a host of mercenaries, and the positions of strategists of genius were filled by leaders of irregular troops, who belonged, body and mind, to the prince who was willing to offer them the highest wages. Thus all unity disappears as soon as the reasons for cohesion are removed, and retribution comes in the shape of struggles of one class against another. The question is, how did it happen that the different classes reached this state of opposition and hostility?

'The government under Pericles had transformed the greater part of the citizens into wards of the state, as it were, and this was the "cement of democracy" that maintained the union. The differences in duty remained, but differences in rights had disappeared. Political equality had been attained; but already men began to strive for equality of possessions, and the endeavour to obtain income and wealth without labour was everywhere apparent. Thus social difficulties soon intruded themselves into political affairs, the more so, as there was no machinery of government for dealing with such social and economic disputes among the different classes. The political parties became nothing more nor less than organs of various social factions, serving them in their purely egotistic designs. "The rich would rather cast their possessions into the sea than share them with the poor," said Isocrates; and the judges who were without wealth condemned wealthy men whenever they were brought before them, simply in order to extort money for the benefit of the districts over which they presided. The so-called democracy ignored justice and right in its management of affairs quite as much as an absolute monarchy of the worst sort would have done; the rôles of courtier were played by flattering demagogues, and the luxury of a debauched and licentious court had long been attained.

The disinclination of distinguished and able men to take part in public life increased with the selfish struggles of individuals and of entire classes, which were characterised throughout by the loudness and vulgarity of an all-pervading eloquence. But such men reaped what they had sown by refusing to enter into public affairs; the unrestricted domination of the lower classes resulted, and it became a struggle of each against all. This was also a time when many ideal plans

for a future society were invented by thinkers who lived solitary lives in isolation from the rest of the world.

Already one of the greatest of Greek architects, Hippodamus, who had been employed at Thurii and Rhodes and had constructed the harbour of Athens, the Piræus, had come forward with a plan for establishing the best form of government. He applied his geometrical principles to the state, dividing all things into three parts: society into three classes; land into possessions belonging to the temples for the support of the priests, into state territory for the maintenance of the army, and into private property owned by the peasants. Pheidon invented a political arithmetic, reminding one of the doctrine of Malthus; he recognised in overpopulation the cause of all social evils, and recommended a limitation of households and the placing of all citizens into one class. Phaleas of Chalcedon, the first communist, went even further; according to his teachings, all possessions should be held in common, and the education of all men should be the same. But already Aristotle had laid stress on the fact that the limitation of land and property was illogical, and that the whole system was unpsychological, since human nature mocked any equality of poor and rich, and diversity in talents, as well as in elemental passion, destroyed all arithmetical or geometrical plans regulating possession and population. The proposition to place all labour under the control of the state, and to transform the members of the working classes into organs rendering service to a common governmental industry, is worthy of notice. Alcidamas saw in slavery the chief cause of the troubles of economic life, and demanded its abolition. Finally, civilisation itself was looked upon as the root of all misery, and the doctrine "Away from civilisation" was accepted and preached by the cynics as the best remedy, quite as it was in later time by Rousseau; the tendency of Plato's Republic, also, was clearly in this direction.

Of all philosophers of the time, it was Plato who saw deepest into the question of social improvement. In immortal words he lashed the domination of covetousness and greed, setting up in opposition a state in which the government should be by the mentally and morally fittest alone. The division of men into classes, as adopted during the Middle Ages, took its origin in Plato; the communistic ideas of his Republic awoke to life again in the French Revolution, during which a supporter of absolute monarchy became through reading his works one of the most distinguished advisors of the Jacobins: Abbé Mablé saw in private property the source of all man's errors and misfortunes.

Workers, warriors, and teachers, formed the social pyramid of the "Republic." All men received an equal school education; from the most distinguished of the pupils were chosen those who were to compose the army and to take part in the civil service, while from among a class of especially proved individuals of fifty years and upwards were selected those who should hold the highest positions in the state, the offices of teacher and ruler combined. The greatest possible stress is laid upon the moral aim of the republic, and the necessity for a scientific education of its servants is likewise stated with unmistakable emphasis. Thus far all was possible, as has since been proven by the world's development; the fantastic portion of the scheme begins with the scorn shown for all history and tradition. The education of children is to be the basis upon which the new state is to be erected; no family life, no marriage, and no individual property, but a community of goods, wives, and children, are also indispensable features of

the "Republic." There is also a complete equality of women and men, the former taking part in all bodily exercises, sharing in the common fare of the state, accompanying the men on their military expeditions, and being eligible to any office.

In his "Laws" Plato no longer endeavoured to draw a sharp distinction between the real and the ideal, and made his state consistent with already existing conditions, although built upon new foundations. The common possession in land — that is, the territory occupied by the state — was to be divided into five thousand and forty portions of equal value, according to their yield — of course, differing in size — which should be unalterable and indivisible. In like manner, all movable property was to be divided, and the largest possible portion allowed for each individual to be fixed. Economic development was to be governed by laws forbidding the exportation of products of the soil, by the restriction of commerce and manufacture, and by official regulation, all in accordance with the highest ethical conceptions. The sovereign power, which in the "Republic" was vested in the magistrates, is assigned in the "Laws" to officials in certain cases; but, in general, the supreme power is conceived as resting with the mass of the people. It is true that, both in the teachings and in the life of Plato, the idea is also expressed that the dominion of one man is better adapted for the improvement of society. A "kingly man in whom reason has won the mastery" would be able to adapt his personal views to the changeable relations of men; impersonal law, on the other hand, is unalterable: thus the "Republic" itself hinted at the rule of a single individual, and in the "Laws" were pictured the princes of the future who should bring good government to their states, and therewith lasting happiness—rulers who should bring about a moral regeneration of their people. At the same time, however, the danger to the prince himself caused by the possession of the supreme power is dilated upon.

In teaching, as well as in life, there was no other escape from their unbearable conditions open to the Greeks, except that which could be furnished by the mind of a powerful leader who had the ability both to govern and to aid; the time was ripe for such a man.

15. KING PHILIP II. OF MACEDON

MACEDONIA, chiefly made up of long valleys extending between high mountain ranges, has for its natural centre the plain that slopes towards the Ægean Sea; it was there that the old city of kings, Ægæ, was founded, occupying a magnificent situation amid waterfalls that plunged down the sides of almost perpendicular cliffs. The new imperial city, Pella, was built nearer the sea upon an elevation surrounded by swamps, in the midst of a plain overflowed by rivers. Through the wise use of the advantages of its situation, through the excellent training of its subjects in warlike affairs, and through the unwearied but silent labour of its kings, an empire arose from the little region which lay to the north, beyond Olympus, an empire stronger in the union of its parts, and far more able than the Athenians or the Spartans had ever been to accomplish its ambition of supplying the scattered and weakened states of Greece with a supreme leader.

Philip held fast to all the advantages that had been gained by his forefathers, and was, perhaps, the greatest political organiser ever born to the Greek race: for, in spite of the infusion of Thraco-Illyrian blood, the language, dynasty, and nobility of Macedon were Hellenic. Philip constantly enlarged the boundaries of his empire without endangering its internal relations.

He might have attained to his aim of empire almost without a battle; and, without opposition, one Greek state after another would have fallen, as fruit from tree into his lap had it not been for the voice of a man who succeeded in awakening the dormant and almost dying powers of the smaller states, and in arousing inspiration for self-government and freedom, by designating Philip of Macedon as a barbarian, and thus producing in Greece the enthusiasm necessary for a national war. This man was Demosthenes. He was neither unpractical, visionary nor far-seeing statesman. Out of intense feeling of love for his narrow Athenian fatherland, and with the tremendous power of his eloquence, he laboured with all his strength against the inexorable course of human development. He was little affected by what had taken place in the past; the Age of Pericles, to be sure, appeared splendid to him by reason of its architecture, its public wealth, and the simplicity of all its details. But he cared nothing for the glory of the Persian wars, in spite of his having remarked that no one had yet fitly described the deeds of that time; indeed, an alliance with Persia seemed to him an escape from dire necessity; and dislike for Persia was, in his eyes, or, at least, in the opinion of his school, downright narrow-mindedness. Through him, Athens once more arose from a land of mercenaries to a commonwealth with a citizen army. He constantly and emphatically pointed to the dangers of the Northern Power (cf. p. 103), and finally succeeded in creating a union that embraced elements whose tendency was rather to fly apart from one another than to combine. Those who considered his policy behind the time were seized by that glowing enthusiasm which comes to all who look upon themselves merely as modest tools in a great struggle. Demosthenes was a true party man, capable of holding the whole world in his view; but his view of the world became distorted; and although at first he was conscious of his bias, he became oblivious to it later. Macedon, a country from which men, during his time, could not procure even good slaves, was to him a land groaning under the burden of war, a land hating its sovereign; its inhabitants were worse than non-Hellenes of pure descent. Philip was to him a man who would endure nothing great in his presence, and who only felt comfortable in the company of degenerate writers, players, and sycophants. Thus Demosthenes held a completely perverted opinion of the kingdom of Macedon, with its warlike nobility and landowners, its powerfully centralised government, independent of any popular assembly (a point to which he, indeed, called particular attention), its army kept on a war footing summer and winter, and the exceptional talents of its king. In his attacks on Philip personal invective, subjective, unmeasured, exaggerated, and distorted, appeared for the first time in the history of Greek eloquence.

In an unbroken series of admirably planned advances (see above, pp. 96, 97). Philip won town after town along the Thraco-Grecian coast. Amphipolis was the first to fall into his hands, and the capture of Olynthus crowned his successes. We now know that Demosthenes' complaint of the destruction of numerous towns in Chalcidice was not based on fact. Philip had already introduced into

Chalcidice the system of military colonies that was later developed under Alexander. The Sacred War brought Thessaly under the dominion of Philip; and, in the Philocratic Peace, Athens was only able to obtain the recognition of her own possessions, but not of the rights of her confederates, while all the conquests of Philip were confirmed. Even while the negotiations for peace were going on — not at all well managed so far as Athenian interests were concerned, Demosthenes attributing this to the influence of Macedonian gold — Philip was able to occupy the entire coast of Thrace. He had also established many relations with Athens, above all, with the political party that could see only in a monarchy salvation from the misery of particularism.

Isocrates, the orator, had published a thoroughly lucid political programme, according to which envoys from the whole of Greece were to be sent to Philip for the discussion of pan-Hellenic affairs. He saw in Philip the leader of an expedition from which no one, old or young, could desire to stand apart, or could fail to sing the praises of, or to glorify, were he able either to compose verses or to speak; to him it was a crusade against the Persians, loudly demanded even by the dumb stones of destroyed temples and palaces. All this calls vividly to mind the plea of another great advocate of union, Machiavelli, who turned to Lorenzo de' Medici, praying him to begin the great war of Italian emancipation, saying that none could be more just and holy. The torch of freedom had only to be swung aloft, and the whole of Asia Minor from Sinope to Cilicia would rise against Persia; new lands would be won for the homeless Greek proletariat, and the benevolence of true monarchy would win the support of myriads of Oriental subjects for the empire of united Greece.

Although the greatest advocate of unity known to the history of the world, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, through his tremendous personality, which was so powerful in influencing the wills of men, and through his demand for a struggle for principles, righteousness, and character, after his country's defeat at Jena, occupies an incomparably higher plane than Isocrates, it cannot be denied that the latter, in spite of his ambition and his eagerness for oratorical effect, saw a great ideal before him, and struggled for it bravely and with great worldly wisdom by means of his political pamphlets. Followers of his also stood in active connection with King Philip.

A sober consideration of the uselessness of a war against Philip led Phocion to espouse the Macedonian cause, and Æschines took the same step for reasons of personal profit. But Demosthenes still continued to denounce the threatening "slavery" as unweariedly as ever. It was due to his power as an orator that an alliance was formed with Messenia, though Macedon became more dangerous than ever through the acquisition of Epirus for Philip's brother-in-law and the alliance concluded with Ætolia. Even to-day one cannot read the third Philippic, by which Byzantium was rescued from Philip, without being deeply moved; but the appointment of Philip to the supreme command in the Sacred War against Amphissa only improved his prospects and brought to him Elatea, the key to central Greece. Even the disappearance of the old enmity between Athens and Thebes, which was followed by a league between the two cities, was barren of results. The battle of Chæronea crushed the last attempt at resistance offered by the Greeks, and ensured the supremacy of Philip. The peace negotiations which followed allowed Athens to retain Lemnos, Imbros, Delos, Samos,

and Salamis, but granted Philip possession of the Thracian Chersonesus — a heavy blow to Athenian commerce — and destroyed what was still left, even if only in remembrance, of the maritime confederation of 378-77.

The national peace congress which met at Corinth united the Greeks under the leadership of Philip, who on this occasion strove to create a great and secure sphere of trade in the Mediterranean, demanding the protection of commerce by sea from a complete pan-Hellenic view, and exactly in accordance with the spirit of Pericles. For the first time in the history of Greece the possibility of undertakings in which the entire people could be united arose. By the peace of Corinth the council of the league was authorised to act as mediator in all quarrels between members of the confederation, to administer the affairs of the league, and to further the peaceful development of the internal policy of the allies. The head of the confederation was the King of Macedon, who, however, was not a member. Freedom from tribute and immunity from foreign garrisons were granted to all members of the league; and not until the time of Alexander did these privileges disappear, together with the powers of arbitration possessed by the council, all of which Alexander took to himself. In spite of this alteration, the Corinthian league served as a model for the later confederations of the third century. It seems that the Corinthian league followed the plan of the second Athenian maritime confederacy, which had come to be a kind of political model, but added to it various special agreements, just as Athens had done in the case of the confederacy of Delos. Fragments, at least, of the treaty between Athens and Philip remain to us: Athens was compelled to guarantee the kingdom of Macedonia to Philip and his successors.

16. THE AGE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

PHILIP had accomplished what he had set out to do in the beginning. Further plans were being carried on with equal constancy of purpose and care when he was struck down by the dagger of an assassin. It is probable that Olympias, his wife, had very much to do with the plot that led to the deed. Of a well-trained intellect, licentious in his private life, a connoisseur of women and of wine, capable of pursuing an object to the last, steadfast, of unwearied activity, certainly not lacking in political ideals apart from personal ends — such is Philip as he appears to us to-day. Of his characteristics many descended as a heritage to his son, Alexander, although mingled with the extreme sensitiveness and passion of Olympias.

Alexander had at an early age been placed by his father under the instruction of Aristotle; and by this very act Philip demonstrated that his plans for the future were purely Hellenic. As late as the second century A.D. travellers beheld and admired the stone seats and corridors of the Nymphæum in Milsa, where the future conqueror of the world had once listened to the words of his teacher. The soul of the boy was filled with the Aristotelian ideal of a kingship that should win the hearts of men through great abilities and noble deeds. His mind was stored with pictures of the Heroic Age of Greece; and the glorious figure of Achilles made an especially deep impression upon his imagination. He became inspired with the idea of a struggle of the West against the East; and with this conception

the teaching of Aristotle, that the mission of the Greeks was to extend their dominion over the barbarians was in full accord.

The march of the Ten Thousand through the Persian empire and the conquests of Agesilaus had revealed the weakness of the colossus with feet of clay. The victory of Chæronea, gained by a cavalry charge under Alexander, had been a practical test of his capacities as a leader, a proof of his genius as a general. At the death of Philip, Alexander was twenty years of age. He immediately succeeded to a dominion over faithful, warlike Macedonians, dissatisfied and disheartened Greeks, and rebellious Illyrians and Dardanians. Scarcely a year after his accession he found himself ruler of an empire that had become united through fear, and admiration for him alone; and thus the Athenian leaders, who had compared him to the dunce of Greek folk-lore, only succeeded in making themselves unspeakably ridiculous. Before he set out to attain the great object of his life he instituted a far-reaching change, economic in nature. In fact, he declared an economic war against the Persian empire by destroying the ratio of gold to silver, reducing the former metal to the position of mere commodity, and thus began the struggle with the East, to which he had been moved not only by political considerations, family relationship, and his own personal impulses, but also by the frequent and urgent demands of envoys who had been sent to him from all regions.

The army with which he set out was but little greater than that which Napoleon had with him in the Egyptian campaign; but it contained the flower of the Macedonian-Greek soldiery, and was complete both in knowledge and experience of the arts of war. The single combat had passed away, the closed phalanx had been introduced during Hellenic times. But already Xenophon had recognised the unwieldiness of a heavy mass of men, and had demanded a closer co-operation between the phalanx and the other branches of the army. By Epaminondas the phalanx had been separated into parts: a wing for attack and another for defence; and it had been put into closer touch with the cavalry. Philip may have introduced the use of organised units, but Alexander returned to the older method employed by Epaminondas, retaining the ancient oblique order of battle and making the right wing the attacking body. The army of Alexander fought in single hand-to-hand encounters, just as men had fought during the Heroic Age, but with this difference: instead of individuals, troops of soldiers that had become as indivisible bodies, swayed by one idea, filled the places that had formerly been occupied by single men.

At the time of the conquest of Egypt, which brought the entire Mediterranean basin under the control of Greece, when Alexandria, the centre of Greek commerce and traffic, was built, Alexander was still the champion of Grecian ideals, the leader in the war of vengeance, and the hero of Isocratic, pan-Hellenic ideals; but in his second period of development he turned away from the soil of his forefathers, which had given him his power, forsook the ideal of his nation, the conquest of the Persian empire, and formed the idea of amalgamating Orient with Occident. Feeling certain of his own West, for which familiarity had bred in him a certain contempt, he deemed it inferior to the East, both in morals and in manners. The proclamation by which he was recognised as son of Jupiter Ammon was, therefore, his first step in the new direction; and it only proved his profound knowledge of the Eastern spirit. The first link in the chain

that was to bind Occident to Orient was Alexandria, the centre of world commerce, founded by him. With this plan of uniting mankind into a league of peace, the half-forgotten but nevertheless deeply venerated Hellenic conceptions of international justice awoke in him to new life. This side of his character has been regarded with enthusiasm, especially during the time when mankind sought to break down the barriers that separated nations from one another. Montaigne, Montesquieu, and Voltaire, were all of them great admirers of Alexander. In short, it was no longer the conquest of the Persian empire, but the conquest of the world that had become the object of his ambition, for which firm foundations had been laid by the declaration respecting his divine origin.

Thus from the union of Greece, through Philip, a theodynastic dominion of the world arose. It fell, to be sure, at the death of Alexander; yet it lived on in the claims of the Diadochic kingdoms, and especially in Egypt, where it furnished the basis for the divinity of monarchs. To the enormous circle of city colonies, Alexander added Alexandria, Alexandretta, Herat, and Alexandria in the Punjab; these towns completed the Grecian sphere, and for the time being raised the Greek speech to the position of a universal language. Syrians, Indians, Persians, and Bactrians, were now joined to Scythians, Iberians, Celts, and Romans: the art and poetry of India were influenced by Greece; and scientific investigations in astronomy, medicine, and philosophy, were carried on as far east as the regions of the Indus and Ganges.

The results of Alexander's conquests were no less important to the civilisation of Greece itself. Greek science, Aristotle and Theophrastus at its head, was occupied for centuries in working over the enormous mass of new material for research, which had been placed at its disposal. Art arose from the provincial decline into which it had fallen; and the works of the sculptor Lysippus, who made a celebrated statue of Alexander, as well as pictures by distinguished painters of the time, were fully worthy of the spirit of this great age of intellectual and material acquisition, in which Athens and Argos took the foremost place. Art and science were united in the writing of history; the broadened horizon of the period and the ability to compare with one another the fundamental traits of different men and races led to descriptions which were not only accurate, but which also possessed high literary value. Preparation for this had been furnished by the close investigations into psychological and ethical questions that had been carried on by the Socratic school, as well as by the results of the tendencies of the admirers of Isocrates, who, through the practice of delivering encomiums were led into a closer examination of human character, that they might be able to employ other than ordinary every-day colours in their panegyrical descriptions of men.

The personal plan of Alexander the Great opened up unbounded vistas to the Greek race, but failed. The greatest champion of cosmopolitanism known to the world of history suffered defeat in the attempt to form a political amalgamation of East and West.

VI

THE PRIMITIVE RACES OF THE APENNINE PENINSULA

By PROF. C. PAULI

1. PREHISTORIC ITALY AND ITS EARLIEST INHABITANTS.

BEFORE Roman civilisation transformed the peninsula into an evergreen garden — a garden that, in spite of centuries of mismanagement, it still remains — Italy was a land of immense and thick forests, and differed in few respects from the Germany of the early Teutonic races described by Tacitus. But wherever mountain forests merge into the woods of lowlands, there is sure to be no lack of swamps, caused by excessive moisture, peculiar to thickly wooded countries; and that there were many marshes in the Italian Peninsula is shown by the remains of the settlements of its earliest inhabitants. The entire plain of Lombardy was thickly covered with villages built upon piles, which were especially numerous at the southern edge of Lakes Maggiore and Garda and in the region south of the Po, from Piacenza to Bologna. The situation of these villages proves that the early settlements were located chiefly upon marsh-land; but to what race the inhabitants of the pile-dwellings belonged is not yet known to a certainty. Opinions have differed as to who were the first peoples of Italy: Ligurians, Itali, Etruscans, and prehistoric men have all been mentioned, according to different theories. At the present day the hypothesis of Helbig meets with the most general acceptance. According to his view, the pile-dwellings fall into two distinct groups, which, although separated by a considerable space in time, certainly show but small differences from one another. These differences are most apparent in the remains of pottery. Helbig ascribes the more ancient of the two strata to the Itali, of whom we will speak later, and the more recent to the Etruscans.

We have no other information respecting the earliest times of the Peninsula except that conveyed by some proper names which have been handed down to us by tradition. In the earliest Greek records Italy is designated by the name "Œnotria," and the original races are called "aborigines," a word that, in truth, signifies little, considering that it means nothing more than "primitive inhabitants." Of these, the Casci and Prisci — names that have come down to us from various sources — do not seem to have differed from one another to any great extent, however they may have been looked upon by the ancients.

2. THE EARLIEST MIGRATIONS

A. The Iberians

In subsequent periods various peoples immigrated into Italy and became associated with the original inhabitants; but of these times also we have no accurate knowledge; all lies in obscurity, especially all that relates to the earliest of these immigrants, who appear to us in the traditions of the Greeks under the most varied of names. Much more definite information has come down to us of the Iberians, a race which we may therefore consider the first truly historical population of the Apennine Peninsula.

We are unable to say with certainty whence the Iberians migrated when they first settled in their European home, the peninsula of Spain. Of this event the writers of antiquity, naturally enough, knew nothing; and here, too, the means by which we are often enabled to trace the origin of a people, language, fails us completely. Neither the old Iberian names of places, whose rude sounds caused a certain displeasure to Roman ears, nor the daughter tongue of this people, the Basque of to-day, shows relationship with any other language. Philologists, it is true, are said to have discovered similar sounds in the languages of the American Indians, but any definite historical connection between races so widely separated is almost inconceivable. Moreover, these resemblances in sound are not only very slight, but are also of a purely formal nature. The distance between America and Europe is so great, that it would be impossible to imagine a migration by sea across the Atlantic without calling to our aid the Atlantis of Plato. The most probable theory, indeed the one which has most general acceptance to-day, is that the Iberians came from Africa. Yet this conjecture involves many difficulties likewise; for although the Berbers, according to geographical conditions, are the only people that may be considered related to the Iberians, they not only show a totally different physical type, but speak a language that is throughout unrelated to that of the Basques. There is also another theory, in accordance with which the Iberians of Spain are considered to be of the same race as the Iberians of the Caucasus, who dwell upon the River Kur, whence they are supposed to have migrated. But this theory could have originated only in a supposition based on the likeness in name borne by two races. For here, too, the languages of these peoples, which should be the chief ground for our assumption, show no traces of a common origin, as was long ago seen by Appian. There is, indeed, a certain resemblance between the Basque and the languages of the Caucasus, that form a group by themselves, yet the likenesses, similar to those between the Basque and the American Indian dialects, are concerned with general form alone, and are not sufficient to demonstrate a relationship between the two races. The similarity in the names proves nothing of itself, for such coincidences are of frequent occurrence.

The physiological structure of the Iberians furnishes us with as little information of their origin as does their language. The Basques of to-day, who are, beyond doubt, their direct descendants, exhibit the physical characteristics of the South European type. They are, for the most part, of medium size, slender, and well built, with small hands and feet, dark eyes and hair, and light-brown

complexions. All this, as one may see, shows no wide departure from the type of Spaniards, Italians, and French. Even if light hair and eyes are occasionally to be found, especially in scattered regions, they are to be regarded as exceptional only. The form of skull was originally long, a shape that rules throughout the Basque race. The short skull is by no means of rare occurrence among the French Basques, but it is considered to be due to a mixture of races. Thus the origin of the Iberians is to this day enshrouded in mystery (cf. Vol. III.).

Ancient traditions tell us that Iberian tribes also took possession of certain portions of Italy. The Sicani in special are said to have been Iberians; and, according to Thucydides — Philistus of Syracuse furnishes us with like information — they occupied Sicily, then known as Thrinacia, in consequence of having been crowded out of the peninsula by the Ligurians; and Sicily afterwards took the name Sicania from them. However, the Iberians do not seem to have made their way to Italy directly over the sea, but appear to have journeyed by land through Gaul and Upper Italy and thence to the south, where they have been mentioned by a long series of ancient writers as the inhabitants of Latium. The Libui, too, who once occupied the region between Brescia and Verona, south of Lake Garda, as well as the Sordones, who dwelt in the eastern Pyrenees of Gaul and seemed to have set out from that region to settle the island of Sardinia, were probably of Iberian stock. These tribes are, perhaps, the Rebu (Libu) and Schardana (see above, p. 49) mentioned in ancient Egyptian texts. From these accounts of old writers then, untrustworthy perhaps, so much, at least, can be gathered: that at one time Iberian tribes occupied certain portions of Italy.

B. The Ligurians

The next migration into Italy was that of the Ligurians, who formed the vanguard of the great Indo-Germanic invasion of Europe. What we now call Liguria — the narrow strip of coast between the rivers Var and Magna, on the one side, and the Apennines and the sea, on the other, that at present includes both the provinces of Porto Mauricio and Genoa — is but the remnant of a once great and extensive Ligurian region. It extended westward beyond the Rhone, where the inhabitants mingled with the Iberians, while the entire territory that lay between the Rhone and the western Alps was in their exclusive possession. Even at the time of Cæsar Augustus they occupied the valley of the Po to the mouth of the Ticino, and extended even farther north, for Turin and the surrounding country once formed part of their possessions. To the east the land was Ligurian as far as Veleia. But this region did not include all their territory; the names of places in many other parts of the peninsula prove that a Ligurian population once occupied other districts in addition. These territories, not including the portions that lay in France, comprised the cantons Tessin, Graubünden, the Waadtland and Appenzell, and extended as far as Bavaria. In Italy, however, besides the districts which have already been mentioned, there were the provinces of Novara, Milan, Brescia, Cremona, Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, Como, Bergamo, and Sondrio. This Ligurian region extended, as may be seen on the map, eastward to the Mincio and to the south as far as Reggio.

What the political organization of this vast region may have been, whether it formed a single great empire, perhaps with a king at the head of affairs, or

a confederation of states, or a country of entirely independent tribes — we have no knowledge whatever. On the other hand, we have an excellent description, written by Poseidonius, of their civilisation at a time when they were already confined to the strip of coast that forms the Liguria of to-day. According to this description, their land was rugged and unproductive, covered with thick forests, and so stony that the agriculturist met with fragments of rock at almost every step, and in spite of all industry, could obtain but a small harvest for his labour. It was necessary to eke out the meagre produce of the fields by hunting. A scanty yield of grapes was obtained on the coast, but the wine tasted like pitch. Their usual drink was beer. Miserable huts of wood or reeds, as well as natural caves, served them as dwellings. From the nature of the country they became practised mountaineers, and the hardships of such a life made them exceedingly strong and active.

The origin of the Ligurians has long been a controverted point, in so far as we are uncertain whether they were Aryans or were related to the Iberians, and thus non-Aryans. At the present day the weight of opinion seems to be in favour of the former view. The chief means for deciding such questions, language, is, in general, lacking here. The language of the Ligurians has disappeared, but not so completely as to leave no traces behind. It has left us a few remains, which, in spite of their scantiness, are sufficient to enable us to form a decision in respect to the disputed question of race.

In the first place, we have a large number of names of places, not only in the Liguria of to-day, but disseminated within the broad boundaries of the ancient Liguria. A great number of these geographical names are formed by means of the suffix *-asco* or *-asca*, and this we may look upon as a characteristic of Ligurian names of places. Such names are, for example: Aiarasca, Arnasco, Benasco, Bogliasco, Carasco, Famolasco, Grigliasco, Grugliasco, Langasco, Marasco, Massasca, Novasco, Noasco, Osasco, Pernasca, Pogliasca, Rivasco, Roviasca, Salasco, Somasca, Trensasco, Trevasco, Venasca, Vernasca. These words are, according to stem and termination, Indo-Germanic throughout. The suffix *-sko* (feminine *-ska*) is of common occurrence in the Indo-Germanic languages. The fact alone that we have the endings *-scus* and *-sca* in Ligurian words would be of itself almost sufficient to prove an Indo-Germanic origin, for this alteration in the form of names is specifically Aryan. But we can trace the suffix in the languages of other Aryan peoples in addition. It is the German *(i)sch* in *deutsch, englisch, malerisch*, etc.; the Slavs have it in formations such as *gradĭskŭ, bratĭskŭ, materĭskŭ, carĭskŭ;* among the Greeks it appears in diminutives; as, for example, *ανδρίσκος, μηνίσκος, αστερίσκος*. And just as in Ligurian, so in other Aryan languages, it has been made use of in the names of places. It was employed in many geographical names by the Thracians, in *Tibiskos, Mariska, Bertiskon, Partiskon, Drabeskos, Gareskos, Ergiske*. It was also put to the same use by the Itali, as in *Trebula Mutuesca* and *Graviscæ;* and, moreover, it was employed by them, as by the Germans, in the formation of the names of peoples, as in *Osci* (older *Opsci*), *Volsci, Tusci* (older *Tursci*), and *Etrusci*. And like the suffixes, so also are the stems of the Ligurian place-names thoroughly Aryan. This cannot be shown in detail here, but one need only compare *Carasco, Marinasco, Morasco, Lucinasco, Cervasca, Pinasco*, etc., to recognise immediately well-known words of other Aryan languages in the forms.

And we have not only names of places, but also a number of *inscriptions* that are, perhaps, Ligurian. In the southern part of the canton Tessin, in Davesco, Viganello, Sorengo, Aranno, all of which are in the neighbourhood of Lugano, as well as in San Petro di Stabio, which lies in the province of Mendrisio, still further to the south, a number of inscriptions of doubtful origin, seven in all, have been discovered. We are not yet sure of the language to which they belong; but to look upon them as north Etruscan, as is usually done, is wholly wrong. True, the alphabet in which they are written is north Etruscan, and the words may be spelled out without the slightest difficulty. But this only concerns the characters employed in the writing; the language is certainly not Etruscan. In former days the inscriptions were also called Lepontic, and the Lepontic language was looked upon as one allied to Gallic; but this hypothesis takes too many things for granted. It would be difficult to believe that the Lepontii, whose name is still retained in the Val Leventina, could ever have dwelt so far to the south. No inscriptions of this nature have been found in the Val Leventina and its vicinity. And, on the other hand, there is no reason for supposing that a distinct Lepontic language ever existed. The inscriptions are not Gallic, although they seem to present some resemblances to the Gallic language; but these likenesses are more of a general sort, and only go to prove that this language, like that of the Gauls, was, without doubt, Aryan. If the inscriptions are neither Etruscan nor Gallic, and if we are unable to accept the theory of a distinct Lepontic language, then there is nothing left but to accept them as Ligurian.

The inscription on the grave-stone of Davesco may serve as a specimen of the language. It runs as follows:

slaniai : verkalai : pala
tisiui : pivotalui : pala
Slania Verkala's grave
Tisios Pivotalos' grave.

It is plainly the epitaph of a husband and wife. If, however, these inscriptions are of the Ligurian language — and no other explanation seems possible — then the Ligurians were surely a branch of the Aryan race. For if we had no other remnant of language than this one inscription left to us from the Ligurians, it alone would suffice to prove beyond all doubt that Ligurian was an Indo-Germanic tongue.

C. The Itali

The so-called Itali seem to have been the next Indo-Germanic people to enter Italy. They, too, appear to have come from the north by way of the lower part of the valley of the Po, so that their first settlements lay to the east of the Apennines — unless it be proven that the large number of *terremare,* or pile-buildings, in Æmilia also belonged to them. In later times they crossed the Apennines; and the Samnites, Volsci, Latini, Sabines, Umbrians, not to mention many lesser tribes, occupied extensive regions to the west of the mountains. The Aryan Itali were subdivided into a large number of lesser stocks, for which

no collective name has come down to us; these separate tribes did not unite into a nation until the strong hand of the Romans welded them into one people. For us they fall into two great branches.

The branch which first migrated into Italy was without doubt the Latini; for since the Aryan Itali came in from the north — and this is a fact established beyond question — naturally, the oldest stock of this race must have been that which first crossed the Apennines, pushed forward by the tribes that followed. The branch that came after, that is, the second great division of the Itali, was made up of Umbrians and Sabelli; and of these, the Umbrians seem to have been the earlier, for they settled to the west of the Apennines, as well as in the mountains. Their vanguard comprised the Volsci and tribes closely related — the Hernici, Æqui, and Æquiculi — who dwelt in the south and east of Latium as far as the land of the Sabines, whereas the true Umbrians, who lived farther to the north, were separated from the vanguard by certain portions of Sabine territory. Judging from the situation of their country, the Sabines seem to have been the foremost of the Sabellian peoples, who, crowding behind, compelled the Sabines to turn to the west, where they thrust themselves in the form of a wedge between the Volscic-Umbrian nations. The greater portion of the Sabellians remained east of the Apennines. These were the Samnites (i.e. Sabinites), divided into Frentanii, Pentrii, Hirpinii, and Caudinii, and to the north of the Samnites, the Marsii, Pælignii, Marracini, Vestinii, and Prætuttii. During historical times the Samnites penetrated still farther to the south, occupying Apulia, Campania, Lucania, and Bruttium, and finally crossed the *Fretum Siculum* into Sicily. We have no means for discovering how long a time it took for all these different peoples to settle down in Italy. If the inhabitants of Terremare were really the "Itali of the plain of the Po," then the time could not have been very long, because the civilisations of Terremare and earliest Latium were substantially the same.

Of all the Italian races, only the Romans left a literature in the true sense of the word. This is not surprising; indeed, considering the development of the different tribes, it could not very well have been otherwise. Of the other races, we possess either no literary remains at all or only inscriptions. As in the case of other Italic peoples, we introduce here a number of inscriptions, belonging to Italic races in the narrowest sense of the term.

The oldest of all Latin inscriptions is that of the abecedaria of Praeneste; it reads as follows:

novios : med : vhe : vhaked : numasioi
Novios me made for Numasios.

Another ancient Latin inscription is:

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus, Gnaivod patre prognatus, fortis vir sapiensque, quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit; consol, censor, aidilis quei fuit apud vos; Taurasia, Cisauna, Samnio cepit, subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abdoucit.

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus, the son of Father Gnævus, a brave and wise man, whose form was only equal to his valour; who was consul, censor, and ædile among you; he took Taurasia Cisauna from the Samnites, subjugated the whole of Lucania, and led away hostages.

The following is a specimen of the dialect of the Falisci:

vipia : zertenea : loferta | marci : acarcelini | mate : he : cupa.

Vibia Zertenea, the freedwoman, mother of Marcus Acarcelinius, lies here.

This is a specimen of Volscian:

deve : declune : statom : sepis : atahus : pis : velestrom | facia : esaristrom.

To the goddess Deculona erected; if any shall have disturbed it [the stone?], any one of the Veliterni [inhabitants of Velitræ], he must make a sacrifice.

This is Marsic:

pa . vi . pacuies . medis . vesune . dunom . ded.

Pacius Pacuvius [son] of Vibius, the Meddix (cf. p. 377), gave [this] to Vesuna as a gift.

This is Pælignic:

saluta . musesa . pa | anaceta . ceria | et . aisis . sato.

Saluta Mussedia [daughter] of Pacius; to Angitia Cereria [a goddess] and to the gods consecrated.

This is Marrucinic:

aisos pacris totai maroucai lixs: asignas ferenter aviatas toutai maroucai ioves patres ocres tarincris iovias . agine.

with the favour of the gods law for the Marrucinic state; the sacrificial gifts, after they have been consecrated for the Marrucinic state, through auguries, are borne in festive procession of Jupiter, from Mount Tarincris, and of Juno.

This is Vestinic:

t. vetio duno didet herclo iovio.

Titus Vettius gives [this] to the son of Jupiter, Hercules, as a gift.

A Sabine inscription reads as follows:

mesene flusare poimuni en atrno dunom hiretom.

in the month of flowers a gift to Poimunos in Aternom was resolved upon.

The following fragment is in Umbrian, from the Eugubian tablets:

este persklum aves anzeriates enetu pernaies pusnaes. pre veres treplanes iuve krapuvi tre buf fetu, arvia ustentu.

This sacrifice, shall he, after the birds have been observed, begin before and behind [the gate]. Before the Trebulan Gate shall he slaughter three bullocks to Jupiter Grabovius; he shall exhibit the intestines.

The last inscription is Oscan:

v. aadirans . v. eítiuvam . paam | vereiiaí . púmpaiianaí . tristaa | mentud . deded . eísak . eítiuvad | v. viínikiís . mr . kvaísstur . púmp | aiians . trií búm . ekak . kúmben | nieís . tanginud . úpsannam | deded ísídum . prúfatted.

Vibius Atrames [son] of Vibius, what money he gave to the Pompeian citizens by testament, with this money Vibius [son] of Mara, the quæstor of Pompeii, had this house built according to the decree of the community, the same received the account.

D. The Illyrians

Illyrian tribes, too, settled upon the soil of ancient Italy; and it appears that the different clans wandered into the peninsula independently of one another and at different times. The earliest of the Illyrian migrations seems to have taken the direction towards central Italy, where we find their traces in Latium (Venetuli, Ardea, Praeneste, Laurentum, tribus Lemonia), in Picenum (Truentum), and in Umbria (the *Iapuzkum numen* of the Eugubian tablets), whither the peoples seem to have journeyed by ship, directly across the sea. The second Illyrian migration appears more clear and distinct in the light of history. It was that of the Iapygii, of whom single tribes (i.e. the Messapii, or Sallentinii, the Poedikulii, and the Daunii) occupied the west coast as far south as Mount Garganus; in other words, the Calabrian peninsula and Apulia. These tribes also appear to have travelled to Italy over the sea; their latest journeys occurred during the eighth century B.C. The third Illyrian migration into Italy was that of the Venetii. It can be proved from traces left behind them that these were fixed in their later settlements about the middle of the seventh century B.C. Beyond doubt, they entered Italy by the overland route through Aquileia.

(*a*) *The Earliest Illyrian Migration.*—We have but little knowledge of the civilisation of the Illyrians who first migrated into central Italy. That they were acquainted with the art of writing would be definitely proven if a number of very ancient inscriptions which have been found in Picenum, and which are usually held to be Old Sabellic, could be definitely ascribed to them. It is almost certain that the language of these inscriptions is Indo-Germanic: it can scarcely be a Sabellic dialect; the variation from later Sabellic is far too great, and the whole style of the writing too foreign. If the language is not Sabellic, then, from the very nature of the case, there remains scarcely any other possibility than that the language before us is Illyrian. That the alphabet of these inscriptions, the *most ancient of all Italian alphabets,* is a daughter of the Greek alphabet, is, indeed, self-evident; nevertheless this fact may as well be again mentioned here.

The following inscription, discovered at Bellante, may serve as a specimen:

p. szin : sium : siretus : tetis : t. kum : alies : esmen : sepses : sepelen .

Although it is not possible to give a translation of this passage, still, the Indo-Germanic character of the language is evident to every philologist.

(*b*) *The Iapygii.*—The second people of Illyrian origin, the Iapygii, at first inhabited Apulia. Their few remaining descendants, under the name of Messapii, long dwelt in the extreme south of the region once occupied by their forefathers and afterwards conquered by the Samnites, in which the Oscan language became the dominant speech. The region in which inscriptions written in the language of the Iapygii have been found includes the cities of Monopoli, Fasano, Ostuni, Carovigno, Brindisi, Rugge, Lecce, Vaste, Leuca, Ugento, La Lezza, Nardo, Taranto, Oria, and Ceglie. We know but little of their civilisation. This race, too, has left us a number of inscriptions, written in an alphabet borrowed apparently from the epizephyric Locrians, and in a language that is clearly Aryan,

They contain a great number of names of persons, which are repeated on the other side of the Adriatic Sea in the Latin inscriptions of the Illyrian districts. From this it is certain that the Iapygii were of Illyrian origin. As a specimen we print an inscription, which was discovered at Ceglie:

dasta moroana aproditahi pades.
Dasta (and) Moroana, daughters of Aproditas.

(c) *The Veneti.*—As to the civilisation of the Veneti, the third Illyrian people, we have far more information; and this knowledge has been obtained through the excavations in the neighbourhood of Este and Gurina in the valley of the Gail in Carinthia.

The Este of to-day, the Ateste of ancient times, is situated in the midst of a group of cemeteries, in which five strata, belonging to as many different periods, may be recognised. The lowest of these strata is different in nature from the other four. It contains remains of flints, and seems to have belonged to a pre-Venetic population, mentioned by ancient writers as the Euganei. The other four strata belong to the Veneti, and contain clusters of graves, upon which were erected pillars of hard trachyte (macigno), and in which large vessels, partly of clay, partly of bronze, have been found, filled with the remains of bones, ornaments, and small sepulchral urns. During the first of the four periods of the Veneti, the graves were enclosed by stone slabs. The vessels of clay are similar to those which have been found in Bologna; all the ornaments are of bronze; iron is rarely found. The graves of the second period contain various articles of bronze, amber, and glass; clay vessels, too, which have been turned on the potter's wheel and are of very fine workmanship, in the form of two truncated cones, joined together at their bases and decorated with winding patterns. During the third period the civilisation of the Veneti attained its highest point: it is characterised by many splendid objects of bronze; great vases, together with smaller vessels, ornaments, household utensils, and weapons. In the fourth period articles of silver and of glass have been found, and iron weapons that show signs of Gallic and Roman influence. To this last period belongs also the temple containing a large number of consecrated gifts that was discovered in the Chiusura Baratela, near Este. Apparently, it was dedicated to a goddess called Rehtiia.

We have also considerable knowledge of the civilisation of the Veneti in Carinthia. The discoveries made there include the Hallstatter and La Tène abecedaria, bronze plates, partially covered with inscriptions, figures of bronze, swords, knives, daggers, spear and arrow heads, as well as various utensils and tools. The relationship between the two civilisations, of Este and of Gurina, is as follows: the centre of culture of the Veneti lay, without doubt, in the neighbourhood of Este; and from this point the Veneti seem to have pressed forward to Carinthia in the north, and there to have gained, among other acquisitions of civilisation, knowledge of the alphabet. The fact that many of the remains which have been found at Este belong to an earlier period than those of Gurina, does not interfere with this theory in the least. The Veneti of Carinthia could not possibly have been remnants of tribes left behind during the migration to Italy; for the route taken by the Veneti — this is a certainty — was much farther to the south, through Aquileia.

A large number of inscriptions have come down to us from Este as well as from Gurina. They are written in an alphabet that, of course, had its origin in Greece, and seems to be most closely connected with the writing employed in Elis. The inscriptions of Gurina are, in the case of a few single letters, more ancient than those of Este; however, the two alphabets are practically the same. Two inscriptions, one from a grave and the other a dedication, may serve as specimens of the language of the Veneti. The first is as follows:

"vanteh vhouχontioh eχo."
"Of Vantes Fugontios [am] I."

The second:

"meχo zonasto rehtiia nerika lemetorina."
"Nerika Lemetorina gave me to Rehtiia."

Here we see the name of the above-mentioned goddess Rehtiia.

3. THE ETRUSCANS

THE great Ligurian empire was destroyed by the Etruscans (see p. 304). The latter came from the Far East, and, as it appears, were related to various races of Western Asia and the Balkan Peninsula, but wholly unrelated to the Aryans and Semites. They seem to have halted for a rather long time in central Europe, and to have been neighbours of the Teutonic peoples, in whose legends their memory is retained under the name of Thursen. Later, they were driven from their homes — we know not under what conditions, nor why — and were forced to cross the Alps, wandering to the south and occupying at first Rhætia, especially the Tyrol and Grisons. Thence they pressed forward to the south, and under the name of Euganei took possession of the country to the east of Verona. Another of their tribes, Etruscans in a more limited sense of the term, settled in Atria, Spina, and in the neighbourhood of Bologna, which was at that time called Felsina, and where their presence is still indicated by numerous burial-places, containing many inscriptions in their language. They travelled from Bologna across the Apennines, perhaps following the direction of the valley of Reno into Etruria proper, the Toscana of modern times; and from this country as a centre they spread over the plain of the Po, as well as over Latium and Campania.

The origin of the Etruscans has long been a much-debated point. During the Middle Ages men sought to derive their language from the Hebrew, the language of Paradise and original speech of mankind, an attempt that was repeated in 1858. Then, in the last century, came a period when scholars, especially Passeri and Lanzi, believed they had discovered in the Etruscans near relatives of the peoples called Itali, of whom we have already spoken. This opinion, too, has found its adherents during the present century in Corssen and other Italian scholars; but it may now be deemed obsolete. Attempts to derive Etruscan from Irish, Scandinavian; Old German, Slavonic, Armenian, Altaic-Finnic, Basque, Lithuanian, Lybian, etc., need only be considered as curiosities. The list, as one may see, is a variegated sample card of all possible languages; but it rests, naturally enough, upon a base no more substantial than idle speculation.

There are few chapters in the history of science that are at the same time so mortifying and so amusing as the chapter on the deciphering of the Etruscan inscriptions. The splitting up of indivisible word-forms, the joining of others that are absolutely heterogeneous, the acceptance of abbreviations of all sorts, and of phonetic theories that transcend even the wildest flights of imagination, were the means by which men hoped to force the poor Etruscan, stretched out on a Procrustean bed, as it were, to be derived from whatever language they preferred. A sure foundation for the lingual and ethnographic position of the Etruscans did not exist until some ten or twelve years ago, when two French scholars discovered two parallel texts cut into a gravestone on the island of Lemnos, written in a very ancient Greek alphabet, most nearly related to the Phrygian method of writing; but the language of the texts was not Greek. On farther investigation it was found that this language was very closely related to the Etruscan. Now the classic writers tell us that the Pelasgi dwelt in Lemnos before the time of the Greeks; moreover, they also say that the Etruscans were descendants of Tyrrhenic Pelasgi who came from Lydia. The truth of this tradition is at once established by the discovery of the parallel texts. To what races of Western Asia the Etruscans and Pelasgi were related, and how closely they were related, has been during the last few years the subject of extensive investigations, which are not yet completed. That the Etruscans were descendants of the Pelasgi is the opinion which obtains most credence at the present day. Wilhelm Deecke, who may be looked upon as the father of scientific Etruscology, has adopted it with certain limitations. After he had declared the Etruscans to be an entirely different race from the other Italians, speaking another language, thus agreeing with the opinion long ago expressed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, he returned to the views of Corssen, already mentioned; but, finally (just as Karl Otfried Müller did before him), he came to look upon the Etruscans as a mixed people, made up of the native Raseni, whom he considered the Latin branch of the Itali, and Pelasgic-Greek corsairs, who had come from the city of Tyrrha in Lydia. In this precise form his view is certainly untenable; however, it approaches, at least, the correct theory in so far as it recognises the fact that there were two strata of races in Etruria; the elder, Umbrian, as has been maintained by the writers of antiquity, and the later Etruscan, in a more restricted sense.

Not only their language teaches us that the Etruscans were not of Aryan origin; this fact is confirmed by their stature and appearance. The Roman authors described them as short and close-knit, with a predisposition to stoutness (see plate, "Etruscan Antiquities," lower half); and thus they appear plainly enough to us to-day in the hundreds of Etruscan figures on the covers of sarcophagi which have been discovered in the various cities of Etruria. Note the difference between these rotund forms and the spare figures of the lean Itali; between the round skulls and countenances of the Etruscans and the long, narrow faces of the Aryans of Italy; between the flat, potato-shaped noses of the Etruscans and the finely cut, straight or slightly aquiline noses of the Romans. Such a physical type reminds us far more of the Huns, as described by writers of the Dark Ages, than of Aryans, whether the complexion be fair or brown.

Again, the mental constitution of the Etruscans distinguishes them from the Aryan races of the peninsula. Nothing shows more plainly that the Etruscans

ETRUSCAN ANTIQUITIES

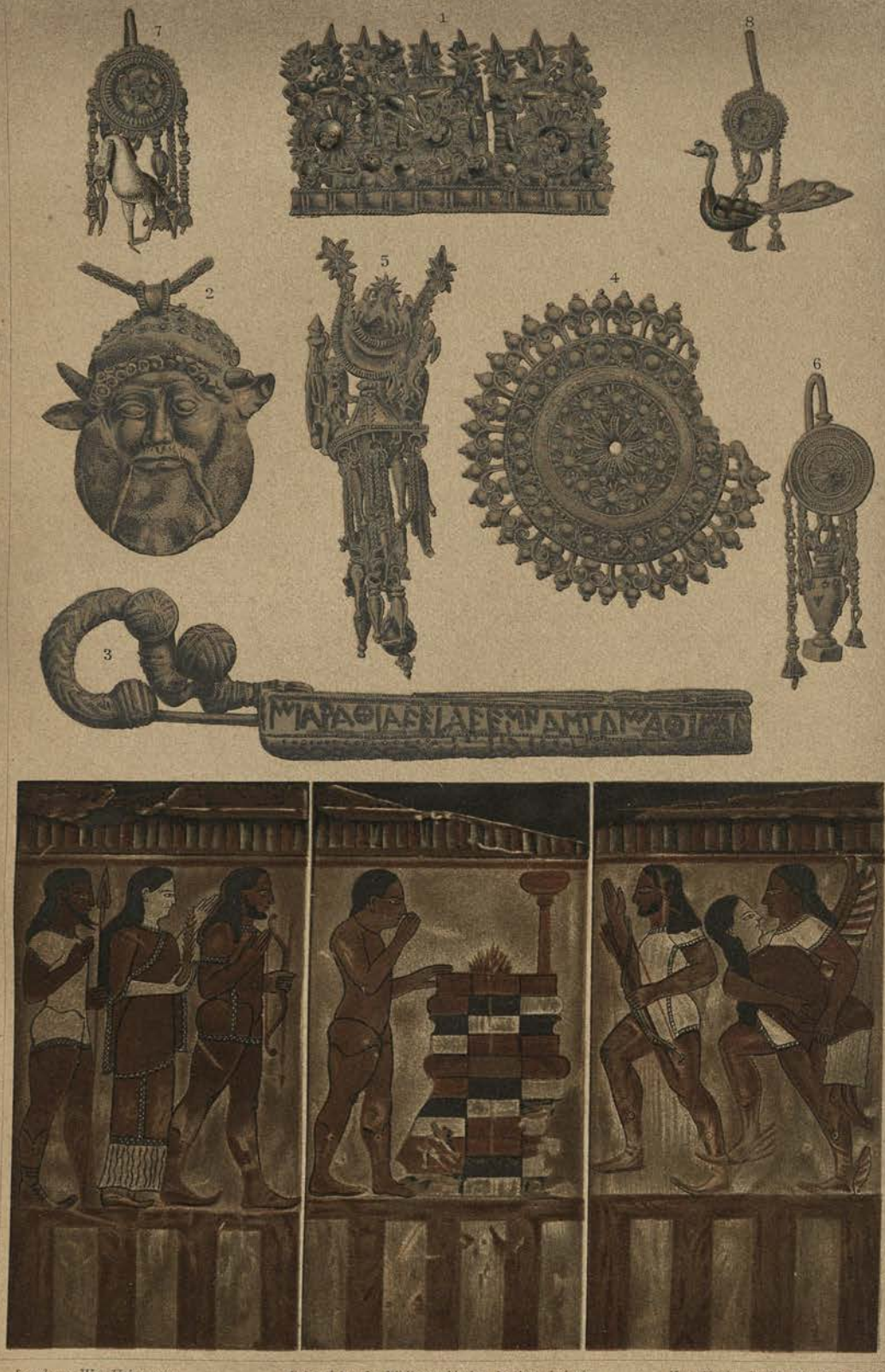
(AFTER JULES MARTHA, L'ART ÉTRUSQUE)

GOLD ornaments from Clusium (Chiusi), Vulsinii Novi (Bolsena), and Vulci; same size as originals.

1. A section of the most beautiful Etruscan diadem.
2. Chain with medallion pendant (head of Bacchus).
3. Abecedarium, the inscription in Etruscan. Beginning of the sixth century B. C. (found about 1850 in a tomb at Chiusi).
4. Circular brooch.
5–8. Ear-pendants. 5. Above the crescent, the sun-god in a chariot drawn by four horses, accompanied by two goddesses of victory, various pendants beneath (found in a tomb at Bolsena, 1861).
6. Pig.
7. Swan.
8. Peacock.

Below, a representation of a ceremonial burning of the dead, painted on three terra-cotta slabs, from Cære (Cervetri); size 1 : 14.

(Louvre, Paris.)



London: Wm Heinemann. Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig. *New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.*

ETRUSCAN ANTIQUITIES FROM CLUSIUM, VULSINII, VULCI AND CAERE; NOW IN THE LOUVRE COLLECTION, PARIS. (From Jules Martha: L'art étrusque.)

were not of Indo-Germanic origin than their mythology. While all is light-hearted and joyful with the Aryans — Father Heaven and Mother Earth, the sun, the moon, rosy dawn, and fire, are the original divinities of a cult expressed in epic narratives and single great dramatic poems — on the other hand, all is dark and gloomy with the Etruscans. Among their sculptures we meet sullen demons of death and the lower world, almost bestial of countenance, with pointed ears, bristly hair, tusks for teeth, and serpents twined about their heads, necks, and arms. All the benevolent deities that have been found seem to have been borrowed from other races. In later times knowledge of the Olympian pantheon was introduced through an acquaintance with Greek art; but a mingling of religions, such as that which occurred in Rome, could scarcely have come to pass. That the names, at least, of the Olympic gods were known to the Etruscans, however, is proven by the representations of such gods on vases, mirrors, etc., to which Greek names in Etruscan writing, expressed in the forms of the Etruscan language, have been added. In later times the names of Roman deities also occur; and these too, are, naturally, in Etruscan form. Thus, finally, an amalgamation of Etruscan with Italic divinities appears; an occurrence that took place in precisely the same manner among the Italic races, especially the Romans.

But this is nothing more than a later development, beneath which the original mythology of the Etruscans is still plainly visible. Among the ancient gods of the Etruscans there were, for example, Fufluns, god of wine; Juran, goddess of love; Laran, god of war; Thesan, goddess of the dawn. There were also divinities in the service of the chief gods, such as the child of the gods, Maris; Lasa, Mlacuch, Mean, and others. The divinities of death and various other horrible phantoms showed an especially full development. Here we have the gorgon-like Tarsu; the goddesses of death, Vanth, Leinth, Culsu, Tuchulcha, and others. They are shown to us as figures, intended to inspire terror, in the representations of death scenes on sarcophagi and funeral urns. These fantastic forms, creatures of a barbaric imagination, were in complete harmony with the rites of worship. Human sacrifices were in vogue until a relatively recent period; and even as late as the time of the Romans the Tarquinii slaughtered, as sacrifices to their gods, three hundred Romans, whom they had captured in battle. No joyful festivals relieved the gloom of their life; they were bound, fettered, as it were, to a dead ritual. Their lives from beginning to end were preordained by the inexorable will of the gods. The highest endeavour of their religious life was to discover in advance what this irresistible will of the gods might be. Thus developed the most extreme form of superstitious ritualism, the system of *haruspices* and *fulguriatores*. The task of the former was to discover the designs of the gods and the fate of men from an examination of the entrails of sacrificial beasts, and that of the latter to seek for the same knowledge by observation of the lightning. Much of this superstition was afterwards introduced into Rome, probably during the time when Latium was under the dominion of the Etruscans; but it was, from its very sources, a form of religion entirely foreign to the Aryan spirit. The religion of the Egyptians was more in harmony with this gloomy Etruscan cult. Richly decorated tombs and extensive cities of the dead are found in the neighbourhood of all Etruscan towns; especially magnificent are those at Volsinii, Perusia, and Tarquinii, as well as the sepulchres at Volterra, Cerveteri (see the lower half of the plate facing p. 312), and in the

extensive region of Clusium. Such a highly developed worship of the dead is, likewise, unknown to Indo-Germanic peoples.

Thus, after all has been said, the fact remains that the Etruscans were a foreign race, speaking a strange language, and altogether unrelated to the other inhabitants of the Apennine peninsula. This people, whose origin cannot be designated as less than semi-barbarian, attained the highest civilisation in Italy during pre-Roman times, and also, long before the time of the Romans, had made an attempt to extend their political domination over wide areas of the peninsula, perhaps with the conscious intention of taking possession of the entire country. All this signifies a certain intellectual capability and power of action, although at the same time it likewise shows that the Etruscan mind was of a receptive rather than of a creative nature.

The Etruscans, then, were the first civilised, or at least semi-civilised people of Italy proper; but only because they took other races as their models; and inasmuch as their civilisation extended over such a long period of time, they had sufficient opportunity for studying many different types. The first of these peoples were the Egyptians. Traces of them have been found in the sepulchre at Vulci, called the Isis Grotto, as well as in other graves, in the shape of objects bearing inscriptions in hieroglyphics of about the period 650-525 B.C. In later times the Mesopotamian races were the instructors of the Etruscans. Other signs of these races — articles finished according to their style and manner — have been discovered in Etruscan sepulchres; for example, in the grave of Regulini-Galassi in Cerveteri. However, it is not to be understood from this that either Egyptians or Assyrians exerted any direct influence on the Etruscans. Rather did the relationship come about through the mediation of the Phœnicians, as has been proven by a Phœnician inscription found in a sepulchre at Palestrina, together with objects of the same character as those which have been discovered in the previously mentioned Etruscan tombs at Cerveteri and Vulci. These objects belong to the same epoch of civilisation as the greater part of the antiquities discovered in Cyprus.

The period that followed showed that the Etruscans were under the influence of the so-called Mycenæan civilisation, well known to us from the explorations of Schliemann, which thrived not only at Mycenæ, but also at Troy and at various other localities in Greece and its vicinity. Opinions are divided as to who brought this civilisation to Greece. Many scholars consider that the bearers were the Hellenes themselves of an early period; others believe that they were the Pelasgi. The latter view is the more probable; and an attempt completely to deny the existence of the Pelasgi, made a short time ago, has absolutely failed. That the principal instructors of the Etruscans in civilisation were Greeks, is evident. The imitation of Greek art appears in many different regions which were once inhabited by the Etruscans. In architecture it is to be seen in the manner of building temples, where the influence of the Dorians is plainly visible. But it is also apparent in various other arts. Many vases which have been discovered, decorated in black, as well as in bright colours, are not of Greek manufacture, but are copies made by Etruscan artists. That in later times metal-founding and metal-chasing were influenced by the Greeks, is shown by the so-called Arringatore now in the museum at Florence, which were discovered in Perusia. And the same thing is indicated by a large number of bronze mirrors,

some of which are of great beauty, and by the specimens of the goldsmith's art of Vulci. (See Figs. 1, 2, 4, and 6-8, plate facing p. 312.) A definite memory of this Greek influence seems to have been preserved in the Etruscan traditions; for Pliny relates that Demaratus, the refugee from Corinth, brought with him the sculptors Eucheir, Diopos, and Engrammos, who are said to have introduced the plastic arts into Italy.

We are able to form a fairly accurate and distinct picture of the civilisation of the Etruscans from the above-mentioned cities of the dead, in which have been preserved objects belonging to the different periods of civilisation; for these objects mirror the entire life of the people. The dead among the Etruscans were either buried or burned on funeral pyres. The former custom was chiefly in use in the north, the latter in the south. The dead were usually placed in great stone sarcophagi, ornamented with sculptures, of which many have been found, especially in the necropoli of Corneto and Viterbo. The ashes of bodies consumed by fire were preserved in small square ossuaries, differing in appearance, according to locality. Those of Volterra are of alabaster, and are ornamented with very beautiful sculptures; in Perusia and Chiusi travertine was the material employed, also decorated with sculptures, but of a different style; and both Chiusi and Perusia have a particular shape of ossuary. Ossuaries of a still smaller size and made of baked clay have been discovered in Chiusi; and these, too, have a plastic ornamentation. The ashes of men of lesser consequence were preserved in round clay pots without decorations.

The different urns and boxes which contained the remains of the dead were then placed in graves of varied construction, which always lay without the limits of the towns, and formed the closed cities of the dead, or necropolises. The graves have been classified, according to their different peculiarities, and names have been given to the various forms. The oldest are those which are called *tombe a pozzo.* They consist of cylindrical or conical shafts, sunk into the chalk formation. Each has two partitions; the upper of greater, the lower of lesser diameter. The latter forms the grave proper, and now and then contains a great red clay pot. With this variation the grave is called a *tomba a ziro.* The next form is the *tomba a fossa,* a rectangular pit from 6½ to 8 feet long, 3¼ to 4½ feet broad, and 6 to 10 feet deep. Bodies were placed in these tombs, unconsumed by fire; the older forms still belonged to the period of funeral pyres. When the *tomba a fossa* is constructed with a facing of stones within, it bears the name of *tomba a cassa;* and when the *tomba a fossa* is of a larger size than usual, and has a lid or cover, so that it cannot be approached from above, but only from one side, it is called *tomba a camera;* when the lid forms a vault, resembling the interior of a hollow cylinder, it bears the name *tomba con volta a botte.* If there is a narrow passageway, resembling a corridor, leading to a tomb, the name given is *tomba a corridoio.* The *tomba a buca* is a round pit about 9 feet in depth, having a circle of stones about its mouth. Whenever the *tomba a camera* is found to have greater dimensions than usual, forming at the same time, however, only a single chamber, it is called a *camera a cassone.* And this form of tomb, with the addition of side chambers, is the latest and most highly developed type of Etruscan grave.

From these graves, often rich in collections of objects of bronze, iron, silver, gold, and clay, we are enabled to obtain a conception of the entire course of

development of Etruscan civilisation from the very earliest times, from the day, perhaps, when the race first descended the southern slopes of the Alps until the time arrived when Romans became their successors in the civilised life of the Apennine peninsula. And just as the Etruscans were the predecessors of the Romans in civilisation, so were they also in political life. They were the earliest Power in Italy, and mighty on both land and sea. The ancient writers often spoke of the Tyrrhenians as a great maritime nation (also a nation of pirates, according to the testimony of men who were overcome by them); and so there was once a time when the Etruscans stood upon an equal plane with the Greeks and the Phœnicians as a seafaring race. Witness is borne to this by the treaty between Carthage and Etruria, by which a formal confederation was established; and this alliance consummated in the battle of Alalia, fought by Phœnicians and Etruscans against the Phocæans.

The power of the Etruscans was not limited to the sea; their dominion on land covered a wide area in Italy. The writers of classic times relate that they subjugated almost the entire peninsula; but at one time Latins, Umbrians, and Aurunci were all known under the name of Tyrrhenians. The Etruscans advanced to the south in Campania; and here, too, they established, it is reported, a confederation, consisting of twelve cities. The most powerful of these towns were Capua, called Volturnum in Etruscan times; and Nola, which, perhaps, bore the name Urina. Numerous discoveries, partly of objects bearing inscriptions in Etruscan, proclaim the fact that the Etruscans once dwelt on the Campania. In later times the Greek colonies on the coast and the Oscans became heirs to their posessions. The conquest of Campania and the foundation or occupation of the two cities above mentioned occurred, according to the probably accurate account of Cato, about the year 602 B.C. In former days it was frequently stated that this conquest was effected from the sea; but since the Etruscan cities in Tuscany are situated upon rocky hills in the interior of the country, there is very little reason to doubt that the Etruscans entered Italy on foot. The same is true of their entrance into Campania; for Capua and Nola also lie inland, and at that time the coast of Campania was already in the hands of the Greek colonies.

If Campania was entered by the Etruscans from the inland side, it must follow that at one time Latium, which lies between Etruria and Campania (there is no other route from Campania to Etruria, except that which passes through Latium) must also have been under Etruscan domination. But if this was the case, then the fact is established beyond doubt that the future mistress of the world, Rome herself, was once subject to the Etruscans. Echoes of this time are to be found in the tales of the last three kings of the house of Tarquin. The family name of the dynasty itself, as well as the date fixed by the Romans as the beginning of the Tarquinian rule — that is, the year 616 B.C. — prove the supremacy of the Etruscans. Since they occupied Campania in the year 602 B.C., the year 616 seems a very probable date for the conquest of Latium.

It is comprehensible enough that the Roman historians of later times should have endeavoured to slur over the fact that Rome was once under Etruscan rule; but, in spite of all attempts to veil the truth, the descriptions given by the Romans themselves of the later years of the monarchy betray the facts. Moreover, the memory of Etruscan supremacy was also preserved by the Etruscans; for ex-

ample we catch a last echo of it in the legend of Caele Vipinà and Macstrna, who led a Tuscan troop from Volsinii to Rome and settled upon the Cælian hill. The domination of the Etruscans over Rome is, to be sure, denied even to this day; but whoever carefully reads Livy's account of the battles that followed the expulsion of the Tarquins can have no doubt of it whatever. What we find in Livy is no historical description, but an old epic, the ancient verses of which may easily be traced out; and this epic describes, not the battles of classes or the introduction of a new form of government, but the struggles of the Romans to free themselves from the dominion of a foreign conqueror. In addition, a great mass of manners, customs, and institutions of Rome, which were of Etruscan origin and were retained for a long period, bear witness to the conditions of affairs described above. Thus we have, in the first place, matters pertaining to auguries, together with the form of temple peculiar to this belief, both of which were foreign to Rome. We have also the insignia of kingship, the *sella curulis*, the lictors with the *fasces*, and the garment edged with imperial purple. Moreover, there is the influence of the Etruscans on the Romans in metal-working and architecture, monetary affairs, and the calendar. Not only the *Cloaca maxima*, but also the capitoline temple at Rome were examples of Etruscan work. What is usually termed the expulsion of the Tarquins was, in reality, a war of independence, waged by the Romans against the Etruscans.

But even after Rome had attained her freedom, there still remained not only a great number of Etruscan customs and institutions, but also a large Etruscan population, which had settled in Latium and in Rome. Such was the case in Praeneste and Tusculum; such in Rome in the *vicus Tuscus*, at the foot of the Palatine hill. And these Etruscans were not of the common people alone; they also comprised Roman patrician families; as, for example, the Tarquitii, Voltinii, Volumnii, Papirii, Cominii and others; and even the liberators belonged to families of Etruscan origin. This was not only true of L. Tarquinius Collatinus, whose very name betrayed his origin, but also of many others. The Junia *gens* is mentioned in Etruscan inscriptions under the name *uni;* the Valerians appear as *velsi;* even the Horatii seem to have been of Etruscan origin. Some deem it a fact proved by history that a mixture of blood produces races of high intellectual endowments and lasting vitality, as in the case of the English. It may be, then, that, owing to the mixture of Latin and Sabine and Etruscan blood in their veins, the Romans were enabled to develop at least some of the characteristics that fitted them first to become the heirs of the Etruscans, and afterwards to achieve world dominion.

4. THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRIMITIVE INHABITANTS ON THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CIVILISATION OF THE PENINSULA

THIS final section will be devoted to a short exposition of the political history of the primitive inhabitants of Italy — in so far as we can speak of such a history in respect to the races which have just been described. Many of these peoples — for example, those of Iberian origin — have left no historical traces behind them so far as political life is concerned; others, again, such as the Ligurians and

Veneti, are of interest only in so far as they come into touch with the Romans, whether in the way of peace or of war. Very few of all the various races, excepting the Latins and Romans, occupy positions of any prominence in the political history of the Apennine peninsula. Only the Etruscans, the Gauls, and the Samnites are at all distinguished.

We have already spoken of the extension of the Etruscan rule over land and sea (p. 316). In later times, with the rise of the Roman power, the Etruscans were forced to take a secondary position. To be sure, they repeatedly endeavoured to prevent the spread of the Roman power, but always in vain. These attempts in part went hand in hand with the efforts of the Samnites to rival the Romans in conquering the peninsula. Although the Etruscans did not participate in the first Samnite War (343-341 B.C.), they took advantage of the second (326-304 B.C.) to begin on their own account the war of 311. But they were defeated by Fabius after his daring march through the Ciminian forest. During the third Samnite War (298-290 B.C.), and the fourth (281-272 B.C.), there were battles fought with the Etruscans, who, during the fourth war, were assisted by the Gauls. But all these battles were without result. In the year 283 the Etruscans and Boii were defeated at Vadimonis Lacus (Lago di Bassano), and again in the following year. These reverses were followed by their complete subjugation by Rome, although the process of Romanisation seems to have progressed but slowly. Not until 89 B.C. was the Roman right of citizenship extended to all Etruscans. This fact is also confirmed by the Etruscan inscriptions, which extended far into the time of the emperors.

The Gauls also play a predominant part in the history of Italy. The inroads of Gallic tribes into the peninsula began about the year 600 B.C. These tribes first took possession of the northern part of the valley of the Po, crossed the river about 400 B.C., and spread out over various portions of central Italy. In 390 they defeated the Romans at the river Allia, and captured and burnt Rome; but while besieging the capitol were defeated and driven off by Camillus. The Gallic tribes engaged in this expedition were as follows: The Insubrians, whose chief city, Mediolanum, was destroyed by the Romans in 222 B.C.; the Cenomani, whose centre was Verona; the Anani, to the south of the Po; the Lingoni; and the powerful race of Boii, which consisted of one hundred and twelve tribes. The tribes had many struggles with the Romans, and were first defeated in 224 B.C.; later, after they had assisted the Carthaginians in the Second Punic War, they were completely routed in 191 B.C. by Scipio Nasica. The Senones, who occupied the coast of Etruria, were subjected to Roman rule in 282 B.C. So far as we can see, the Gauls had but small influence on the development of civilisation in Italy proper, especially on that of Rome; at all events, their influence was far less than that of the Etruscans. Only in the northern part of the peninsula, where their own possessions were situated, and in portions of the lands of the Veneti, have the Gauls left behind them traces of their own culture, known to us as the *La Tène* civilisation (cf. Vol. I., p. 173).

This, in the main, is the picture of the primitive races of the Apennine peninsula as we are able to reconstruct it in the present state of our knowledge. But the description would be incomplete if we were not to add to it a short summary of the introduction of the art of writing into Italy. Writing is the foundation of all higher civilisation; and one of the most important moments in

the life of a people is that in which it becomes acquainted with the use of the alphabet. This importance is not derived from the immediate value of writing in practical affairs, in trade and commerce, but rather from the far-reaching effects it has upon intellectual life in general. The development of literature takes its name from the letters (*litterae*) employed in writing, and the advancement of science and of learning first becomes possible at the time when the art of writing is acquired by a people.

The alphabet seems to have been introduced into Italy at a very early period: inscriptions written in an extremely ancient style have been discovered in Picenum. It is not certain to what people these inscriptions belong; they are usually looked upon as Sabellic, but the Illyrians also have been credited with them by some authorities. It is, moreover, impossible to tell with any degree of certainty from what part of Greece the alphabet was introduced into Italy. It is evident that all the Italian races obtained their knowledge of the art of writing from Greece; however, they did this in independence of one another, and their alphabets were those of different regions of Greece. Thus the Messapii received theirs from the Locrians, and the Veneti probably were indebted to the Eleans. It is certain that Etruscans, Umbrians, and Oscans, on the one hand, as well as the Latins and Faliscans, on the other, adopted the alphabet used in the Chalcidian colonies in Italy. The methods of writing employed by these two groups of races, although derived from the same source, seem to have originated at different periods, in so far as the Etruscan-Umbrian-Oscan alphabet, which reads from left to right, is older than the Roman-Faliscan, although in this also the lines ran in the same way during the earliest times. Because the Etruscans were first possessed of a civilisation, however, it is certain that they were also the first to acquire a written language. For this reason their alphabet is a more ancient form of the original Chalcidian than that possessed by the Romans. As time went on written language was borrowed from the Etruscans by the Ligurians and Gauls in the north. The latter had at first adopted the form of Greek alphabet used in Massilia; subsequently they made use of Etruscan letters; and, finally, when they were under the dominion of Rome, they wrote in Latin characters, for they had no national alphabet of their own.

VII

ITALY AND THE ROMAN WORLD-EMPIRE

BY PROF. JULIUS JUNG

I. GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE APENNINE PENINSULA AND ITS INHABITANTS

A. The Geography of Ancient Italy

THE inland sea, which washes the coasts of the three ancient continents Asia, Africa, and Europe, and has, therefore, since the time of the Roman world-empire been called the "inner" or the "Mediterranean" Sea, is divided into an eastern and a western basin. These are connected by two channels. That which flows between Sicily and the opposite African coast is now usually named after the small island Pantellaria (in antiquity Cossyra), which is nearer Africa, but according to the formation of the sea-floor belongs rather to Sicily. At the same time we must not forget that the mountains on both sides of the sea were originally connected, so that the Apennine (or the Apennines) found a continuation in the Atlas range of the opposite African coast. This unity was severed at a comparatively recent period (from a geological point of view) by an irruption of the sea, while the geographical connection was preserved. The coast facing Sicily is open. The key to this channel is formed by the island-group of Melite and Gaudos (now Malta and Gozzo), which lies south of Sicily, about the middle of the Mediterranean in its greatest length, and is noted for its good harbours. The strait of Pantellaria from its breakers and shallows is dangerous to mariners unacquainted with the coast, but a second waterway from Greece to the western basin runs between Sicily and the mainland through the narrow cleft of Zancle or Messina, where the continuity of the Apennines is broken by an arm of the sea.

The western Mediterranean is again divided into two parts having a uniform depth of 3000 metres or more: in the centre lies the island of Sardinia, which in antiquity played a far more important part than now, and from which the surrounding sea was called the "Sardinian," just as there was a "Sicilian" sea. On the other hand the part which lay between Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and the Italian mainland was called the Tyrrhenian Sea, since the Etruscans were

the foremost power there. By the Romans it was called the "Lower" or South sea, in contradistinction to the "Upper" or North sea — which was designated by the Greeks the "Ionian" or, after the town of Atria, the "Adriatic" gulf: the one title was given from the relations between East and West which it facilitated, since the passage from Greece to Italy was made at this point; the other, from the interchange of commerce which in later times was developed with the Northern gulf and the mouths of the Po, since continental Europe here touched the sea. The abbreviated form, the "Hadria," was also used, while the name Ionian Sea was confined to the southern portion. All these names have undergone many changes in the course of time.

North of Corsica is the Ligurian Sea, contracting into the gulf of Genoa: to the west are the bay of Massilia, the Balearic Sea and, south of them, the Iberian Sea, out of which there was a way through the so-called "Pillars of Hercules" (i.e. the Straits of Gibraltar) to Gades (now Cadiz) and the places on the "ocean" or the "outer" sea. From Cadiz a vigorous traffic was carried on with "the Islands of the Blest" (insulæ fortunatæ), which lay at the farthest end of the world as known to the ancients. These are the Canary Isles; but since Punic coins have been found in the Azores, they too must have been sometimes touched at, for even at that period the Phœnicians had long been busily occupied with the problem of the circumnavigation of Africa. In the western basin of the Mediterranean the Iberians and Ligurians seem in prehistoric times to have played a more important part than later, when they were compelled to yield to the great civilised powers. The Ligurians extended their power over the land east of the mouth of the Rhone in southern Gaul, over the Italian slope of the maritime Alps, over the Apennines, Corsica, and northern Sardinia, which faces Corsica, perhaps even in Sicily, if the Siculi were of Ligurian origin, as has recently been asserted after the exploration of their burial-places. In southern Sardinia, and among the Sicanians in Sicily, Iberian influence was present which is distinctly traceable in Sardinia, in the language, dress, and customs, even after the lapse of centuries. Thus, absolutely no connection with Italy existed in prehistoric ages, while in historic times these islands received their impulse partly from Africa and partly from Greece, Italy, Gaul, and Spain.

The distances in all these directions are insignificant. The western coast of Sicily for example, approaches within 120 kilometers (75 miles) of the opposite African coast, so that on clear days the continent can be seen from the island; the passage presents no special difficulties, and there are a number of excellent harbours. When therefore the Phœnicians, who stand at the head of the seafaring nations of antiquity, established themselves firmly in "Africa Proper" (Africa Propria, as the Romans afterwards called it) their influence soon spread to western Sicily and southern Sardinia. It may have been about the year 1100 B.C. that emigrants from Tyre founded the town of Utica at the mouth of the Bagradas (now Medscherda) the only large river on the coast opposite Sicily; then, on the best harbour west of Utica, they founded Hippo Zarytus (now Biserta); and on the gulf, which is now named after Hammamat and is favourably situated for commerce with the interior, established Hadrumetum (in late Roman times the name Sozusa was added, now Sûza). Some 300 years after Utica, the "New Town" Carthage was founded: this outstripped the older towns and completely diverted to itself the trade with Sicily and Sardinia. On

the Lesser Syrtis were situated the marts important for the African trade, which the Greeks called simply "Emporia," among them Tacape, the present Gabes, on the gulf of the same name. Further east, on the Greater Syrtis we come across the three Punic towns, Leptis Magna, Oea and Sabrata, of which the second has been known since the time of the Roman Emperors as "Tripolis." As these towns, situated at the end of the caravan-route acquired great wealth, they aroused the jealousy of the Carthaginians, who finally, in order to secure the monopoly for themselves, resorted to such violent measures as filling up the harbour of Leptis.

On the western coast also of North Africa, along the "Numidian" and "Mauretanian" frontiers the Phœnicians established trading posts extending beyond the Pillars of Hercules towards Iberia, where Gades was founded. In 510 B.C. the Carthaginian admiral Hanno started on an expedition to take possession of the west coast of Africa beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and went as far as the Crocodile River (Senegal), so that the sphere of Phœnician culture now extended without a break from Tyre, past Melite and Gaudos, touching Sicily and Sardinia, to southern Spain (including the Balearic Isles), and along the African coast from the borders of Cyrenaica to the farthest west. Their rivals, the Greeks, claimed in Africa only Cyrene and Barca, that is the country between the "Greater Syrtis" and Egypt, which is opposite to the coast of Greece and is easily accessible from the southern islands of the Ægean. This was done after the first settlers, who came from the island of Thera, had sufficiently reinforced themselves from Crete to Sparta. In the west the conflict between Phœnicians and Greeks turned for a long time on the possession of Sardinia and Corsica until the Phocæans of Asia Minor, who were chiefly concerned in the dispute, gave up their claims and, contenting themselves with the founding of Elea (Velia, south of Posidonia or Pæstum) on the Italian coast, devoted all their energies to their colony of Massilia (now Marseilles) planted on the Gallic coast. From this point, on the one side the Ligurian coast (as far as Nicæa and Monœcus, the modern Nice and Monaco), on the other side the Spanish coast, were studded with settlements, and the Gallic *Hinterland* up to the coasts of Britain and Germany was transformed into the domain of the Massilian merchants. The coins of this Greek maritime town obtained currency as far as the Rhætian Alps, for here they carried on business with the Etruscans. At the same time filial intercourse between Massilia and the mother city in Asia Minor continued to the time of the Emperors, while Carthage regarded herself as the daughter-town of Tyre, until the latter was destroyed by Alexander the Great. This event was of inestimable importance, not merely for trade, but also for the intellectual contact of the West with the East.

Many important consequences also followed from the fact that the jealousies of the mother countries were transmitted to the colonies. When Xerxes marched with the Phœnicians against Greece, Carthage supported him by attacking the Greek towns in Sicily — in fact she actually paid tribute to the Persian king in order to be protected by him from the maritime power of Athens, and to have a free hand against Syracuse. For Syracuse, which united under its supremacy the Greek towns of Sicily, as Carthage did the Phœnician towns in Africa, was regarded by Carthage as her chief rival, while the Athenians were only of secondary moment. During the whole of this period the colonisation of the interior

was prosecuted by the Phœnicians with such success that with the increasing cultivation of the land this part of Africa was reckoned one of the most densely populated in antiquity; the district of the present protectorate of Tunis may have contained from three to four millions of inhabitants — double the present number; the yield of wheat at the time of the Roman rule drove the Sicilian crops out of the market and rivalled the Egyptian. As the nomad tribes of Libya were brought under Punic influence, the Phœnician idiom became the civilised medium of communication throughout the whole of northern Africa. Even in Imperial times the African peasants prided themselves on being true "Canaanites," in consequence of which they regarded the sacred writings of the Jews and Christians as a sort of national Gospel — in fact they were inclined to give the whole of Christianity a distinctively African colouring (p. 241). This tendency was frustrated by the other nations of the west which were unwilling to follow the dictation of Africa. In general the Africans were considered then, as 600 years before, faithless, licentious and cruel. We must not after all regard them as pure Semites: there had been a mixture rather of Libyan and Phœnician blood, in many cases also only an assimilation of language and culture. In Carthage, the capital, at the time of Hannibal, alliance by marriage between noble Carthaginian families and Libyan or Iberian chieftains, and even emigrants from Syracuse was common; and Greek was recognised as the standard world-language, spoken and written, of the basin of the Mediterranean. The Phœnician deities were in great measure identified with the corresponding Greek or Roman gods — Melcart with Heracles (Hercules), Astarte with Venus or Juno, Bel with Saturnus, according to their respective attributes. These cults, especially the last named, flourished side by side with the Roman ones even in Imperial times, while other rites solemnly introduced into the Imperial capital under the emperor of the family of Severus announced to the whole world the temporary triumph of Africa.

While the Phœnicians strengthened their maritime supremacy, sailing through the Strait of Cossyra (Pantellaria), Greek enterprise, before the eighth century B.C., had been steadily pushing forward through the Straits of Zancle or Messina. The Chalcidians of Eubœa then a naval power, first sailed through to the bay, where they founded the town of Cumæ on a cliff which then certainly rose directly from the sea. In order not to lose the command over this strait, Zancle also, the "sickle" (so called from the shape of the harbour) was immediately made a permanent station, which in the fifth century B.C. when strengthened by the settlement of Messenians, received the name of Messana; opposite it, on the mainland, Rhegium sprang up, the name of which was derived from the Greek word *ῥήγνυμι*, i.e. "breaking through," since the strait was correctly conjectured to have been formed by a sudden irruption of the sea. Rhegium and Messana, as the keys to the Greek sea-route, attained great importance. When Rhegium was in the hands of the Romans and the Carthaginians took Messana, the war between Rome and Carthage, so momentous in the world's history broke out. Naxos may also be mentioned as a settlement of the Chalcidians: this town with its affiliated towns, Catana and Leontini, occupied, and enjoyed the profit of, the rich wheat growing plain at the foot of Mt. Etna: at the time of the Peloponnesian War we find Leontini, that is, the more recent town which lay a mile from the sea, at the head of the Chalcidian colonies: the

position therefore of the individual towns must have undergone many fluctuations. Naxos was destroyed in 409 by the Syracusans, after which the survivors of the population settled at Tauromenium (now Taormina).

Besides the Chalcidians, the Dorian towns also took part in the colonisation of the east and south coast of Sicily — for example Megara, whose colony Megara Hyblæa did not, however, attain any great importance, as the mother-city was then oppressed by the Athenians. Athens at the height of her power followed in the track of the Megarians. But the success of the Megarians was not great even in earlier times, since Corinth had had the good fortune to anticipate all others in planting its colony Syracuse at a spot which, owing to its favourable situation and especially to its splendid harbours brought great prosperity to the city. Syracuse soon extended its territory as far as the southern extremity of Sicily and became the rival to the Chalcidian towns to the north, while the island of Corcyra (Corfu) where Corinth had likewise planted a colony, formed an important station for communications with the mother country. Retreating before the energetic Syracusans, the Megarians moved over to the southern coast of western Sicily, to Selinus, the fame of which has been preserved to the present day through the mighty ruins of its temple. Other towns on the south coast were Gela, which was founded by Rhodes in conjunction with Cretan emigrants, and Acragas, which was a colony of Gela. While Selinus in 409 B.C. was destroyed by the Carthaginians, Acragas, whose broad territory extended as far as the north coast of Sicily, carried on a lively trade with Africa and did not hesitate, in opposition to Syracuse, to make terms with Carthage and even to recognise its supremacy. But in the fifth century, when Gela had been practically annexed to Syracuse, that city became the first Greek town of Sicily in population, wealth, and military strength, and resisted the Chalcidian and all other places that did not recognise her supremacy. For 200 years she was the formidable rival of Carthage, whose strongholds lay in the excellent harbours of Lilybæum, Drepana and Panormus. Lilybæum (near the present Marsala) was for almost 1000 years the chief town of western Sicily, under Punic and Roman and Vandal dominion; while Panormus became the metropolis of the entire island when in the ninth century A.D. Syracuse was destroyed by the Arabs. Syracuse also planted colonies, e.g. Camarina, which revolted from the mother-city at the time of the Peloponnesian War. Himera was a colony of Zancle.

B. The Physical Character of the Apennine Peninsula

Together with trade, wheat-growing proved to be profitable for the excessive population of the mother country, since the Peloponnese, for example, in the fifth century B.C. drew its supplies principally from Sicily; but Lower Italy also was important in this respect. Here, first Achæans (from the north coast of the Peloponnese) had established themselves on the coast facing Greece, and founded the towns of Croton, Sybaris, and Metapontum. Locrians planted Locri Epizephyrii on a spot sheltered from the west wind, near the present Gerace. Even before this the Spartans had led a colony to Taras (Tarentum), which, to the loss of the Iapygian aborigines, appropriated a territory adapted equally for sheep-breeding and corn-growing, and at sea carried on a brisk

trade and fishing industry. Sybaris also extended its territory from sea to sea as far as Laus and Posidonia (in Roman times Pæstum, where the famous Greek temples still stand) on the Lucanian coast. Trade relations throughout the mainland were thus obtained which otherwise would not have been possible, on account of the self-interest of the maritime nations. After Sybaris, for a long time the centre of Greek life in Italy, had been destroyed in 510 B.C. by the rival town of Croton, Pericles, as the leading statesman of the Athenians, in 443 organised the despatch of a colony to the neighbouring Thurii, in which Greeks of all races, in particular Peloponnesians, were to take part; this departure from the ordinary custom was not maintained, but led to factions, which were excited and turned to advantage by the animosity of Tarentum. Among the settlers was Herodotus of Halicarnassus, the historian, who has minutely treated the affairs of this place in his work. Athens was then engaged in taking a firmer footing in the west of the Mediterranean, since she entered into alliance with Naples and Etruria, and was anxious to command the Sicilian straits, in order to wrest from Syracuse the supremacy in the island and the leadership in the war against Carthage. Corcyra was allied with the Athenians, Rhegium opened its harbour to them, and even Messana was temporarily occupied, but the Chalcidian towns, which were hostile to Syracuse, did not trust the Athenians; and when the latter tried to reach their goal by force, the undertaking failed, and Syracuse actually intervened in the eastern sea in favour of the Spartans. We see, then, that Sicily and Lower Italy were the scenes of important chapters in Greek history, while, on the other hand, the intellectual life of the nation, its philosophy, rhetoric, natural science, and politics, were greatly enriched from these sources, and therefore the name Great Greece (*Magna Græcia*) was applied to Lower Italy even in Roman times. Besides this, the first germs of civilisation, among other things writing, reached the tribes of Italy from the Greek colonies, and in this respect Cumæ exercised the most beneficial influence.

At the same time the fights and marauding expeditions in which Phœnicians, Tyrrhenes, and Greeks annoyed each other continued as in the later times of the voyages of exploration in the Atlantic, when the Conquistadores carried on trade and piracy simultaneously. Even if the Greeks were not united, at any rate, their common religion deprived their quarrels of any cruel element, until in the terrible Peloponnesian War even this restriction was no longer regarded. Each state sought to have exclusively in its power its own "sea" and its trade route. If a stranger ventured into it, he was reckoned an enemy, against whom any action was permissible. If he was not killed, he was made a slave, and slavery was rooted in war and piracy. The ancient state could not exist without slavery, for the "citizen" could only perform his duties if there was sufficient slave labour at hand. It was gradually found to be convenient to mitigate the harsh opposition of any particular state to every other state, and to conclude treaties, by which the citizens on both sides received protection, and commercial relations were regulated. These treaties finally led to the establishment of a practical uniformity in coinage. But, in general, the policy of selfish obstruction prevailed; not that of the free establishment of mutual relations. It is something that in the fourth century B.C. sufficient advance had been made to induce men no longer to keep secret the geographical knowledge they had won.

The Phœnicians, like the Greeks, employed for the practical purposes of navigation carefully compiled descriptions of the coasts, with an account of the distance between the harbours, of their nature, and of the opportunities they afforded for trade. In addition, there were ethnographical remarks; at all events, a list of noteworthy features. Such guide-books were called, in Greek, *periplus* (that is, coasting voyages), and several of them are extant; as the memoranda of the above-mentioned Hanno about his expedition to the parts of Libya lying beyond the Pillars of Hercules (in a Greek translation); the description of the Spanish coasts; and, finally, the *periplus*, which enumerated the maritime stations in the Mediterranean about the middle of the fourth century. Even the historians referred to such travellers' guides for their accounts. We learn from them that a voyage from the Syrian to the Spanish coast occupied eighty days, and that a freight ship required not less than eight days to sail around Sicily. It is characteristic of the times that navigation could only be undertaken in one-half of the year, and was suspended in winter, and that mariners kept as near the shore as possible. Whoever wished to go from Greece to Syracuse went first to Corcyra, then crossed over to Lower Italy, and sailed southward from the Gulf of Tarentum along the coast. Whoever journeyed from Rome to Spain followed the complete course of the coast of Etruria, Liguria, and Gaul, if he did not altogether prefer the overland route.

The notes on history and geography appended to the "guide-books" are of considerable interest: they are usually connected with the Greek legends, which they, indeed, sometimes extend by shifting at pleasure the locality of the voyages of Odysseus, Diomedes, Æneas, Antenor, and other heroes of the Trojan War, as well as of Hercules and the Argonauts, so that we can deduce from this the progress which geographical knowledge made in the course of time. The whole course of geographical instruction given in the Greek schools was, for the most part, merely a commentary on the Homeric poems, the effect of which is seen in the geographer Strabo and lasted to the end of antiquity. From this standpoint the Promontory of Circæum, which is conspicuous from afar, and, in fact, was not originally connected with the mainland, was discovered to be the island where Odysseus lived with the enchantress Circe, by whom he had two sons, Agrius and Latinus, who, as Hesiod says, "In the remote distance in the corner of the Islands of the Blest rule over all Tyrrhenians." From this we see that to the first discoverers the land gave the impression of a group of islands. The hero of Daunia, which country was afterwards blended with Apulia, was Diomedes, who is said to have founded Hippion Argos, or Arpi, and after whom the fertile plain to the south of the town received the name of the "Fields of Diomedes." In Beneventum were shown the tusks of the Calydonian boar, which the divine Meleager had killed. They were said to have been brought there by Diomedes. His wanderings only ended on the "Diomedean Isles," which lie, like shattered fragments, to the north of the Promontory of Garganus. Near the island where the tomb of Diomedes was shown, and which, therefore, by preference was called "Diomedea," the second Trimetus lay, from which the whole group, consisting of five islands, derived the name of the Tremiti Isles.

Just as this region was haunted by Diomedes, so others were by Æneas, whose traces were discovered in every place, where a mighty goddess, compared by the Greeks to Aphrodite, was worshipped. He thus came right up to the

coast of the Latins. In Rome the ship was shown in which Æneas had landed as a fugitive from Troy. He married, it is said, Lavinia, daughter of Latinus, the Laurentine king, and founded Lavinium. From that place, so the fable went on, were sprung the kings of Alba Longa, which became the mother of Rome. If some parts of these stories really express the widening of the geographical horizon and afford ethnographical knowledge, clothed in a mythical form, other parts are valuable for their explanation of natural phenomena. The earliest navigators had found many difficulties in the passage of the Straits of Zancle, or Messina, from the whirlpools there, in consequence of which imagination transported thither two sea monsters: Scylla, who devoured her victims, and opposite her Charybdis, into whose power fell irrevocably all who wished to avoid Scylla. At last improved methods of navigation and long experience banished these narratives to the sphere of the mythical.

A large field for mythological invention was opened by the circumstance that the Apennine Peninsula and the adjacent islands were the scene of very active volcanoes. The fire-belching mountains of Sicily, the Lipari Isles, and Pithecusan Isles (now the group of Ischia, which means "island"), as well as of the Campanian coast, must have roused the imaginative faculties. The Greek inhabitants of the Lipari Isles, who had come thither from Rhodes and Cnidus, and formed a community addicted to piracy, had to be on their guard against the visitation of nature as much as against the arms of Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians. On the "monkey island" (Pithecussae) the eruption of the then active volcano, Epomeus, frustrated the repeated attempts at colonisation of the Greeks, Chalcidians first and later Syracusans: just as in modern times thousands of lives have been lost on Ischia through volcanic earthquakes. On the Campanian coast, it is true, Vesuvius, with its abundant woods, was considered an extinct volcano up to the year 79 A.D., when its eruption brought ruin to three flourishing towns. (See plate, facing p. 434.) But Cumæ (Cyme) and Naples suffered much from frequent earthquakes; the whole district is full of small crater lakes, sulphur springs, and so-called *solfatare,* that is, fissures where gases or vapours are exhaled, so that the appearance of the country has considerably altered since ancient times from the continued activity of Vesuvius. While Cumæ was once connected with the Gulf of Misenum by the Lacus Avernus and the Lacus Lucrinus, this connection has been interrupted since the year 1538 A.D., when in the night of September 29-30, in a few hours a new mountain (Monte Nuovo) rose up between the two lakes to a height of four hundred and eighty feet, and the Lucrinian lake was almost entirely filled by the ejected matter. Only the Lake of Avernus has been left to the present day.

The ancients explained the continual volcanic phenomena in their own fashion. There was a fettered giant lying under the ground, who stretched from Campania to Ætna, but breathed forth his fury through the crater of this latter mountain. Or another giant was supposed to be present in the form of Epomeus. The entrance into the Lower World was transferred to the Phlegræan Fields (that is, the Fiery Fields) on the Campanian coast; and Virgil has given a description of them, remarkable for its local accuracy, in the Æneid. The fertility of the plain which stretches northward to the country of Capua, the Campus Laborinus (now Terra di Lavoro), was famous even in antiquity. Legend said concerning the Lacus Avernus that birds flying over it fell, asphyxiated, into the water.

The Liparian Islands were considered by some to be the home of Æolus, god of the winds, since the smoke of the craters there showed the coming wind, from which circumstance the islands bore the name also of "Æolian." Another idea was that the god Vulcan had a forge there. We must not in this matter forget that the activity of these volcanoes was then far greater than now, when the craters no longer blaze, but only smoke. Both in ancient and modern times islands have repeatedly appeared, and then again vanished. Between Sicily and Pantellaria there was a continuous seething in various places, which was calculated to excite credulous minds.

In Sicily, Ætna must naturally have attracted the greatest attention, since it rises to a majestic elevation above the sea (10,835 feet), the highest mountain which the Hellenic world knew, and to Greeks a natural wonder. It was immediately incorporated into myths, in which it is described as the mountain mass which Zeus hurled at the rebellious giants. Besides this, it was considered to be a smithy of Vulcan or of the Cyclops. Its eruptions were dreaded, and in the very earliest times the native Sicanians are said to have been scared by streams of lava to the west of the island. Later, Catania was repeatedly put into great danger. In 122 B.C. the town was completely destroyed; on the other hand, a town founded by Catania, which received the name of Aitne (that is, Ætna), attained considerable prosperity at this time. Frequently after this an eruption of Ætna has been of historical importance. When, in 38 B.C., Cæsar Octavianus, in the war against Sextus Pompeius, wished to cross over to Sicily, Ætna burst into activity, at which the Germanic and Celtic auxiliaries in the army of Octavianus, to whom such phenomena were new, were greatly excited, since they believed that their last hour was come and that they would be covered by the lava. A few years afterwards, among the prodigies (that is, omens) that preceded the battle at Actium, a violent eruption of Ætna is recorded. When, in the fifth century, Alaric, after the capture of Rome, wished to lead his Goths over the straits into Sicily, in order to enter Africa from there, he was deterred from his undertaking by a new eruption of the mountain, which was visible from afar. And yet the Greek philosophers since the time of Empedocles of Acragas, who, in the fifth century B.C., enjoyed the greatest reputation in Sicily, on account of his scientific and technical knowledge, had minutely studied the phenomenon of Ætna, just as the poets since Pindar and Æschylus had done. The Romans followed in the footsteps of the Greeks, since Virgil in his Æneid imitated Pindar. In fact, a friend of the royal tutor Seneca, Lucilius Junior, a native of Pompeii, or Naples, came to Sicily in an official capacity, and actually made Ætna the subject of a poem, in which he describes the volcano and discusses the causes of the eruptions, introducing philosophical doctrines and principles. The three zones into which even now the vegetation of Ætna is divided, the rich zone of cultivation, the forest belt, and the snow belt, were particularly mentioned in the detailed description of Strabo. The mountain even then only cast up steam and ashes, while the lava streams formed a way for themselves through the sides.

Of the eruption of Vesuvius in the year 79 A.D., we possess the detailed account which the younger Pliny addressed to his friend, the historian Tacitus. Pliny speaks of it as an eye-witness, since he had seen at Misenum, when a youth of eighteen years, the tremendous phenomenon, in which his uncle lost his life.

An earthquake began the eruption; a shower of ashes, which extended to Capri and Misenum, concluded it. From that date onward periodical devastations, caused by Vesuvius, are regularly mentioned in the annals. Here more than anywhere else nature directly made history. Volcanic agencies, however, were active further north, even though in historical times they were not so conspicuously felt there. In Latium the slopes of the Alban Mountain, already inhabited, were affected by earthquake. The lakes of Alba Longa (now Albano) and of Aricia (now Nemi) are merely extinct craters filled with water. (See map at pp. 338, 339.) The same applies to the lakes of Etruria, to that of Sabate (now Lago di Bracciano), with which are connected the Lacus Alsietinus (Lago di Martignano) and the small Lacus Papinianus (Lago di Stracciacappa). It is equally true of the Ciminian Lake (Lago di Vico) and of the Volsinian Lake (Lago di Bolsena). Each of these lakes possesses its own peculiarities, a different depth and conformation of basin, which leads partly to the assumption that several craters have acted together, as in the Lago di Bolsena. Even the way in which they empty their waters is different. In one place it flows away through a river; in another, underground or through an artificial channel, as, for example, in the Alban Lake, where tradition assigns its formation to the last period of the war of the Romans against Veii. From the Lacus Sabatinus flows the Arrone, of which we do not know the ancient name, though it may have been preserved in the name of the Roman Tribus Arnensis. From the Volsinian Lake rises the Marta River, which has kept its name since antiquity and, like the Arrone, discharges into the Tyrrhenian Sea.

The last lake especially shows many peculiarities. It contains two islands, which rise, respectively, 182 feet and 230 feet above the level of the lake, while the sides of the lake rise in places to a height of 1230 feet above its surface. One of these islands was fortified in Gothic times and served as a state prison. The Ciminian Lake, the irregular shape of which is marked by a promontory, rising one thousand feet above the lake to the north, plays a part in mythology. It is said to have been formed by a blow of Hercules' club. Other legends are to the effect that a town once stood there, which had been swallowed up by the waters. The shores of these lakes, which (with the exception of the Alban Lake, 530 feet deep) are generally rather shallow, were well cultivated in antiquity, and the nearer ones were in imperial times covered with the villas of inhabitants of the capital. From the Lake of Sabate, which is only sixteen miles distant, and from the Lacus Alsietinus, which is connected with it by a subterranean canal the emperor Trajan brought a water supply to Rome, which is now called the Acqua Paolina, after Pope Paul V., who restored it. Augustus had already obtained water from here, especially for the Naumachia. When, after the end of the imperial rule, the district became less inhabited, malaria raged everywhere and wrought many changes in the population. This was especially the case in the vicinity of the largest and at the same time the shallowest of the Etrurian lakes, the Lake of Trasimene, whose three islands were important at all times for their fishing and wild fowling. One of the smaller lakes, that of Vaccanæ (now Vaccano), to the east of the Lacus Alsietinus, where the emperor Septimius Severus and his son Antoninus (Caracalla), built a villa, is now dry. There is frequent mention in early antiquity of the Lacus Vadimonis, a small volcanic lake in the district of Ameria (now Lago di Bassano), and of the Lacus Regillus

(near Tusculum), which no longer exists. The Latin and, still more, the southern Etruscan districts have at all times been greatly exposed to volcanic shocks. In this way a few years ago (1895) a small lake was formed near Leprignano (in the territory of the old Capenates). The student of the Latin classics is familiar enough with the fact that the "raining of stones" was, according to the Roman religion, an evil omen, which could only be averted by continuous prayer. We have, perhaps, said enough about phenomena of volcanic origin.

The numerous hot springs, which were in antiquity used for medicinal purposes, are among the characteristics of these volcanic regions. For example, those of Sicily, of Lipara, where the historian Diodorus used the hot baths, of Ænaria, as the largest of the Pithecusan islands (now Ischia) was called by the Romans, of Sinuessa in Campania, where Narcissus, the freedman of the emperor Claudius, cured his gout. There were also the Aquæ Albulæ, near Tibur, and the Aquæ Apollinares at the Vicus Aurelii (now Vicarello) on the Lake of Sabate. We have obtained precise information of these Baths of Apollo from an archæological discovery which was made on the spot in the year 1852. A number of votive offerings were found which had been dedicated to the nymph of the place, as well as bronzes, coins, and, finally, four silver vessels in the shape of milestones, on which were engraved the posting stations between Cadiz and Rome, with a note of the distances, a proof that the sulphur bath in this place was frequented from the earliest times down to the age of the emperors, and that strangers came from the Pillars of Hercules as far as Etruria, in order to take the waters. In central Etruria also, round Monte Amiata, a name which, strangely enough, is never mentioned in antiquity, numerous hot springs testify that the volcanic region extended to this place also. One isolated spur of the volcanic zone stretches right into the country northward of the Po, the Monti Berici, near Vicenza, and the Colli Euganei, between Padua and Este. Here, as numerous votive inscriptions clearly point out, the Fons Aponi (now Abano), south of Padua, enjoyed a splendid reputation; and even if this bath in earlier times was kept more simply than the luxurious baths on the Campanian coast, the measure of comfort increased when Mediolanum and Ravenna were promoted to be imperial residences.

Here, then, the volcanic agencies worked beneficially, tamed and watched by men. It is known that the Italians brought the science of bathing to a great perfection; and, as they extended their imperial rule, they introduced it among us, northern barbarians, at Baden, near Vienna (Aquæ Pannonicæ), at Baden-Baden (Aquæ Aureliæ), at Wiesbaden (Aquæ Mattiacæ), and in other places.

Like Vulcan, the god Neptune was always ready to harm mankind if they did not protect themselves against him. In fact, from the earliest times as great changes have been brought about by the agency of water as by that of fire.

On the African coast Utica and Carthage were the best harbours of the Phœnicians. The former began to sink more and more into the background even in antiquity after the river Bagradas had repeatedly changed its mouths, and finally filled up the Gulf of Utica with its mud. Thus the very considerable remains of the old city are now buried in a swamp, which is several miles distant from the sea. The harbours of Carthage have been injured in consequence of systematic neglect under Arabian supremacy. On the other hand, that of Hippo Zaritus (now Bizerta) preserved its efficiency, so that it could in recent times

be turned into a naval station by the French. The smaller watercourses, which were carefully preserved in the Carthaginian and Roman times and made available for irrigation by means of sluices, cisterns, and reservoirs, are now empty channels, and the large aqueducts which brought water to the towns lack a supply to feed them, owing to the senseless deforesting of the country, as the investigations of French engineers have shown. Only in the Krumir Mountains, on the frontier of Tunisia and Algeria, are considerable oak forests preserved, a circumstance which is favourable to the Bagradas, which for ten months of the year is a broad and deep river.

As regards the coasts of Italy, numerous harbours in the south-easterly portion of Magna Græcia are no longer serviceable, owing to alluvial deposits. Only Tarentum and Callipolis (now Gallipoli) have continued unimpaired; besides this, Brundisium (now Brindisi) is still open, owing to artificial means. This was in Roman times the starting-point for the passage to Dyrrhachium, on the Illyrian coast, as well as for the East. Of the emporiums of the Adriatic Sea, Ancona, Ariminum, Ravenna, Atria, Altinum, Aquileia, only the two first named are intact at the present day; and Ancona, indeed, is of some importance. In the time of the Roman emperors, Altinum and Aquileia carried on a flourishing trade in Italian products with Rhætia and other districts on the lower Danube, and commerce with the opposite coast of Dalmatia was brisk. In addition to the above-named towns, Tergeste (now Trieste) and Pola were conspicuous, while the lagoon towns finally came into the possession of mediæval Venice.

The Apennine Peninsula is far more indented on the west than on the east. Even here many a place which flourished in antiquity has become a swamp, in which only the buffalo thrives, a species of animal which was introduced into Italy in the year 600 A.D. We find them now near Pæstum, Ostia, and on the Etrurian coast. From Pæstum commerce, under the influence of the Romans, spread northward to Salernum (now Salerno), which lies nearer the Campanian plain and has a good harbour, while the rocky coast to the west of it, where Amalfi nestles in a cleft, attracted fugitives at the time of Italy's deepest dejection after the close of the Gothic supremacy. It was only after some five hundred years that the place lost its importance, partly from political reasons, partly because the harbour was broken away by the sea and, therefore, did not satisfy increased requirements.

In Roman times and even earlier the Bay of Cumæ, or Naples, formed the maritime centre of western Italy. Not far from these Greek towns lay Puteoli, that is, the wells, so called from the numerous hollows in the ground and sulphur springs in the vicinity. Puteoli was planted as a colony after the war with Hannibal. It grew in the course of time to be a trading town and market of the first rank. As Egypt had to provide part of the supplies for Rome and the neighbourhood, the corn ships went from Alexandria to Rhegium, where they stopped before they passed the strait. Thence they sailed to Puteoli, where granaries were erected, while only a part of the corn went on to Ostia by ship, so that Puteoli became, as it were, the outer port of Rome for the trade with the East and even with Spain. To the west of Puteoli, whence the mountain of Misenus, rising in front of the harbour, forms a conspicuous cape, Misenum, the naval station for the western sea, was established. To the east of Puteoli and within its town borders was situated the renowned and notorious bathing place,

Baiæ, where in the season (March and April) fashionable Rome and usually the emperor and empress also were accustomed to appear. The result was that men were interested not only in beautifying the country, but also in establishing good relations with Rome. As the voyage along the Latin coast was uncomfortable and sometimes even dangerous, the emperor Nero, it is said, formed the plan of cutting a canal through Campania as far as the mouth of the Tiber. This undertaking remained unexecuted after the fall of Nero. The emperor Domitian carried the scheme out in another way by improving the coast itself, so that men might safely reach Tarracina by ship and, if necessary, could take the land route from this point. The coast at Puteoli has suffered some changes since antiquity; among others, in consequence of a centennial subsidence, so called because the land sank every hundred years to an insignificant extent, barely a yard. This is seen especially in the temple of Serapis, which was built into the market hall of Puteoli. Its pillars now rest their bases in the water; but as they are eaten into still higher up by mussels, they must once have been more deeply covered with water, so that now the coast must again be rising.

The overland route from Rome to Campania followed the Appian Way as far as Capua, although the Pontine district had already begun to become marshy. To check this process, a broad canal was dug along the road, in which the water collected to such a depth that it could easily be used for boats. The road itself, which was praised by strangers as a masterpiece of Italian construction, was put into good order by every government which was interested in the welfare of Italy; for example, by Cæsar, by Augustus, by Nerva and Trajan, finally by Theodoric, the great king of the Goths. It was only in later times that the Pontine marshes, which were continually fed by the slight deposits of the small rubble-laden coast streams, such as the Ufens and Amisenus, spread more widely and became destructive to the country. In earlier antiquity Volscian and later Roman peasants (who belonged to the Tribus Ufentina) had kept the land under cultivation by their diligence and care.

Similar conditions prevailed at the mouths of the Liris and the Volturnus. The period of petty proprietorship marked the agricultural prosperity of this country, while the *Latifundia* changed its character. In the fourth century A.D. there stretched along the lower course of the Liris the "Massa Gargiliana," that is, an extensive district, to form which the old small farms had been sacrificed, so that finally the river itself took the name Gargilianus (now Garigliano) from it. Similarly, the Volturnus was known as Casilinus, after the place Casilinum, which since the overthrow of the Roman rule absorbed more and more the importance of ancient Capua, and from this is still called Capua (to distinguish it from Capua Vetere).

The Tiber, which watered a district stretching into the heart of Italy, has played an important part in the course of history. It was through the possession of some salubrious and easily defensible hills in the plain on the lower course of the river that Rome sprung up, and soon took possession of the mouth of the Tiber and founded a fortified seaport there. A brisk trade was developed upstream also, since, with a far more constant flow of water, navigation could be regularly prosecuted. Even on its upper reaches, in the district of Perusia, the Tiber was navigable, so that during the siege of this town in 41 B.C. the Cæsarians blocked the approach to the river, in order to prevent any chance supplies. The

Clanis, which flowed into the Tiber from the Etrurian country, was also considered navigable by the ancients. We hear, further, that numerous rafts came down from the Umbrian mountains: Rome, in consequence of its position on so important an artery of communication, became the natural mart for a large number of Etrurian and Umbrian districts, which fact evidently assisted greatly to establish and strengthen its prominent political position. In addition, we perceive that the Roman government at all times paid the most careful attention to the watercourse of the Tiber, as well as to the sewers of the city, which discharged the refuse into the Tiber. A commission, composed of leading senators, attended to both duties in imperial times. Of the tributaries of the Tiber, the Anio also was practicable for boats, although the Falls of Tibur must have formed a barrier. Building stone was thus brought on the lower course of the Anio from Tibur and Gabii to Rome. The river (now called Teverone, that is, the little Tiber) has its mouth at the seventh milestone from the city, which in imperial times derived part of its drinking water from the springs of the Anio. A second affluent was the Nar (now Nera), which is joined by the Velinus above Interamna (now Terni). The river falls in a picturesque cascade from the hills, where it collects the streams of the northern Sabine country, down into the plain. The district of Reate (now Rieti) was thus exposed to floods, if there was any delay in the discharge of the river into the valley, as was often the case, since the water, being strongly impregnated with chalk, formed stalactites. In consequence of this, the consul M' Curius Dentatus, who took from the Sabines part of their territory after their conquest in 290 B.C., executed a plan for checking the inundations, which was much praised at the time, so that the people of Reate were free from trouble for a considerable period: when, in the year 54 B.C., there were again disputes with Interamna, they obtained the services of M. Tullius Cicero as legal adviser, and we have particular information on this matter. Under the rule of Tiberius the matter was once more discussed, as an intended improvement of the Tiber and its tributaries involved the question of testing the water rights which were concerned. It is well known that the watershed between the Tiber and the Arno is so ill-defined that in the course of centuries it has shifted partly of itself (for in early times the Arno discharged into the Tiber), partly owing to artificial means. In Roman times, as has been remarked, the chief outlet of the valley of Chiana was by the Clanis into the Tiber. When, in the year 15 A.D., this was swollen to a menacing height, on account of continuous rain, a commission was appointed in the Roman senate, which was the body placed over the municipalities of Italy, to deliberate on a permanent remedy. The celebrated jurist Ateius Capito was a member of this commission. It discussed whether it would not be best to divert the streams, especially the Clanis, to the north into the Arnus, so as once for all to check the inundations. But the Florentines opposed the scheme, since they themselves would be endangered thereby; so that finally the motion was carried that everything should be left in its old state, because they feared to do violence to nature, that is, they could not unite the rivals (literally, "dwellers on the same river") in a common plan of action. The dispute was renewed repeatedly in later times, until the streams, stagnating on the watershed, made the whole tract between Chiusi and Arezzo a swamp. Not until the eighteenth century did the state of Toscana undertake a system of improvements, by which the waters of the Clanis

were definitely led into the Arno, and at the same time the watershed was removed thirty miles south.

The Tuscan government, in the nineteenth century, devoted the same amount of attention to the tract of coast, which, after the ruin of the old Etruscan towns, Populonia, Vetulonia, Rusellæ, and Cosa, had become deserted as early as Roman times, but it never recovered its former prosperity. The small rivers on the coast had succeeded in extending the land continually further towards the sea, so that the harbours, which in antiquity were adapted for communication with Sardinia and Corsica, close at hand, as well as for world commerce, such as Telamon and the ports of Cære, were silted up, and the population was driven inland by malaria. The harbour of Centumcellæ, which the emperor Trajan had enlarged, remained in good condition until, in the ninth century A.D., Saracen inroads began, from which the inhabitants fled to a place which preserved the name Cincelle. Then the "old town," Civitavecchia, once more became flourishing, and in consequence of the silting up of the mouth of the Tiber became the real port of Rome.

We possess the description of a voyage along the Etrurian coast at the beginning of the fifth century A.D., from which we learn what harbours were then resorted to. On the first day the ship sailed from Rome to Centumcellæ; on the second day it reached the port of Hercules, near the Promontory of Argentarius; on the third day the mouth of the river Umbro (now Ombrone); on the fourth day the port of Populonia, in front of which the isle of Ilva (Elba) with its store of iron lies; on the fifth day Vada, on the shore of Volaterræ; on the sixth day the travellers reached the port of Pisæ, which possessed much importance as the emporium of an extensive and rich inland territory. It was especially the starting-point for communication with Corsica. In the year 398 A.D. an expedition started from Pisæ to Africa, intended to crush the rebellion of Gildo, an opponent of the all-powerful regent Stilicho. But even in earlier times, when Pisæ was not yet reckoned as part of Italy, it is often mentioned, together with Genoa, as a frontier post against the Ligurians and the starting-point of expeditions to the countries in southern Gaul or northern Spain. The conformation of the coast has changed considerably since antiquity. Pisæ lay formerly nearer to the sea, in direct connection with its port, while now, in consequence of the alluvial deposits of the Arno, it is six miles from the mouth; and the seaport of Livorno, which is first mentioned in the ninth century A.D., has since then developed independently. Again, the Auser (Auserculus, from which the modern name Serchio is derived), up to the twelfth century A.D., flowed at Pisæ into the Arno, which then reached the sea through three outlets. The Auser is especially famous as a navigable river. It provided means of communication with the Apennine valleys, particularly with the Ligurian tribe of the Apuani, who were settled in the modern Garfagnana. Owing to this traffic and its situation at the foot of the passes of the Ligurian Apennines, Luca (now Lucca) became also of importance; and, finally, Luna (on the Gulf of Spezia), which possessed a port, and was at the same time celebrated for its quarries of marble, which are now called after Carrara, but from the time of the Cæsars supplied the "stone of Luna" for the splendid buildings of Rome. The town lay on the river Macra, which for a long time formed the boundary between Etruria, Italy, as the term was then understood, and Liguria. As the

river gradually brought much refuse into the valley, its mouth became more and more blocked, and a malarious atmosphere was produced, so that Luna, which is now two miles distant from the sea, had to be evacuated by its inhabitants at the end of the twelfth century A.D. for sanitary reasons. Removed nearer to the Apennines, it rose from its ruins as Sarzana, derived from [Prædia] "Sergiana," while on the gulf Spezia became prominent, now the naval station of Italy for the Tyrrhenian Sea. The entrance, indeed, between the island of Palmaria and the Portus Veneris (now Portovenere) is apt to be silted up, so that malaria, from which the whole Tuscan coast suffers, takes its origin here.

The distribution of water and land in the interior of the peninsula underwent many changes, no less than the conformation of the coast. Besides the already mentioned instances, the Fucine Lake, for example, has completely dried up in this century, and has been allotted as plough land, whereas under the emperor Claudius attempts had to be made to check the overflow of its waters by cutting a duct through the mountain ridge which separates the lake from the valley of the Liris. The Lacus Ciminius and quite recently the Lake of Trasimene have been lowered, in order to keep the country from becoming swampy. In other places the problem of the marshes has been successfully combated. The same was the case in the plain south of the Po, where the Romans built their Via Æmilia, and founded along it the towns of Mutina, Regium Lepidi, and Parma, which rapidly became prosperous, while in earlier days the scanty settlements rose out of the forests and swamps like lake-dwellings. The improvement of the country still continued. When Ravenna became the seat of the Italian government, and attempts were made to render the place more beautiful and more healthy, a swamp was drained, in order to plant orchards in its place, an improvement on which King Theodoric expressly prided himself.

Together with the swamps, the forests play a great part in tradition. Italy, even in the time of Augustus, was considered a real forest country by the ancients, especially by observers who came from the treeless East, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Strabo of Cappadocia. Particularly famous were the forests of Mount Sila in Bruttium; those of the Ligurian Apennines, near the sources of the Tiber and the Arno; the oak forests of the Po country, which fed countless swine; the Ciminian forest in Etruria (south of the lake of the name), which bounded the geographical horizon of the ancient Romans towards the north, and the absolutely impenetrable forest jungle of Corsica. Sicily also was reckoned a well-wooded island. The tyrant Dionysius was able to build large fleets from the timber on Ætna. This wide extent of forest explains the volume of water in the rivers in former times and the employment of wood for building in the towns, from which reason they were easily set on fire when captured. In later times, indeed, men began to be more economical in the use of timber. It was thought expedient in the fourth century A.D. to reserve the great tangled forests of the Umbrian Apennines for the requirements of Rome in building-wood and to bind the inhabitants of that tract to the business of wood-cutting, from which reason the whole district round the sources of the Tiber has taken the name of "Trabaria" (from *trabes*, beams), by which it is often mentioned in the Middle Ages. Larger tree trunks continued to be obtained from the forest of Sila or from the Rhætian Alps. The wealth of Liguria in timber is attested by the fact that Helvius Pertinax, a native of Alba

Pompeia (now Alba in Piedmont), who was subsequently emperor, came into notice as the son of a wood merchant. The timber of Illyricum became more and more valuable; thus Aquileia obtained there the material for the large wine-casks, which were considered a specialty of this Italian frontier town by the southerners accustomed to earthen wine jars, and on the occasion of the siege of the place were repeatedly mentioned by the emperor Maximin (the Thracian).

At the present day Italy is admittedly a country deficient in timber, although on Mount Sila and near the sources of the Arno tall trunks suitable for naval requirements are still abundant. Otherwise, a naked and bare land is to be seen everywhere, as in Sicily; in the Abruzzi, which in ancient times were densely wooded, or in the Caudine defile, where the defeat of the Romans by the Samnites was distinctly helped by the woods there. In fact, a complete change in the conditions of vegetation on the Apennine Peninsula has gradually been effected in the course of time. The forests were rooted up in the same proportion as husbandry, and with it the true type of peasant, disappeared, and the land was given up to the culture of fruit trees. The Italians wished, as far as possible, to assimilate themselves to the other nations of the Mediterranean regions, who were looked up to as instructors, to the Phœnicians and the Greeks, in order to become a southern and civilised people, instead of a northern and almost barbarian people, as they had till then been regarded. Under these circumstances we see one after another of the vegetable growths of Asia, Greece, and North Africa received into Italy. If the Greeks at first procured their wine supply from the East, as shown by the numerous fragments of Rhodian *amphoræ* found in Sicily, they soon proceeded to cultivate the vine themselves in the colonies; so with the olive. The cultivation of both these spread thence to Africa and Italy, which in the end began to export for themselves and overcame their masters in the competition. Apricots and peaches now came from Armenia and Persia; Lucius Lucullus, the conqueror of Mithradates, introduced the cherry, or, at least, a very well-flavoured variety of it, into Italy. The chestnut-tree became an ordinary feature of the Italian landscape in place of the formerly predominant beech, oak, or fir. The laurel and the cypress flourished, if we may draw a fair conclusion from the wall paintings at Pompeii. In later imperial times the famous pine grove at Ravenna was well known. The black mulberry-trees were praised by the poets of the Augustan Age on account of their fruit, while the white variety, used in silk-worm culture, was not introduced before the end of the Middle Ages. The oranges and lemons so characteristic of the modern Italy only came to Italy and Sicily in the age of the Arabs and of the Crusades; and the aloe and the Opuntum cactus, and also such important food-plants as rice and maize, only after the discovery of America. These species of trees, transplanted into Italy, were later, as soon as they were acclimatised, introduced into the northern provinces, which, during the Roman rule, eagerly followed in every respect the model of the mother country. Thus, soon after the conquest of Britain, the cherry was brought into Germany; in the second half of the third century the culture of excellent vines was introduced into Gaul and the Danubian countries, while at the beginning of that century a governor of Pannonia complained that the olive-trees had not thriven there and that the wine was sour. It must have been in sheer despair that the inhabitants of that province became such brave soldiers.

C. The Settlement of the Country

The plant world underwent various changes, according as the climate altered, and the settlement of the country was affected by both these causes. At the beginnings of history we find the people everywhere preferring to make their home on elevated ground, as affording greater protection and easier means of defence. As the water-courses were not yet sufficiently kept in check, inundations and the exhalations produced by them had injurious effects. The wild beasts, especially wolves, may also have been too powerful in many districts. Thus the "towns" of the Latins (apart from the places on the coast) were situated on the plateau at the foot of the Alban Mountain. Similarly, the towns of the Etruscans — Populonia, Vetulonia, Fæsulæ, Arretium, Perusia, Cortona, Volsinii, Clusium, the places of the Hernici, as Anagnia, and, so far as they were not coast towns, those of the Volscians also, lay on mountain ridges or high ground, from which the valley beneath could be seen far and wide. The extent of the territory occupied depended in some way on the extent of the field of view. But even the centres of the Samnites, villages, for the most part, lay deep in the mountains on heights hard of access, to which even now in places the only approach is by bridle paths.

It is further noteworthy that the Ligurians had their homes confined to the transverse valleys of the Apennines, which led to the passes. There they felt themselves safe and at the same time commanded the lines of communication. The same applies to the Celtic tribes who lived on both sides of the Alps; for example to the Salassi (in the valley of the Duria, now Dora Baltea), the dwellers in the Vallis Pœnina (now Valais), and the Rhætian tribes. Even in the Umbrian Mountains the valley of Sarsina, on the upper course of the river Sapio (now Savio, which flows past Cesena into the Adriatic), came into importance, both on account of the cattle-breeding, which was especially prosperous there, and also because the pass leading from the upper Arno, or Tiber, to Ariminum possessed considerable value for the Roman armies, so long as the Celts of the adjoining district were still unsubdued. For this reason the Sarsinates appear at this time as independent allies by the side of the other Umbrians in the lists of the Latin confederacy. Similarly, places near the road across the Apennines from Umbria into Picenum, such as Plestia and Camerinum, attained to considerable importance. Of these, the former (between Foligno and Camerino) no longer exists, while Camerino lies to the side on an eminence remote from modern traffic. Like Umbria, Picenum, Samnium, and the territories of the other Sabellian stocks, appear thickly populated, the latter showing a steady emigration. From this we see that the population in early antiquity was quite differently distributed from what it was in later times and is at the present day. It settled much more uniformly over the country, without those large agglomerations which require a perfected system of communications.

In all these tendencies the contrary principle eventually won the day. We find the later towns founded in plains, allowing expansion of territory, and on rivers available for traffic. Among these towns, Rome on the Tiber stands foremost. And the more the Roman sovereignty extended, the more important became the settlements in the plain, since the means of intercourse were now secure, and the

roads constructed by the Romans did not ascend the heights, but remained in the valley, so that the upland towns were obliged to develop a suburb, in order to share in the traffic of the high road. This was the case at Falerii (northeast of Soracte), at Anagnia in the Hernican country, and in the Volscian towns, which were off the Via Appia. It is recorded in the year 177 B.C. that the Samnites and Pelignians had lodged a complaint at Rome that four thousand of their citizens had migrated to Fregellæ, the Latin colony on the Liris, and that it was thus difficult to levy a contingent according to the terms of their league. In Etruria, Florentia, the modern Florence, increased at the expense of Fæsulæ (now Fiesole), as did the Roman Volsinii and the Roman Arretium in opposition to, or by the side of, old towns of the same names. (See subjoined map, "Rome and Ancient Italy.")

When the Romans set about the task of opening the northern passes of the Apennines to commerce, they had to face great opposition from the tribes which were settled there. The result of these wars was that the conquered Ligurians — for example, the Apuanians — were removed from their homes and transplanted to Samnium. We know that these Apuanians numbered some forty-seven thousand. The inhabitants of the Vallis Pœnina were subdued by Julius Cæsar, who, in his commentaries, gives exact statistical data about them, as well as about the Helvetians, figures which are presented as the result of close investigation, and not merely as an official report. The Salassi, who wished to make the passage of the Alpis Pœnina (that is, the Great Saint Bernard) dependent on the payment of a toll, were defeated and exterminated in the first years after the battle of Actium. The official account is that thirty-six thousand prisoners, among them eight thousand men capable of bearing arms, had been sold into slavery, while the colony of Prætoria Augusta (now Aosta) was founded on the spot where the Roman camp had stood, and was assigned to veterans of the Prætorian guard.

When, in the year 15 B.C., the district of the Rhætian Alps was joined to the empire, no less than forty thousand of the inhabitants are said to have been transplanted from the mountains to the plain. These high figures are the more surprising when we compare them with the present state of the population and with the known facts as to Italy. Italy south of the Po contained at the time of the Hannibalic War hardly three millions of free inhabitants, a number which, of course, with the existence of slave labour, does not mean the same as it would according to modern calculations. Again, at the end of the reign of Augustus there may have been, with the inclusion of the Po district, another million of free inhabitants, and the number of slaves had also increased, so that it may well have reached two millions. Probably the half of this population lived in Rome and its vicinity and in the district round the Bay of Naples. During the imperial period conditions were altered. The places in Upper Italy then steadily took the lead in prosperity and population, while the southern towns remained stationary or sank into insignificance, and in some cases became entirely deserted.

The Roman sovereignty produced the same results in the provinces as in Italy. We are expressly told that in Spain and in Gaul the old centres of population situated on high ground were superseded by newer towns lying in the plains; thus, among the Arverni, Augustonemetum (the "sanctuary of the emperor," now Clermont) took the place of Gergovia (on a hill, about three miles

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south of Clermont), which is mentioned in Cæsar's Commentaries; and among the Hædui, Augustodunum (now Autun) took the place of Bibracte (some fourteen miles off), of which the name is preserved in the Mont Beuvray. Even in Asia Minor the same procedure is visible; for example, in the case of Pergamus. Here the royal city on the hills became in the course of the Roman sovereignty merely the citadel and the seat of religion, while the new town expanded in the plain beneath. When, however, the empire broke up, a retrograde movement set in. The population, panic-stricken by the inroads of the barbarians, withdrew from the plains to the hill towns, which, offering more security, became, after the lapse of centuries, once more famous. Thus it was in Asia Minor, where the Byzantine fortresses are frequently perched on the highest sites. Thus also in Italy, where, in the vicinity of Rome, Tusculum, Mount Algidus, and the positions on the Alban Hills, became once more important for the command of the "Campania," as the Latin plain was usually called at that time, when it belonged politically to Campania. This is the origin of the modern name, "Campagna di Roma." On the Campanian coast Cumæ once more became important; in Sicily, Lilybæum, and in Sardinia, Caralis, at a time when the Italian coasts were threatened, the islands occupied, and even Rome itself conquered by an enemy from Carthage.

Owing to these causes, at the close of antiquity the insular character of Lower Italy was once more marked, while in Upper Italy the continental character prevailed. Between the two lay the Apennines, the backbone of the peninsula which bears their name. In general, these mountains are not a line of separation between nationalities, for numerous passes, from the oldest times, have permitted travel from one side to the other, but rather a climatic line of demarcation, since on one side the climate is very mild, while on the other side the proximity of the Alps is felt. The chain of the Apennines, in any case, determines to a considerable extent the divisions of the country. The "Apenninus Mons," as it is called in antiquity, runs first in a southeasterly direction from the Maritime Alps to the sources of the Tiber: then with an easterly bend it runs southward to where the central Apennines end theoretically, near the sources of the Volturnus.

In this group is included the highest point of the range (over nine thousand feet) and the highlands of the Abruzzi, which derive their name from the tribe of the Prætuttii in the country of Picenum, whose chief town was Interamna Prætuttiorum, in later times simply Aprutium, the modern Teramo. To the west the Prætuttii touch the Sabines; to the south, the Vestini, Marrucini, Peligni, and Marsi. The *Gran Sasso d'Italia* and the mountains of the Majella group look down on these partly inaccessible highland cantons. The river flowing through this region is the Aternus, which rises above Amiternum in the Sabine country, and, passing several places, which became the territory of Aquila, founded in the thirteenth century A.D., enters the country of the Vestini. These, too, surrendered some places to Aquila, while the inhabitants migrated to the new centre. The Aternus flows further through the Pelignian country, near the capital of which, Corfinium, it turns to the north and breaks through the chain in a narrow pass, in order then to flow eastward through the country of the Marrucini (capital Teate, now Chieti) into the Adriatic Sea. It has a considerable volume of water, and at its mouth is a port called Aternum, which belongs in common to the Vestini, Peligni and Marrucini, but was, on the whole, less

valuable for trade than for its fishery (it still exists), from which as early as the seventh century A.D. it was called Piscaria (now Pescara).

All the tribes we have named lived mostly in villages, industrious peasants and brave soldiers, whether fighting for or against Rome; well protected in their homes against sudden attacks, by the nature of the country, and dangerous opponents for any troops unacquainted with the mountains, as was shown at the time of the Social War. On the west this district was bounded by the Fucine Lake, on which Marruvium, the capital of the Marsi, was situated (c. two thousand feet above the sea). From here a road led south into the valley of the Liris. Other paths ran to the valley of the Sangrus (now Sangro), the southern boundary of the Abruzzi country proper, which it encircles. From Sulmo in the Pelignian country a road goes over the pass (four thousand three hundred feet high), which is now called Piano di Cinquemiglia. This was the road into the uplands of Samnium. From here southward of the Sangrus there flow into the Adriatic Sea the lesser rivers Trinius (now Trigno), Tifernus (now Biferno), Frento (now Fortore), while to the west Volturnus collects the overflow. We see how the Samnite country sloped down towards both coasts, a point which will afterwards be emphasised in the historical development of the peninsula.

The Apulian country forms a level tract of coast on the easterly slopes of the Samnite Mountains, which is only broken by the lofty mass of Garganus (now Monte Gargano, five thousand two hundred feet above sea level). This mountain, which in antiquity, when the plain was still covered with sea, was an island, is not connected with the Appenines (see the map at pp. 338, 339), as the older maps erroneously represent, and is also geologically distinct, like the lower chalk plateau of Apulia, which ends as the Iapygian promontory in the sea. Of the rivers which flow through Apulia to the Adriatic Sea, the Aufidus is of some importance, although it has not much water, except in the rainy season. On its lower course lay Canusium, the port of which was Cannæ, while Arpi (a few miles from the present Foggia) vied with it. Many towns in these parts date from the period of the Hohenstaufer; as Foggia, which then was founded; Manfredonia, which is called after Manfred, son of the emperor Frederick II., who settled here the inhabitants of Sipontum, which was threatened by malaria; while Luceria, celebrated since the Samnite wars, served then as a home for the Saracens transplanted to the mainland. Under the Hohenstaufer, Lower Italy had become the seat of a powerful dynasty, until their last scion, Conradin, was defeated in the battle of Alba, not far from the Fucine Lake, by Charles of Anjou, the ally of the pope.

When the city of Rome, in antiquity, had brought all the communities of the peninsula into subjection to herself, she knew how to bind them firmly to herself by founding colonies and by constructing roads, which all led to Rome. The Via Appia went through Campania to Apulia; the Via Valeria, past Tibur, into the country of the Æqui, Marsi, Peligni, and thence to the Adriatic Sea; the Via Salaria went through the Sabine country to Picenum; the Via Flaminia over the Umbrian Apennines to Ariminum; the Via Clodia and Cassia through the interior of Etruria; the Via Aurelia along the coast as far as the mouth of the Arno, from which it was later extended to join with the great road leading through Gaul to Spain. While the Greeks preferred maritime courses, overland routes were more common with the Romans, the details of which were marked

out in itineraries. It is noteworthy that the commerce from the new metropolis of Italy was first directed towards the west and then towards the northeast, for the reason that the west coast of Italy is the more favoured by nature. Later, indeed, a brisk trade passed through Aquileia to Illyricum, and increasingly benefited Upper Italy, as the centre of gravity of the empire shifted towards the Illyrian countries. The districts influenced by Rome receded before those which recognised Mediolanum as their centre. At that time, in addition to the Via Flaminia, which led from Rome to Ravenna, the roads over the northern Apennines were much frequented. The most westerly route went from Luna by Pons Tremuli (now Pontremoli) and the "Mons Bardonis" to Parma; a second one ran from Luca. Further to the east were the roads from Florence to Bologna; and, finally, that from Florence by the valley of Mugello to Faventia (now Faenza), a route of peculiar importance, as long as Ravenna was the residence of the monarchs and Florence the capital of the province of Tuscany. When, however, the Langobardi made Ticinum (Pavia) their royal city, Luca, which had better communications with Ticinum, became the residence of the dukes of Tuscany. Florence only regained its importance at the time of the dispute between the pope and the emperors. As Luca was loyal to the imperial party, Florence joined more closely the rival party, which eventually was victorious. From the same causes Ticinum receded before Mediolanum, and the towns, in general, tried to regain the importance which they had enjoyed under the Roman rule, and which still lived in their recollection. The citizens of Rome itself broke down the feudal stronghold in Tusculum, and took possession of the position on the Alban Hills, where afterwards arose the "Rocca di Papa," the completion of the secular power of the Christian Pontifex Maximus. Having thus taken a general survey, we may lay down the fact that neither at the beginning nor later was Italy continuously the seat of the Roman empire; that in the peninsula itself the political centre of gravity has often changed in the course of time; and that, finally, there is no natural capital of the Apennine Peninsula. The central position of Italy in the Mediterranean favoured foreign rule as much as the so-called world-sovereignty. Starting with this knowledge, we will now treat "Roman" history, and see how it came about that Rome has become the centre of Italy, and more than that the capital of our sphere of civilisation.

2. ROME AND ANCIENT ITALY

A. The Beginnings of Rome

The pleasing legend told by the Romans concerning the origin of their city has passed into the literature of the world. Art in early times embellished it. The she-wolf with the sucking twins appears on the Roman-Campanian coins of the fourth century B.C. In the year 296 B.C. the government erected a bronze monument representing this group in the "Wolf's Cave" the Lupercal, on the Palatine, where the wolf is said to have suckled the twins. Sacrifices were offered here on February 17, the festival of the Lupercalia, to Faunus, god of the woods and fields, and to Lupercus as "guardian from wolves." The so-called Capitoline wolf (see the lower half of the appended plate, "Ancient Roman Bar Money

and the Capitoline Wolf ") has been partially restored in later times. We know, besides, that in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. a " Lupa " stood near the Lateran. Afterwards the mother wolf was known as the divinely honoured symbol of the Roman state throughout the world, which was ruled from the city on the Tiber. The birthday of Rome was celebrated at the same time as the Palilia, the spring festival of the herdsmen, on April 21, on which day King " Romulus," with herdsmen from Alba Longa, is said to have planned the foundation of the city. The Roman historians afterwards calculated the year of the foundation to be the year 753 B.C., if we may anticipate our own era. The millennial jubilee of the city of Rome was celebrated, therefore, in the year 248 A.D. under the emperor Philip, the Arabian.

A partially trustworthy tradition begins in the fifth century B.C., when the record of the lists of magistrates (the Fasti Consulares, as the Romans called them) and the publishing of the calendar by the " Pontifices " come to be supplemented by notices of the most important occurrences of each year, which increase in amount as the town becomes of more consequence. Disasters, such as the taking of Rome by the Gauls, were, naturally, recorded the most fully. The decisive phases of the constitutional struggles also were noted. The earlier period is veiled for us in darkness or semi-darkness, notwithstanding the many legends which are to be read on the subject in the Roman historians. Oral traditions, fables, myths, and etymological interpretations are worked up together, from which we must strip away the husks before we can disclose the true kernel. In order that the historical state of affairs may be clear, we must go further back in our narrative.

At the epoch when Phœnicians and Greeks were disputing the supremacy over the islands and coasts of the " Sardinian " Sea, the Etruscans appear as the predominant power in the central and northerly portions of the Apennine Peninsula (cf. above, p. 316). They frequently took part in those struggles as the allies of the Phœnicians, in order to protect themselves in their own Tyrrhenian Sea against the aggressive Greek seafarers. The ascendency of the Syracusans was particularly hateful to the maritime towns of the Etruscan country, and they, therefore, sent some ships to aid the Athenians in their expedition to Sicily in the year 416. We see from this that the Etrurians preferred the more distant powers to the nearer; that is to say (leaving the Carthaginians out of the question), the Corinthians and Athenians, who were rivals on the coasts of Italy since the fifth century, were preferred to the Syracusans and the Massiliots. Even Cumæ, an ancient colony of the Chalcidians and the Græï (in Italian, Græci) on the Campanian coast, the mother town of Naples, had to keep its maritime communications free from the Etrurian privateers by force of arms, until finally the Etruscans were decisively beaten in a great sea-fight by the allied Cumæans and Syracusans. The Etruscans, at the height of their prosperity (sixth and fifth centuries B.C.), had the upper hand in the neighbouring regions inhabited by the Umbrians, Sabellians, and Latins down to Campania.

According to tradition, Rome, the frontier town of the Latins, was repeatedly captured by the Etruscans, and, indeed, became a large city under the rule of dynasts of Etruscan descent. In details the Etruscan account varies from the Roman. On the wall paintings which adorned a tomb at Vulci, the present Volci, in southern Etruria, a place where many Etruscan vases are found (on the river

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EARLY ROMAN BAR-MONEY AND THE CAPITOLINE SHE-WOLF

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE

1—4. Early Roman bar-money of the fourth century B. C.; $\frac{1}{6}$ of the actual size.

1 and 2.—A bar of copper, marked on both sides, weight about 5 asses. *Obv.:* Pegasus, speeding towards the left, underneath the inscription: Romanom, i. e. Romanorum (of the Romans). *Rev.:* Soaring eagle with a thunderbolt in his talons.

3 and 4. A bar of copper, marked as 1 and 2. *Obv.:* A bull stepping to the left. *Rev.:* Bull stepping to the right.

(After photographs of the original in the Berlin cabinet of coins.)

5. Capitoline she-wolf with Romulus and Remus.

Only the wolf is an original work of antiquity, from one of the groups which were erected in various places in republican Rome to illustrate the legend of the founding of the city; as, e. g., one was erected in 296 B. C., near the Lupercal (= the wolf's gorge) on the Palatine. The wolf is of great interest in the history of art, as we have here evidently a production of the old Greek Art. The twins are a modern addition.

(After a photograph by Anderson, of the original in the Capitoline Museum at Rome.)

Fiora, in antiquity Armenta), is a representation of the liberation of Caile Vipinas (in Latin, Cæles Vibenna), whom the Romans had taken prisoner, by his friend, Macstarna, and his companions. During this fight Cneve Tarchu Rumach, that is, Cn. Tarquinius, the Roman, found his death. His troops, it is to be noticed, equally bear Etruscan names. The Roman account, on the other hand, names a Tarquinius the Elder, with the prenomen Lucius, which is derived from Lucumo, the designation of the chief men in the Etruscan towns. It is said that he came from the Etruscan town Tarquinii (near the present Corneto) to Rome, and there became king. Since, however, the name Tarquinius is a well-accredited native Roman name, the whole story seems to owe its existence to the unfortunate etymology of later historians. So much, at any rate, is certain: though the development of the constitution proceeded on native, that is to say, Latin, lines, the relations with the towns of southern Etruria from the beginning decided in many respects the political position of Rome. In architecture, in art, in religious ceremonial, this influence was only gradually crossed by the Greek power, which spread through the whole Mediterranean. On the other hand, the country "beyond the Tiber" was, indeed, considered a strange country, into which the hard-hearted creditor sold his debtor. The Greek influences which come to Latium proceed from towns which are hostile to the Etruscans, as Cumæ and Syracuse. Writing, indeed, developed in Latium, as in Etruria, under Greek influence, but independently, a fact which shows that the two countries were for a long time closed to each other. In this uncertain light Rome appears to us at the beginning of her history.

The town had sprung up on the lower course of the Tiber, the largest river of central Italy, which then was navigable for ships far upstream. Besides this, the Via Salaria (that is, the salt road), which touched Rome, led inland from the sea into the country of the cattle-breeding Sabines. This Sabellian stock lived in villages, so that for them Rome became "the town." The towns of the Latins also, which lay on the terrace at the foot of the Alban Hills, were outstripped in development by Rome. Alba Longa, the acropolis of which has lately, and with some probability, been supposed to be Castel Gandolfo, stretched along the Alban Lake. Alba Longa was the chief town of the Latin confederacy, which held their conferences by the Ferentine spring, in the beautiful part of the valley between Albano and Marino. The sacrifices of the league were offered on the Alban Mountain, from which the whole country of Latium could be surveyed down to the sea. The sacred grove of Aricia also, the "Nemus Dianæ," on the Lake of Aricia (now Lago di Nemi), was at all times one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage for the Latin race. It is significant that Rome very early acquired the headship of this Latin league, which in the first instance served religious objects. Alba Longa, which appeared as a rival, was destroyed, the confederation of towns was dissolved, and the foremost families were compelled to remove to Rome. In this way the union of the two ruling towns into a single power was effected at that time: Alba Longa, the mother city, was blended into Rome, the daughter. At the same time the commanding positions on that mountain ridge came into the possession of Rome, in consequence of which the Latin national festival was from that date held every spring on the Alban Mount under the presidency of the Roman magistrates. Thirty places were entitled to take part, and their emblem was a sow with a litter of thirty

young. After the sacrificial bull had been offered to Jupiter Latiaris, the tribal deity, the flesh of the sacrifice was divided among the rightful members of the league.

(*a*) *The Extension of the Roman Power towards the North.*—While extending her influence towards the mountains, Rome took possession of the most commanding position downstream, namely, the mouths of the Tiber (" Ostia "), where a port was constructed and secured against attacks by a permanent garrison. On the other side of the river the Roman territory abutted on the district owned by the Etruscan towns, Cære and Veii. Cære lies near the modern Cerveteri. The town was removed in the Middle Ages on account of its unhealthiness, in consequence of which another Ceri was founded in the neighbourhood. The whole district has been deserted since the close of the Middle Ages. Rome early established friendly relations with Cære, which maintained one harbour for Greek and another for Phœnician ships. On the other hand, a war broke out with Veii, which was waged partly for the salt meadows at the mouth of the Tiber, partly for the possession of Fidenæ, the *tête-du-pont* of Etruria to Latium, on the left bank of the Tiber. The citadel of Veii lay near the modern Isola Farnese (so called from its position between two streams, and since the sixteenth century in possession of the Farnese family), Fidenæ, near Villa Spada, four miles from Rome. The Romans interrupted the communication between Veii and Fidenæ by building a fort on the brook Cremera, which flows into the Tiber opposite Fidenæ (now Fosso della Valchetta), and placed a garrison there. It is recorded that the clan of the Fabii undertook this task, but sustained an almost annihilating defeat. At the same time the war was constantly renewed until Fidenæ fell, when hostilities were directed against Veii itself, the vicinity of which threatened Rome. Her population received great additions, since, like Alba Longa, other towns had been incorporated into the Roman territory; but, in order that the population might not be crowded there, and that the social crisis, which was threatening in Rome, as in all the agrarian communities of antiquity, might not reach a dangerous point, it was necessary to tread the path of conquest and to colonise new tracts with settlements dependent on Rome. Therefore, the tedious siege of Veii was afterwards compared with the Trojan War by the poetical narrators of early Roman history, Nævius and Ennius, who flourished during and after the Second Punic War. The war was of decisive importance for the development of Rome.

In fact, the fall of Veii immediately doubled the power of the Romans. Hardly a town of Italy could now compare with Rome in extent of territory. Added to this, the Latin league, under the headship of Rome, showed itself to be far more firmly united than the confederation of the Etruscans, which held its meetings in the sacred grove of Voltumnia (Scrofano, that is, " holy shrine," in the district of Capena). Veii, left to itself, was plundered and destroyed by the Romans, who sallied out in small bodies; the population was put to the sword or sold into slavery, and the territory of the town declared the property of the Roman people. This territory reached as far as the ridge of the Ciminian Forest, north of Sutri (beyond the " Ciminian Lake," now Lago di Vico, past which the " Ciminian " road led), and up to the mountain group of Soracte, which can be seen from the hills of Rome. Soracte is the present *Monte "Sant'*

Oreste," so called because in the Middle Ages an inscription was misinterpreted and a new saint created in consequence. Here the Romans and their allies some years later planted the settlements ("coloniæ") of Sutrium and Nepete (now Sutri and Nepi), employing a strictly regulated ritual, since they had first to determine by observation of the flight of birds and other signs in the sky whether the gods approved of the founding of the town. Such colonies were termed "Latin," because the same autonomous position was conceded to them as the old Latin towns enjoyed, and because, like them, they remained in their external policy independent of the head community, namely, Rome. Thus the destruction of the one city, Veii, was followed by the founding of two towns, which were, so to speak, scions of Rome, while the remaining portions of territory were left as public land of Rome, and as such could be used by the citizens entitled to do so.

Sutrium and Nepete formed afterwards the advanced posts of the Roman-Latin power in southern Etruria, which underwent such great political and agrarian changes. The neighbouring communities of the Capenates at the foot of Soracte, which formed a canton among themselves, and Falerii (which was moved by the Romans westward into the plain, while in the Middle Ages the old site came again into importance as Civita Castellana), where the population was not Etruscan, but more nearly akin to the Latins, recognised the supremacy of Rome. Finally, Volsinii also, near the present Orvieto (Urbs Vetus, because the Romans, in the year 264 B.C., founded a second Volsinii as a colony on the Lake of Bolsena, near which the "old town" still continued), the metropolis of the Etrurian league of twelve towns, was compelled to abandon its resistance.

The towns lying to the north soon found themselves obliged to seek support from the Roman-Latin power, since the Gauls, who had established themselves at the cost of the Etruscans and Umbrians on the Po and southward on the Adriatic, were already extending their inroads over the Apennines. Here, some years after the capture of Veii by the Romans, an army of the Senonian Gauls besieged the town of Clusium, the modern Chiusi (in the vicinity many Etruscan tombs are preserved; the territory of Clusium extended in the north as far as Lake Trasimene, where Cortona and Perusia meet). Clusium had formerly taken a leading position in Etruria; and, according to tradition, under its king, Porsenna, had actually defeated Rome. The Romans, although not directly menaced, sent, however, two envoys, in order to collect accurate information as to the state of affairs. As these envoys treated the Gauls as barbarians, with whom the rights of the law of nations might be disregarded, a disaster ensued, which re-echoed throughout the whole of the then predominantly Greek world. Since the older Roman chronology can only be approximately determined, this may have happened about 387 or 386 B.C. Other calculations place it in the year 390. The Gauls marched against Rome without encountering opposition, since the Veientine territory was not yet colonised: the Roman army was overthrown and scattered at the brook Allia (now Fosso di Bettina, eleven miles from Rome): on the fourth day the town was captured after the inhabitants had taken refuge in the neighbouring places, as Cære, and carried away their sacred objects thither for safety. Only the highest quarter of the city, the so-called Capitol, where the chief temple of Jupiter and the citadel connected with it stood, were successfully defended, and an attempt to scale the height was repulsed. After seven months

the Gauls, suffering from diseases and also seeing their homes threatened by the Veneti, consented to withdraw on payment of one thousand pounds of gold.

Although the losses incurred by the attack were soon repaired, and the city rebuilt and fortified, the "fear of the Gauls" was for centuries impressed on the Romans. The Gauls renewed their invasions periodically: at such times Rome put into the field every available man, not excepting the priests and law officers, who were otherwise exempt, until the danger was past. But these wars had another and wider significance. The Romans acquired in them an experience of the methods of desultory warfare, which made them superior to the troops of the Etrurian, Latin, and Italian towns generally. At the same time the fact is emphasised that the Romans could be marshalled in large bodies; that after the siege of Veii they were accustomed to continue the war, if necessary, even in the winter season, and that the grant of pay to the troops in the field, which was defrayed from the revenue of the public land, marked a considerable advance on the otherwise usual custom of a citizen army providing for their own supplies.

From this time, from the fourth century B.C., the Romans, and not the Etruscans, were the representatives of central Italy (see the map at pp. 338, 339) to the outside world, even to the great maritime powers. Not merely the Greek towns, as Massilia, for example, but the Carthaginians, now concluded with the Romans, as formerly with the Etruscans, treaties for the protection of commerce, which suffered much from piracy. The allies of both parties were included in them. But the power of Rome had already expanded in a southern direction.

(*b*) *The Extension of the Roman Power towards the South.*—The country of the Latins was bordered on the southwest by the Volsci, on the northeast by the Æqui. The Volsci were settled around Suessa Pometia in the Pomptine plain, and in the hill country as far as the Liris and beyond its upper course. The Æqui, whose settlements extended up the Anio and as far as the uplands near the Fucine Lake, disturbed the country round Tibur. Mount Algidus also, east of the Alban Mountains, was often the scene of collisions between Latins and Æqui. Occasionally the Æqui and Volsci made common cause. On the other hand, the towns of the Hernici, with Anagnia (now Anagni) as centre, early joined the Latins, who were headed by Rome. These founded along the line of communication from Rome to Anagnia on a slope in a strong position, from which the whole country of the Hernici is visible, the colony of Signia, now Segni, of which the old walls and gates are still partly standing. All the places of the Hernici are, like Segni, situated on high ground, while now the railway runs through the valley. The wars of these tribes turned for a long time on the possession of some few positions; sometimes they were mere raids, in which the mountaineers ravaged the plain which was richer through trade and a more fertile soil. The unrest was fostered by immigrants and political exiles, who sought with the enemy a refuge from their victorious antagonists in the civil dissensions. In this manner the Romans found shelter with the Volsci. Since the Romans, however, had obtained such successes in Etruria, and had repulsed the Gauls, their superiority over these small tribes was decisive. The war against the Volsci ended, like that against Veii, in the conquered being deprived of a portion of their territory and its addition to the Roman public domain, the *ager publicus*. Two colonies were also planted, namely,

Satricum (in the plain, near the present Conca, where in 1896 the walls of circumvallation of the colony Satricum were discovered) and Setia (now Sezze, on the edge of the Volscian Hills). Velitræ (Velletri) was also occupied, and Ardea, the town of the Rutuli. Finally, we find Suessa Pometia made into a Latin colony in the middle of the region where later, when the cultivation of the district was neglected, the Pontine marshes extended.

Of course, reverses occurred; a part of the Volsci rebelled, while others submitted and in return were placed on an equal footing with the Romans as regards rights of commerce and intermarriage. This prepared the way for the assimilation of the Volscian country to Latium, which, varying in place and circumstance, was accomplished in the course of time. It was an important fact that the seaports of the Volsci, especially Antium (Porto d'Anzio, recently named once more simply Anzio), Circeii, Anxur, or Tarracina (now Terracina), and the island group of Pontiæ (now Ponza), belonged henceforth to the Roman dominion. The majority of these places were not organised as autonomous communities, but were administered from Rome as "Roman" colonies; the burgesses settled there had to perform permanent garrison duty, as at Ostia, and were, consequently, only in exceptional cases employed in the field. The individual towns were not treated uniformly, in order that common sympathies might not be aroused. The same policy was adopted by the Romans with respect to the Latin towns. When they resisted her encroachments, Rome declared the Latin league to be dissolved; each town had to enter separately into a new agreement with Rome, which was dictated by the capital, and to some, all municipal rights were denied. Thus, for example, Laurentum, the rival of Ostia (near the present farm Tor Paterno), then forfeited its independence. Its territory was conceded to Lavinium, which lies more inland, of which the remains are near Pratica in the Roman Campagna. In return it had to take over the traditional religious institutions of Laurentum also; for the Romans did not wish to fight against the gods. This they had shown before, when Alba Longa was incorporated, for they took measures that the neighbouring Bovillæ should be responsible for carrying out the cult of the Albans: the same thing occurred at the conquest of Veii, where Juno, the goddess of the town, had been expressly asked whether she, in fact, wished to settle in Rome. The goddess, so the holy legend ran, distinctly nodded assent. Isolated towns of the Latins, as, for example, lofty Tusculum, received favourable terms, which rendered the acquisition of the full Roman citizenship easier for their inhabitants, while to others, as to Tibur and Praeneste, their communal independence was guaranteed in appropriate forms.

(c) *Civil Dissensions Between Patricians and Plebeians.*—In Rome itself the members of the old "families" (*patricii*) were for a long time very haughty towards the new citizens (plebs), gained by the destruction of neighbouring towns or by voluntary domicile. The "plebeians" were admitted neither to the ancient Roman cults, nor to the priesthoods nor the magistracies, in accordance with the strict ritual of the ancients, by which each town formed a distinct religious association. But the plebeians increased in numbers continuously, came to discharge military duties, holding such posts as that of tribune, and enforced the promulgation of a legal code, so as to set bounds to the caprice of the magistrates. In these political struggles, which on one occasion led to

an actual revolution and made the founding of an "opposition Rome" a possible contingency, the tribunes came forward as the leaders and advocates of the plebs, and their inviolability had to be guaranteed by the state on the final restoration of peace. Rome, moreover, since the expulsion of the Tarquins, was a free state, where death was the price of any attempt at tyranny or kingly rule. This was, in fact, the fate of Spurius Cassius, who thrice filled the highest magistracy, and had effected the league with the Hernici; similar cases occurred twice again, for the Roman annals record the execution of M. Manlius and of Spurius Mælius by order of the government as a warning example. From that time it was considered dangerous at Rome to become too popular. Since the offices could now be held only for a year, no danger on this ground threatened the constitution.

On the other hand, the plebeians demanded to be admitted to the magisterial dignities and to the priesthoods, a claim which the patricians resisted as long as possible. For a considerable time, as in the years when Veii was besieged and conquered, military tribunes, to whom magisterial powers were given, governed the republic; the plebeians in this way first attained to the highest offices. But since the retention of the patrician privileges was not favourable to the general condition of the community, the admission of the plebeians to the consulship was finally granted (in 367 B.C.), while their admission to the ancient traditional priestly colleges of "pontifices" and "augures" did not follow for many decades. Some priestly posts, from consideration for the gods, to whom any deviation from traditional custom must be displeasing, remained even later in the exclusive possession of the patricians. These priesthoods were preserved as an honourable legacy of antiquity up to the time of the emperors, until, finally, there was no one left worthy to fill them.

In opposition to this conservative spirit of the old citizens the practical requirements of the people were met by the Greek cults, which had been introduced into Latium and into Etruria at a very early period. At times of great crisis, particularly when pestilence or famine threatened, the oracular books, which had come to Rome from Cumæ, were officially referred to and consulted by the plebeian keepers of the oracles; and the usual result was the introduction of a new foreign cult, by which the inherent religious feeling of the country was satisfied.

(*d*) *The Government.*—The supreme official power was exercised by two equally powerful magistrates, who were judges, as well as generals, and to whom, in fine, the term *consules* (those who "spring together") was appropriated. The year was dated after the two consuls. As the state expanded, separate functions were detached and entrusted to independent functionaries: to the prætors, the maintenance of justice; to the censors, the new assessment to be made every five years; to the ædiles, the police authority; to the quæstors, the financial business. When critical times demanded the concentration of the command in a single hand, one of the consuls, at the request of the senate, had to nominate a dictator ("commander"), who himself chose his subordinate colleague, the master of the horse (*magister equitum*). Both could hold office only for six months. All these offices were developments of the municipal magistracy prevailing among the Latins.

By the side of the officials stood the senate and the popular assembly, the

former for deliberation, the latter for the final decision of mere municipal business as well as state affairs. The magistrates had to lay motions before the senate. According to the order of business, the report on religious matters, which the municipal officers, on entering office, had to furnish to the communal council within ten days, had precedence of all others. Here also great attention was paid to omens and to popular superstition generally; monstrous births, thunderclaps, wolves roaming over the capitol, were appropriately expiated, according to the advice of the pontifices. Special haruspices were appointed by the state for the inspection of entrails, according to the custom of the Etruscans, and augury from the flight of birds was practised by the magistrates themselves. The sacred geese of Juno on the capitol, like the sacred fowls, which, by their manner of eating, foretold the issue of an enterprise, play a part in the traditional history of ancient Rome. Since the popular assembly did not meet very often, only the most important matters could be decided by it, for the ordinary transaction of business the decision lay entirely with the senate. The multitude was content with the government if salt was cheap, the "tributum" not assessed too high, and the forced labour imposed by the community, as, for instance, the rebuilding of the town walls, did not weigh too heavily on them; and, finally, if there was from time to time a distribution of conquered territory. Thus the Roman state continually gained ground.

B. The Period of the Samnite Wars up to the Subjugation of Italy

(*a*) *Political History.*—The Apennine Peninsula, which did not yet possess a collective name (the name "Italy" was only given to it in the second century B.C.), was now the scene of remarkable movements among the nations. Races which did not develop any fresh powers of expansion, as the Etruscans and the Umbrians, were crowded together within narrow limits. The Sabellian stocks, on the other hand, which had their ancient settlements in the central mountain districts round the Gran Sasso and the Majella group, proclaimed, so often as they were threatened with overpopulation, a "sacred spring"; everything that was born of man or beast within a certain period was destined to be sent beyond their boundaries and to be, as it were, offered up to the gods. About the time that Romans were fighting with Veientines, Gauls, and Volsci, such bands of Sabellians occupied Campania, Apulia, and Lucania, making friendly terms with the natives, and waged war on the Greek towns. Cumæ and its daughter town, Neapolis, suffered especially in this way; but even in Magna Græcia proper many less populous Greek colonies were unable to withstand the attack. They were forced to capitulate and to give the immigrants a share in their territory; and since these were reinforced by fresh bands, while the Greek numbers rather diminished, an ethnical displacement resulted, of which the end could not be foreseen. Only towns like Tarentum, Croton, Thurii, Locri, Rhegium, could maintain their position, Tarentum being a not unimportant maritime power. The supremacy of the Sabellian immigrants was never, indeed, firmly established, chiefly because they were scattered over too wide spaces and often seized a more remote position before an important and nearer one was completely occupied: in contrast to Rome, they worked without a definite plan. In any case, the move-

ment convulsed the whole southern portion of the peninsula, and those towns or districts which opposed the Sabellians looked round for aid in their resistance. This was the case of Cumæ and Neapolis in Campania, and Teanum also, the town of the Sidicini, which competed with Capua. Capua was, indeed, settled by Sabellians, but wished to develop independently.

The opportune help was offered by Rome, since her sphere of power after the incorporation of the Volscian country extended to the Liris, and thence, through the territory of the Aurunci, came into touch with Campania. For some time the Samnites and Romans avoided all collision, and rather tried to mark out their spheres of interest, so that the Romans had a free hand against the Latins, Volsci, and Aurunci. But finally a treaty was made between Rome and Teanum; and, what was more important, Capua was forced to form the closest kind of alliance with Rome, 338 B.C. Capua was put on an absolutely equal footing with Rome as regards trade and commerce and even marriage rights, points which were usually treated by the ancients as exclusive privileges. In other respects Capua was left to the Capuans, who retained their own magistrates and Oscan as their official language, since Capua was politically Roman in obligations, but not in rights. In particular, the Capuans had no right of voting at Rome; but they termed themselves "Romans" and the identity of the Roman-Campanian state was emphasised on the coinage, since the Capuans placed on their coins, which they still struck according to the customary Phocæan standard, the mother wolf with the twins. The same thing was noticeable in their military system, for the Campanians formed their soldiers into legions, after the Roman style, not into smaller divisions, the so-called cohorts, as was customary in the more insignificant towns. Thus the Roman power was increased a second time; for that Rome was the leading party is clear from the above-mentioned circumstances, and is also expressed in a divergent tradition of the legendary founding of Rome, according to which Romus, a son of Æneas, is said to have founded Capua as well as Rome. In this way the Roman power was established over the lower portion of central Italy. Nine other places of Campania, Cumæ among the number, were, like Capua, given the right of citizenship without the right of voting, while a part of the district north of the Volturnus was embodied into the Roman public domain (*ager publicus*) and two colonies were afterwards founded on it, namely, Minturnæ and Sinuessa (in the old country of the Aurunci). The new Tribus Falerna took its name from the rich wine country of the Falernian "field."

But soon the might of the Samnites was seen to be opposed to this power. On the upper Liris, in Fregellæ (in former Volscian territory), a Latin colony had been founded; and, secondly, the Romans forced a Samnite garrison, which had been imposed on Naples, to withdraw. On these grounds war was declared, for the Samnites did not choose to be cut off from access to the sea or from their communications with the country round the source of the Liris. When the Romans took the aggressive and tried to force their way through the defiles of Caudium to Apulia, which had been subjugated by the Samnites, they suffered a severe defeat. The Roman army was surrounded by the Samnites in the mountains and "sent under the yoke," a sentence which was considered a great degradation. The consuls and the officers were forced to guarantee that the places in dispute would be evacuated by the Romans and that peace should be

maintained. Nevertheless, the war was continued by the Romans, and lasted over twenty-two years. Though the Romans were not a match for the Samnites in the hills, they were superior to them on the plain. The Appian Way was then built by the censor Appius Claudius — from whom it derived its name — from Rome to Capua, the passage through the country of the Hirpini was permanently secured, and, to keep Apulia in check, the colony of Luceria (now Lucera by Foggia) was founded in 314 B.C. This became a populous Latin centre, possessing an ample territory. It lay in the plain, extending to the foot of the Samnite Mountains, with which it was most closely connected economically, since the mountain pastures in summer and the lowland meadows in the winter are, up to the present day, the alternate homes of the cattle-breeding industry. The founding of Luceria was, therefore, a great event in the history of Italy, for by it the Samnite supremacy in those parts was checked and the Roman established in its place; and it is not strange that the war between Rome and Samnites centred for years round this town. The Romans, however, held it, and planted in 291 B.C. a second colony, Venusia, the modern Venosa. In order to secure once for all the connection of Campania with that part, the colony of Beneventum was afterwards founded in the country of the Hirpini (268 B.C.), while the Appian Way was extended as far as the Ionian Sea.

The Romans had already come into touch with Tarentum, which jealously guarded its sea route, with the other Greek towns, which rejoiced that Rome had humiliated the hated Sabellians, and finally with Syracuse, which, under the rule of the tyrants Dionysius and Agathocles, extended her power in the Adriatic, on the Campanian coast, in the Ægean Sea, and at the expense of Carthage, but was hindered from further advance by internal dissensions. With the pirate state on the Lipari Islands, which Greek settlers from Rhodes and Cnidus had founded, the Romans first came into contact when, after the conquest of Veii, they sent ambassadors to the oracle at Delphi. There was an old friendship with Massilia. With Rhodes the Romans concluded a commercial treaty in the year 306; and it is also reported of the Antiates that they had extended their voyages as far as Asia Minor.

The nations conquered by the Romans resisted repeatedly the planting of colonies in their territory. The Etruscans and Umbrians actually called in their hereditary foe, the Gauls, to their help. The Samnites also joined the coalition. This gave the Romans the pretext to subdue the Etruscan towns and to bring the southern coast directly into their power by planting colonies, while Cære remained in possession of the Roman "citizenship without right of voting." The Romans also won the pass over the Umbrian Apennines in a battle with the allies, after which they attacked the Gauls in their own homes on the Adriatic Sea. Part of their territory was taken from them, and the colony of Sena Gallica (now Sinigaglia) was endowed with it (283 B.C.). The Romans established a firm footing also on the coast of Picenum. The Tarentines, discontented that "their sea" was no longer respected, and yet unable to check the encroachments of the Romans, called in the help of King Pyrrhus from Epirus, who had made a name for himself as a general in the wars of the successors of Alexander the Great, and was, besides, somewhat of a bold adventurer. Pyrrhus appeared with a well-trained army in Lower Italy, where, as a champion not merely of the Tarentines, but also of the Samnites, who would gladly have seen Luceria and

Venusia destroyed, he marched against Rome. By his skilful manœuvres he repeatedly gained the victory over the armies of the Romans, who for the first time faced the Macedonian phalanx and the war elephants of the East. But he could not prevail against the strong circle of colonies founded by the Romans to secure their supremacy. Besides this, Pyrrhus did not make directly for his goal. He allowed himself to be won over by the Syracusans, who called in his help against the Carthaginians, and the only result was that Carthage and Rome made common cause against him. The victorious advance of the king on Sicily was of short duration: when he returned to Italy he was defeated at Beneventum by the Romans, while Tarentum was threatened by the Carthaginians. Pyrrhus returned to Greece, for at that time there was a prospect of winning the throne of Macedonia, but not without having left behind a garrison in Tarentum in the expectation of returning to Italy. When the king soon afterwards was killed, the Tarentines were driven by necessity to join the Romans.

On the other side a colony was planted right among the Samnite Mountains, Æsernia (now Isernia), which was so situated that it commanded the communications between the valley of the Volturnus and that of the Sangrus. In consequence, the newly founded town attracted all the traffic of the interior, since the upland villages of the Samnites were totally inadequate to meet the requirements of the improved conditions of trade.

The land of the Æqui also, which, since the successes against the Samnites, could be attacked from the side of the Liris, had been taken by force of arms. The Latins now wreaked vengeance on their hereditary enemies. Fully two-thirds of their territory was taken from the Æqui and employed for the establishment of two unusually strong colonies, Carsioli and Alba (on the Fucine Lake). Where now the railroad mounts from the valley of the Anio to the uplands, between the modern places of Arsoli and Carsoli, near Piano del Cavaliere, lay the municipal centre of the territory of Carsoli, between the forty-second and forty-third milestones on the road leading from Rome. Carsioli and Alba were the Roman guard in the heart of Italy, halfway between the western and the eastern seas. The Valerian Way was the line of communication between Rome and the new Alba, which had been made one of the most important fortresses in Italy. Three hill-tops, on the northeasterly of which, three thousand two hundred feet above the sea, lies the modern Alba, were connected by a strong wall in the polygonal style, and each of them was separately fortified as a castle. Only a third of the territory, which extended to the frontier of the Sabines, was left to the Æqui, or, as they were also called, the Æquiculani; that is the district now called Cicolano on the river Salto, the Himella of antiquity, which in its upper course, in the territory of Alba, still bears the name of Imele.

The Sabellian tribes lying more to the east, the Marsi, Peligni, Marrucini, and Vestini, who had not taken part in the resistance of the Samnites, and, besides, were not in the immediate sphere of the power of Rome, formed an alliance with Rome on favourable conditions. The Sabine country also lost its independence, and was deprived of some territory; but the Roman settlers soon amalgamated with the natives, with whom they had had intercourse from early times. In the course of the third century B.C. the Sabines were admitted to the full Roman citizenship, and were assigned to a particular division, with powers of adminis-

REMAINS OF THE SERVIAN WALL NEAR THE RAILWAY STATION AT ROME

(After a photograph by Anderson, drawn by O. Schulz.)

tration and the right of voting, called the Tribus Quirina. Cures, the capital, though still in the Sabine country, took a privileged position, since it was allotted to the Tribus Sergia. From that time there grew up, side by side with the legends of the founders of Rome, the twin brothers Romulus and Remus, whose legal successors were the two consuls, the story of the Sabine kings, Titus Tatius and Numa Pompilius, such as we have it presented to us now in the historians of the Augustan Age. In Umbria the road which led, on the one hand, over the Apennines to Picenum, on the other, to Perusia in Etruria, was guarded by Rome through the planting of the colonies Narnia and Spoletium. Rome itself, which had been surrounded with new walls since the Gallic disaster, could be reckoned an almost impregnable fortress. These are the walls mentioned in history as those of Servius Tullius, parts of which are still standing. (See the inserted plate, "Remains of the Servian Wall.")

(*b*) *Rome and the Final Conquest of Italy.*—Thus a few decades after the death of the great Alexander of Macedonia a power was founded which, as the head of a confederation, could throw the weight of almost the whole Apennine peninsula into the scale. The foreign policy and the supreme command in war belonged exclusively to Rome; the contingents which the allies had to furnish and the duties of each separate colony were fixed as a matter of course. It was estimated that the league could furnish in time of need over seven hundred thousand foot-soldiers and seventy thousand horse. The places where the troops had to meet were once for all settled. Thus for operations against the Celts in the North the rendezvous were Arretium (Arezzo) in Etruria, and Ariminum (Rimini), a colony founded in the year 268, on the Adriatic coast. Both points were connected with Rome by national roads. These roads, with Rome as their point of departure, exercised a consolidating effect, while the former communications had rather served the needs of separate districts or towns.

The Via Appia led southward to Brundisium, which had been secured by a colony in the year 244 B.C. The small navies of the Greek towns, together with the Etruscan, Volscian, and Latin ships, formed the beginnings of a maritime power, which was first to test its strength and grow powerful in opposition to neighbouring Sicily, which enjoyed a large commerce.

The real centre of the power lay in the Roman citizen class, which was divided into thirty-five departments, the so-called tribes, four urban and thirty-one rural. These tribes were made the basis both for voting and for levies, and thus became more and more important. Within the tribe the individual citizen was assessed, according to his property, so that the man who was in a position to bear the larger burdens of the community enjoyed also the privilege of voting. Those without property were excluded on principle; but the social grievances were at all times successfully surmounted, since the newly conquered territory was always redistributed among indigent citizens or the privileged classes of allies (Latins, Hernici, etc.). It should be noticed that freedmen also found recognition in this arrangement, and that at the time of the Hannibalic War the number of the colonies had reached seventy. The commonwealth was thus victoriously advancing, and the citizen body increased to an extent that roused the astonishment of the outside world. At the same time it was prepared to adopt vigorous action concerning every new question that arose. In the North

the Roman sphere of power bordered on the Gauls. In the islands the Carthaginians tried to make themselves more exclusively supreme, both as regards the Syracusans and also any interference from Italy. As one of their generals said, they wished to prevent the Romans even from washing their hands in salt water. As Pyrrhus withdrew from Sicily, he is reported to have said that he was leaving the island as a battle-field for the Carthaginians and Romans. We have accounts of this period in the Greek historians, especially those of Sicily (Timæus of Tauromenium).

Economic conditions, originally very simple, had been somewhat more developed under Greek influence since the settlement in Campania. The oldest standard of value in Latium, as among all pastoral peoples, seems to have been cattle, which is shown by the name "pecunia" (from *pecus*, cattle) for "money": ten sheep were equivalent to one ox. Besides this, precious metals were weighed out and copper also, which served as the ordinary medium of exchange. The next step was to mark the bars of copper officially, for instance, with the figure of an ox. The later ones have the inscription *Romanom*, that is, *Romanorum;* over it is seen a pegasus, on the reverse a flying eagle with a thunderbolt in its claws. (See the upper half of the plate, "Ancient Roman Bar Money," facing p. 341.) From this was developed the oldest Roman coin, the "as" (*æs grave*), on the obverse a head of Janus, on the reverse the bows of a ship, the arms of Rome, all well executed, but massive. Rome appears to have been in advance of the other Italians. The relative value of the copper and the silver of foreign nations was at a fixed ratio of 1 to 250. Capua alone struck silver coins in the name of Rome; but about the year 269 B.C. the Romans saw themselves bound in turn to issue silver coins, according to the prevailing Attic standard (1 drachma equals 1 denarius), while at the same time the copper pieces remained in use as a fractional currency. Thus gradually the Roman-Italian state system entered fully into the commerce of the world.

C. Rome on the Road to Empire

(*a*). *The Struggle for Supremacy in the Western Mediterranean.*—With the entrance of Rome into general commerce begins the struggle which in its consequences determined the course of history in our part of the civilised world. It was a contest between the foremost power in Africa (in the ancient and narrower sense of the word) which had formerly been the ally of the Etruscans and the new leading power in Italy, which since old times had maintained intercourse with the Greek towns of Sicily, Carthage, and Rome. Often in later times these waters have been the theatre of conflicts and struggles for empire, and in our own time the mastery of the Mediterranean seems once more to become one of the great political problems of Europe.

(*a*) The First Punic War

It was in the beginning a struggle for Sicily. Besides the Carthaginian power, which had its strongholds in Lilybæum (near the present Marsala), in Drepana (Trapani), and in Panormus (Palermo), and Syracuse, which ruled the southeasterly part of the island, Campanian mercenaries had seized the power in Mes-

sana, through revolution, and set up a state there, in which Oscan was the official language. These so-called Mamertines found themselves forced to call in the help of their Italian kinsmen and even the Romans if they did not wish to be overpowered by the Syracusans and Carthaginians. Only after considerable hesitation, and after the Carthaginians had already entered Messana, did the Romans determine to cross the straits. After this the Carthaginian garrison, by cunning, force, and negotiations, was made to withdraw (264 B.C.). The Romans remained in Messana, much against the will of the Carthaginians and the Syracusans, who did not, however, long remain united. In the end Syracuse itself went over to the Romans, in order to win support against the selfishness of Carthage. During their united action Agrigentum, a Greek town, but allied with Carthage against Syracuse, was taken. The Carthaginians retained only the places on the western coast, especially Lilybæum, to which at the same time assistance could be sent from Caralis. On the other hand, the Romans renewed the attempt which Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, had made fifty years before, to transfer the theatre of war to Africa.

But a fleet that should be able to face the Carthaginians had first to be built and organised by the Romans; and even then they were no match for their antagonists until they placed soldiers on board the ships and, by the employment of boarding-bridges, transferred to naval warfare the manœuvres of the land army. Thus in the year 260 B.C. the consul M. Duilius succeeded in defeating the Carthaginians at Mylæ, on the northern coast of Sicily, and in annihilating half of their fleet. Encouraged in their projects by this success, the consuls of the year 256 landed an army in Africa, in order to compel Carthage to submit. As the war dragged on, the senate ordered part of the troops to return to Italy, while one of the consuls, M. Atilius Regulus, encamped with the other part near Tunis, and from that point blockaded Carthage. But after the Carthaginians had succeeded in enlisting mercenaries, and the Numidian cavalry had hurried to their assistance, and the Greek tactician Xantippus had properly drilled the troops, Regulus sustained a complete defeat, and only a small portion of his army saw Italy again (255 B.C.).

The war was again restricted to Sicily, Corsica having been previously occupied by the Romans. On the whole, the Roman admirals proved themselves incapable. In particular, they failed to take Sardinia. The southern coast of Sicily, which has no good harbour; and is excessively exposed to the tempestuous south wind, proved repeatedly disastrous to the naval operations. Even at the present day ships sail from Cagliari (the old Caralis) or from Marsala (the old Lilybæum) directly to Tunis, in the vicinity of which ancient Carthage stood, but not from Syracuse or Agrigentum. In western Sicily the Carthaginians held the strongest positions on land also; thus Lilybæum, Drepana, and Mount Eryx, which commands the country eastward of Drepana, and was renowned for its temple of Venus. Mount Eircte, above Panormus (now Monte Pellegrino), was occupied by Hamilcar Barcas, the boldest of Carthaginian generals, and made the starting-point of his raiding expeditions.

Both powers were weakened by a struggle which lasted twenty-three years, and was waged sometimes without spirit, sometimes with renewed energy. In Rome, which was the aggressive party, there were conflicting views. At the outset the senate, as well as the popular assembly, had supported the operations in

Sicily. But their zeal had cooled. The Italian peasantry saw that they would win nothing; that only the wealthy traders would gain by the continuance of the war, especially since the state of war stimulated profitable privateering. The great political aim, the liberation of the coasts and islands of Italy from the foreign dominion, seemed no longer attractive. It was sufficient that Corsica was held, and that Syracuse was a strong ally in Sicily.

The decisive turn in events was given by the wealthy private individuals in Rome, who directed the policy of the state, when they adopted the resolution of equipping a fleet at their own cost, and of once more trying whether permanent success could not be attained in Sicily. The attempt was successful. The Carthaginian fleet, which, heavily laden with reinforcements and provisions, was steering towards the harbour of Drepana, was attacked, defeated, and annihilated off the Ægatian Islands.

The moral effect was still greater than the material loss. The Carthaginians were at the end of their pecuniary resources as much as the Romans were; but, while the latter were waging the war with their own forces, the Carthaginians had their mercenaries to pay, which were collected from Libya, Greece, Gaul, Liguria, and even from among the Campanians. Now, after this last disaster, these soldiers, who had long been put off with promises, could no longer be restrained. They refused to obey orders in Sicily, and soon after in Sardinia and in Africa. The Carthaginian generals, who, with the exception of Hamilcar Barcas, had lost the confidence of their troops, adopted preposterous measures. Rome had offered peace on condition that Sicily was evacuated; Hamilcar Barcas, who conducted the negotiations, laid great stress on the importance of keeping Caralis for Carthage, and had given up Lilybæum and Drepana in exchange. In the meantime, the mercenaries were led over to Africa, although no means were forthcoming to satisfy their demands, nor were any plans formed for keeping the mutinous masses in check. The Carthaginian government had completely lost its head; incompetent aristocrats got themselves appointed as colleagues of Hamilcar Barcas, with equal powers, until he sullenly withdrew. The soldiers then mutinied, and masses of them chose leaders of their own, Campanians, Gauls, or Libyans, with the immediate object of obtaining their pay. But the movement might well have gone further, and Carthage have shared the fate of Messana, where the Mamertines had massacred the males and taken the women for their wives. Even Syracuse was saved from its mercenaries only through the energetic measures of Hiero, a service which gained him the crown.

In the same manner Carthage was now saved, after years of desperate efforts, by Hamilcar Barcas, to whom the terrified citizens entrusted the supreme command with unlimited powers. He brought about a thorough reorganisation of the whole political system. Hamilcar took over the command of the army and the direction of foreign affairs. The aristocratic party, which had shown itself as incapable in carrying on the war as in checking the mutiny, was completely crippled for the future, while Hamilcar handed down his post of general of the state first to his son-in-law and then to his son.

Their policy was directed towards an aggressive war against Rome, which had deprived them of their superiority at sea. The Romans perfidiously availed themselves of the revolt of the mercenaries to seize Sardinia and, above all, Caralis, a point most important for the position of Carthage in the world; and

the Punic capital, busied with internal disorder, had been unable to prevent this. Hamilcar Barcas, like any other Carthaginian, had never been able to forgive the Romans for this step. If we would realise the importance of Caralis, we must study the commercial treaties of the Carthaginians. From them we see that the foreign trade was organised in Carthaginian Sicily on a much freer ystem than in Africa or in Sardinia, which seemed an island belonging to the outhern continent. Trade was here strictly supervised, and the "Sardinian Sea" closed to the subjects of a state which was not admitted to treaty rights. The indignation of the Carthaginians at the loss of Sardinia had greatly contributed to the granting of full power to Hamilcar in carrying out his far-sighted scheme of vengeance.

Since Carthage was outstripped at sea, Hamilcar was driven to commence and operations, in order to acquire for Carthage enlarged spheres of commerce and to renew her position as a power. He went with his army to Spain, where the Phœnicians had till now occupied merely the south coast and the Balearic Isles. From here he pushed into the interior, seized the mining districts, and founded in the neighbourhood an arsenal, with the significant name of "New Carthage." The administration was completely in the hands of the general, who struck coins of his own, and set about bringing the Spanish chiefs into relations of personal loyalty to himself. The trade with Africa revived. Nothing is more characteristic of the citizens of Carthage than that they regarded the whole enterprise, from the commercial point of view, as one intended to replace the lost market with a new one. Only on the north coast was there competition with some Greek towns, which were favoured by Massilia and thus indirectly by Rome. In fact, the Romans demanded that Carthage should not cross the line of the Ebro, and concluded with Saguntum, which actually lay to the south of that river, a treaty, which was expressly recognised by Hasdrubal. The Greek towns in the country, moreover, took an active part in the newly opened trade with Africa, and assimilated their currency to the Carthaginian monetary standards, as had been already done in Sicily by the Carthaginians, who elsewhere retained their Babylonian-Tyrian system of coinage. The Carthaginian commanders required time to complete their scheme of organisation. Hamilcar trained his army and the future generals by constant wars with the natives. Though the business interests of the republic were too vast to allow of any hard-and-fast policy, the preparations for the war of revenge were carried on for decades in Spain with marvellous pertinacity. Meantime, the Romans secured the frontiers of their Italian dominion, in the country of the Po, and on the Illyrian coast. They chastised the pirates of the coasts of Dalmatia and Epirus, who harassed the trade between the seaports of Picenum and the country of the Senones and the Greek places on the islands and on the mainland. The Gallic tribes also north of the Po, especially the Insubrians, were attacked, and two colonies were founded to guard the passages of the river, namely, Cremona and Placentia. Even the country lying farther back, which was still swampy or wooded in many parts, was now opened up, and only the way across the central Apennine passes was avoided, since the Roman generals preferred to march by a long circuit over the Umbrian Mountains in the east or over the most westerly pass from Pisæ to Placentia. Here, in the Celtic country, everything was still incomplete; the territory of the Senones had been allotted to Roman settlers after the former

inhabitants had been expelled by force, and the opposition of the Boii was still to be broken, so that no one at this time contemplated a new war between Rome and Carthage. The Carthaginians could make great exertions in the subjugation of Iberia, the Romans in their wars against the Celts. Between them lay the civilised zone of Massilia, which stretched far into Gaul and the Alps, and after the close of the First Punic War had come into fresh prominence at sea.

(β) THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

It was only owing to unforeseen occurrences that the efforts of Carthage did not lead to a permanent consolidation of its power in Spain. Hamilcar Barcas, after nine years of splendid achievement, was killed in an attack by the enemy (229 B.C.). The army and the Carthaginian generals present recognised his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, as commander; Hamilcar's three sons, whom he had taken with him to Spain, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, were not yet grown up, the eldest being only nineteen years old. The new commander pursued the aims of Hamilcar until he too fell, eight years afterwards, by an assassin's hand (221 B.C.).

The officers and the army now raised the young Hannibal to the supreme command, but not without loud opposition in Carthage against this family policy. This was the reason that Hannibal made an active start to maintain his position. If once the war with Rome was on them, he knew he was secure. Hannibal, after subduing some of the tribes of central Spain, advanced against Saguntum and besieged it with all his forces. He did not trouble himself about the intervention of the Romans; and, indeed, such intervention would have had little effect at Carthage. Thus war was decided on; the senate at Rome deliberated the question at every meeting until the capture of Saguntum was announced. Then it was decided to commence hostilities simultaneously in Africa and in Spain at the beginning of the following year (219 B.C.). Every preparation had been already made at Carthage for this event. Africa was supplied with a strong garrison from Spain, in order to keep in check the Libyan subjects and also the allied tribes, and to guard against any landing of the Romans. A second army, under the command of Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, was to hold Spain, not merely for Carthage, but especially for the Barcidæ. Thence were to be sent the reinforcements which Hannibal might at any time require. Hannibal, with the flower of the army, was to cross the Pyrenees, march through Gaul, and join hands with the Celts on the other side of the Alps, who were still fighting against Rome, or were inclined to rebel — a magnificent plan, and carefully prepared, since already an understanding had been arrived at with the Italian Celts. Its practicability, however, had been overestimated, owing to the deficient geographical knowledge of the time: Hannibal lost half of his troops on the march. Besides this, it had been prematurely undertaken in so far as Spain had not yet been completely pacified; but, whatever the result, it was a marvellous undertaking. Carthaginian officers who accompanied Hannibal, as well as Roman senators who served in the campaign, wrote on the subject (Fabius Pictor, Cincius Alimentus, and others). Two generations later these materials were worked up in a well-ordered way by the Greek, Polybius of Megalopolis, who, during a prolonged stay in Italy, came into close relations with the foremost Roman families, among them the Scipios.

At Rome, after the news of the capture of Saguntum and when negotiations had been broken off, it was resolved to send one consular army on a fleet of one hundred and sixty ships from Sicily to commence an attack on Africa, and to despatch a second to Spain. When this latter landed in the territory of Massilia, the news came of Hannibal's march through the country. A cavalry detachment, sent out to reconnoitre, engaged the enemy in a skirmish, without being able to block the Carthaginian general's passage over the Rhone, or to prevent him from continuing his march to the Alps. The consul, P. Cornelius Scipio, thereupon determined to send a part of his troops into northern Spain under the command of his brother, Cneius, but with the other part to return to his starting-point, Pisæ, and from there to march to Placentia, where, meantime, two prætors were conducting operations against the Celts.

Five months after his start from Carthago Nova, in the late autumn of the year 218, Hannibal arrived with twenty thousand foot-soldiers and six thousand horse among the Celts of Upper Italy, after crossing the Alps by a pass, which cannot be exactly determined (the Little Saint Bernard or Mont Genèvre?); it is noteworthy that he brought with him elephants, which suffered much on this march. He had to fight innumerable skirmishes with the Celtic mountain tribes; and then, when he had reached the plain, the Ligurian tribe of the Taurini showed themselves so hostile that their capital, the present Turin, had to be stormed. The neighbouring Celtic tribes, however, especially the Insubrians, near the present Milan, showed themselves at once ready to support the Carthaginians against the Romans, with whom they had fought some years before; and when Hannibal won considerable successes, first on the Ticinus, the present Ticino (which from this comes into history), against the consul P. Cornelius Scipio, then to the south of the Po, on the river Trebia, where the defile leads into the country of Placentia, against the troops arrived from Sicily, under the other consul, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, a general defection ensued. Even the Ligurians, settled in the south on both sides of the mountains, went over to Hannibal, so that he could take up winter quarters without molestation, and obtain news as to the passes over the Apennines, which were to be crossed at the beginning of the next campaign. Hamilcar's plan to carry the war into Italy had succeeded, though at a great loss in men and animals. The Roman plan of campaign had failed in the first year.

Both consuls were beaten, and the troops sent to Spain were in a dangerous position, as the Punic cruisers cut off all supplies. The excitement at Rome was intense. The consular elections were impending. There were factions even after the settlement of the struggle with the plebeians, who since then had the nomination of one consul. The people were still influenced by agrarian conditions. In the year 233 their leader, C. Flaminius, had proposed and carried the distribution of the Gallic territory north of Picenum among Roman citizens. This C. Flaminius, who did not enjoy the confidence of the other party, was chosen consul as representative of the plebeians: his patrician colleague was Cn. Servilius.

The question how the war was to be conducted was hotly debated at Rome. The party of C. Flaminius was for an energetic attack, the rival party for a more cautious policy. The existing Roman constitution involved the election of two commanders, who followed the suggestions of their party. To Cn.

Servilius fell the supreme command of the army collected at Ariminum; to C. Flaminius that over the second army, posted at Arretium in Etruria. Each consisted of two legions of five thousand (or, precisely, 5200) foot-soldiers and three hundred cavalry. In addition came the divisions of the allies, so that the force of Cn. Servilius was strengthened to forty thousand foot and four thousand horse, and that of C. Flaminius to thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. It was proposed to block the march of the Carthaginians on Rome, should they advance by the Via Flaminia or one of the Ligurian and Etrurian passes. Similar operations had been conducted in the last campaigns against the Celts, in 225, when the Celts invaded Etruria. Besides this, a reserve army of eight thousand men was placed in the Umbrian Alps, near Plestia, under C. Centenius, a man who held no office, to whom the prætor of the city had given the command, because he himself did not venture to leave the city. The start of the two consuls took place, at least as far as C. Flaminius was concerned, under unfavourable auspices, a circumstance which the conservative party employed later greatly to their own advantage.

All was still in confusion when Hannibal advanced to the attack. He did not cross the nearest pass, but marched to the west, where he could avoid the positions of Lucca and Pistoja, and march between them, along the swampy plain of the Arno, to Fæsulæ, a route that no one had considered possible, so that Flaminius was completely surprised. From Fæsulæ, Hannibal struck southward, hardly giving his followers time to recover from the exhausting march, and laid waste the country right under the eyes of the enemy. Flaminius' staff were, however, opposed to attacking until the junction with Cn. Servilius was accomplished. Hannibal then threw himself between the hostile armies. He did not here attack Flaminius, whose attention was chiefly directed to guarding Clusium, but turned south of Cortona, along the lake of Trasimene, towards Perusia, whence he could reach the Flaminian Way, near Fulginium (the present Foligno), the other road which led to Rome. Hannibal foresaw that the consul, fearing to risk his popularity by longer delay, would follow him, and laid an ambush for Flaminius near the lake, which is surrounded on the north by a range of hills. The Roman army fell into the trap; on a misty morning, attacked simultaneously in front and in the rear, it was completely broken up; C. Flaminius himself was killed, and the next day the Roman vanguard, which had escaped, was compelled to surrender.

The road by Fulginium was thus open to Hannibal. He sent on his advance guard as far as Spoletium and Narnia, places which were put into a state of siege; the bridges also were broken down. In consequence, Hannibal resolved to try the other road, which the victory at Trasimene had opened. He first broke up the reserve army of the Romans on the height of the Camerinian Alps, near the lake of Plestia. Plestia was a considerable place in antiquity, situated between Foligno and Camerino; nothing is left of it now but a church, Santa Maria di Pistia, which is now used as an arsenal; the lake is dried up. Hannibal then crossed over to Picenum. (See map at pp. 338, 339.) Servilius, who, on receiving news, had sent out his cavalry from Etruria and followed with the infantry, saw that he had come too late. Without making an attack, he withdrew to Ariminum and the fortresses near the Po, while Hannibal reached the coast of the Adriatic Sea on the tenth day after the battle at Trasimene, and there obtained rich

sources of supplies for his troops (spring of 217). The horses in particular, whose numbers had been much diminished by the exertions of the campaign so far, were the object of Hannibal's greatest attention. He equipped his Libyan infantry with Roman weapons, since these had proved superior in the previous battles. Booty was abundant. Joy reigned at Carthage, and the necessary reinforcements were sent to Spain as well as to Italy. The countries of the East had already fixed their eyes on affairs in Italy, since the whole basin of the Mediterranean must have been concerned in the outcome of a struggle which had assumed such dimensions.

At Rome all was confusion when the news of the defeat at Lake Trasimene, and soon after of that at Plestia, arrived. As it was thought that the enemy must immediately advance against the capital, the divisions of seniors, who were not bound to serve in the field, were called out; at the same time, with the omission of the usual formalities, since the one consul was dead, the other absent, Q. Fabius Maximus, the old leader of the conservatives against the agitations of C. Flaminius, was appointed dictator. Sixteen years before he had celebrated a triumph over the Ligurians. Fabius took over the army of Cn. Servilius, strengthened it by new levies, and followed Hannibal, who, meantime, marched through the country of the Prætutti (from whom the "Abruzzi" derives its name), the Marrucini, and the Frentani, meeting with no resistance, for here, on the east coast, the Romans had no colony south of Hadria, while the federal towns possessed only antiquated fortifications. All that remained loyal to Rome was ravaged by Hannibal. At the same time, he accelerated the process of defection from Rome. The opposition of the individual tribes and towns to Rome revived; all that had been suppressed by the Romans rose once more. In Lower Italy there was the rivalry of the Lucani and Bruttii with the Greek towns; in Apulia, the opposition of Canusium and Arpi; in Campania, the intolerance of the Roman rule; and the same with the Samnites. But the Latin colonies everywhere remained true to Rome; and Hannibal was, therefore, compelled to take the Adriatic littoral north of Apulia as the base of his operations.

The policy of Q. Fabius Maximus was to conduct the war cautiously, since, indeed, C. Flaminius, holding the opposite view, had lost his army and his life by his impetuous action. Accordingly, when he reached Apulia from Latium, Fabius marched after the enemy at a safe distance, and avoided every encounter, in the hope of wearying and outmanœuvring the Carthaginian general. But Hannibal comprehended this method of fighting, since he was accustomed to study, not merely the country, but the opposing general. He attacked the allies, who remained loyal to the Romans, before the eyes of the "Delayer" (Cunctator). He crossed into the valley of the Volturnus and ravaged the territory of Beneventum. He advanced into Campania, where he plundered the rich land north of Capua. He then went unhindered past Samnium into the territory of the Frentani, in which he accumulated great stores for the winter, without being attacked by the dictator, so that, finally, Q. Fabius lost his reputation with the army and the popular assembly. The more energetic *magister equitum*, M. Minucius, was given equal powers with the dictator, an unparalleled step. But when M. Minucius, soon afterwards, through his rashness, came near to being crushed by Hannibal, and Fabius went to his aid, popular feeling changed once more in favour of the dictator. His term of office expired after six months'

tenure, when Cn. Servilius, as consul, began to officiate again, together with the colleague chosen in place of C. Flaminius. There were already agitations about the consular elections of the ensuing year.

L. Æmilius Paullus, who had previously held a command in the wars against the Celts and the Illyrians, was chosen out of the patricians; C. Terentius Varro, who had led the opposition against Q. Fabius Maximus, was the plebeian choice. The senate resolved to raise the consular armies to double their ordinary strength, that is, that each consul should have four legions, instead of two, under his command. This, with the contingents of allies, would give an army of eighty thousand men. Troops were also sent against the Celts on the Po, who had provisioned the Spanish army. The consuls of the previous year and the more experienced troops were assigned to the army operating against Hannibal, in order to resist him more stubbornly. The war was to be decided once for all this year, 216 B.C., by one mighty effort.

Hannibal had encamped during the winter with his army, which amounted to forty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, at Gereonium, in the country of the Frentani (near Casacalenda, now on the railway system Termoli-Benevento). His strength lay in his cavalry and after that in the troops which he had brought with him from Spain. The Celts, who had shared the march through the swamps of Etruria, the battle of Trasimene, and the passage over the mountains into Lower Italy, would never have followed another general as they did Hannibal, whose bravery filled them with awe, and whose successes astonished them. He was the soul of an army composed of soldiers of the most distinct nationalities; there were Africans, Iberians, Ligurians, Celts, men from the Balearic Islands, and emigrants from the Greek towns of Sicily, where one party favoured Carthage, and most of its leaders were, consequently, in exile at Carthage. Hannibal himself, married to a Spanish wife, and possessing the Greek education then prevalent in the basin of the Mediterranean, revered, next to his father Hamilcar, Alexander the Great and Pyrrhus of Epirus, whom he took as models. Maharbal, his second-in-command, who had done excellent service at Trasimene and at Plestia, stood at his side. After the decisive battle in Etruria, he had followed the surviving Romans and had concluded terms of surrender with them, which were disregarded by Hannibal. The latter ordered the Roman citizens to be thrown into chains, but let the allies go free. He waged war, he said, only with Rome. By this policy he hoped to dissolve the Italian confederacy, to restrict Rome once more to Latium, and to make Campania and Samnium independent. This had been the state of affairs some hundred years before, when the first commercial treaties between Rome and Carthage were effected. Sardinia and western Sicily were to become once more Carthaginian, and Syracuse was to withdraw from the alliance with Rome. The Carthaginian plan included a general political reaction towards the old state system.

This was the stake played for when Hannibal, in the year 216, opened the campaign in Apulia. The Romans had accumulated their supplies in the district of Canusium, near Cannæ, in the well-cultivated country on the river Aufidus, which was protected against an immediate attack of the Carthaginians by the colony of Luceria, and in the south had a stronghold in the colony of Venusia. Hannibal, nevertheless, was successful in taking Cannæ, by which means he came into possession of a strategically important point. This brought on the decisive battle which

both sides wished for. Hannibal, in order to manœuvre his cavalry, required a level country, a battle-field, which, therefore, the Romans ought to have avoided. But they were without any unity of leadership, for the two consuls held the command on alternate days, as prescribed by the Roman constitution. Nor could the two commanders agree, so that the choice of the battle-field was left to the enemy. Hannibal posted the Iberians and the Africans on the wings, the Celts in the centre, where he himself was. He knew that the Celts would stand firm if it was war to the death, and, besides that, they had him with them. The infantry, generally, was to keep the serried columns of the Romans engaged, and the cavalry to operate on the flanks and in the rear of the enemy until an advance should complete their overthrow. This ably planned manœuvre succeeded entirely, and resulted in a defeat such as the Romans never before nor since sustained. The "black" day of the Allia, when the Celts overthrew the Romans, was matched by the "black" day of Cannæ, when Hannibal conquered the two consuls, of whom Æmilius Paullus, with many others (including Cn. Servilius), perished; and Terentius Varro escaped to Venusia. The Roman army lost seventy thousand men, while the rest were scattered in all directions.

Hannibal seemed to have attained the goal of his policy, and his father's plan appeared to be completely realised. Not only Arpi in Apulia, Tarentum and the other Greek towns of Lower Italy (Rhegium excepted), with the majority of the Bruttii, but even Capua, the second town in Italy after Rome, with which it had been for more than one hundred years closely united, went over to the Carthaginians, and Hannibal declared his intention to make Capua the first town of the peninsula. Syracuse also broke the treaty with Rome and joined the Carthaginians. King Philip of Macedonia meditated opening negotiations with Hannibal, since the interests of his kingdom on the Illyrian coast had been harmed by repeated attacks of the Romans. Egypt alone of the Eastern powers observed a friendly neutrality towards Rome, since Alexandria disputed with Carthage for the position of the first commercial city. Italy, which had suffered immensely during the war, drew its supply of grain from Egypt.

The Roman government called out for service the entire male population capable of bearing arms. Even slaves were brought into the ranks of the legions on the promise that they should be emancipated if they fought well. This shows the favourable position which up to this time the servants enjoyed under the *patres familiarum*. Rome thus placed on a war footing in *one* year twenty-two or twenty-three legions, not full ones, of course, while at the commencement (217) only thirteen legions in all were put into the field. In addition, there were troops outside of Italy, in Sardinia, Sicily, and in Spain. There was the necessity of being on the watch against a diversion from Macedonia; and, consequently, a garrison was kept up in Brundisium. Finally, one or two armies were kept in the North, to intercept contingents from the Celtic country or reinforcements from Spain. But without reinforcements Hannibal was not in a position to assume the offensive against Rome by himself, while the Romans could send out their forces, under their best commanders, to the critical points; first of all, against Syracuse and Capua, over the defection of which the greatest bitterness prevailed. The siege of the two towns, the scenes of the chief operations of the next years, was difficult, owing to the desperate resistance of the guilty parties. But it was successfully brought to a close, and a terrible retribu-

tion was exacted. Syracuse was sacked and then changed into a provincial town (212 B.C.). In Capua, after the execution of all suspected persons, the town territory was proclaimed forfeited to the victor, by which means the most fertile part of Campania became the public domain of the Romans. The town itself was reduced to a village, a sort of appanage of the temple of Diana on Mount Tifata, a famous place of pilgrimage above the town, which was not molested on religious grounds. The territory of the Capuans retained this position till the time of Julius Cæsar.

Hannibal had in vain staked everything to free Capua. Once, in a bold march, of which later writers had many stories to relate, he had advanced right up to the walls of Rome, in order thus to draw off the blockading army. There was great alarm in Rome at his approach, but Hannibal could not seriously attempt an attack on the well-fortified capital, and withdrew.

The Carthaginians had tried to relieve Syracuse by their fleet. But it was shown that Rome since the end of the First Punic War had the superiority at sea. In Spanish waters Massilia, her ally, offered the desired support. The Carthaginian fleet proved too weak, and did not risk a battle. Communication with Carthage, which had been open after the battles at Lake Trasimene and at Cannæ, was now cut off. It followed that Hannibal could no longer be informed of important matters, while the Romans, with their privateers, took prisoners, from whom they received timely news of their adversary's plans.

The alliance with Philip of Macedonia was not effective, because guerilla warfare in Greece, especially with the Ætolians, demanded the attention of King Philip of Macedonia and his Achæan allies, and then the Romans made a demonstration with a fleet in Greek waters.

Hannibal stood on the defence, without trying to bring matters to a decision. The Romans took Tarentum from him, but lost in the year 208 both consuls, for whom Hannibal had laid an ambush. He wished, however, to await the reinforcements which his brother, Hasdrubal, was to bring him overland from Spain. Although the Carthaginians had experienced a heavy blow from the young P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of the consul, in 218, when he took New Carthage by a stratagem and made their allies waver, Hasdrubal succeeded in crossing the Pyrenees in 208 and in leading his army through Gaul over the Alps, under decidedly more favourable conditions than his brother had done ten years before; a proof of the important effect which the march of Hannibal had produced even in subsequent years towards opening the lines of communication from the West to the East. The winter of 208-7 Hasdrubal spent in the Celtic territory, planning in the spring to advance to Umbria by the Flaminian road. This plan was frustrated, because the messengers of Hasdrubal never reached his brother, but were captured. The whole plan was betrayed to the Romans, who could take their counter-measures. One consular army, under M. Livius Salinator, guarded the Flaminian road; the other, under C. Claudius Nero, opposed Hannibal in Lucania. When Claudius learned from the captured despatches the combined movements of the Carthaginian generals, he determined on a bold manœuvre, which proves that the Roman commanders had greatly improved in strategy in the war with Hannibal. Claudius left part of his troops behind, facing Hannibal, who undertook no serious operations, but awaited news. The Romans had other principles than we moderns for the rapid concentration of an army on one point.

The consul hurried on northward with the best troops, while he requisitioned wagons and placed his men in them, in order to unite with M. Livius for the decisive blow against Hasdrubal. They met him south of the river Metaurus, near Sena Gallica. Hasdrubal did not wish to fight alone; but while trying to escape he was overtaken, defeated, and slain. The expedition coming to his aid from North Italy, strengthened by the Celts, an expedition on which Hannibal rested all his hopes, was frustrated by this battle. C. Claudius hastened back after the battle as quickly as he had come, and in six days he was again with his troops in the South. The head of his brother, Hasdrubal, was thrown into Hannibal's camp.

From that time Hannibal gave up the war as lost, but maintained his position in the country of the Bruttii, although restricted to a constantly diminishing territory. He finally took up his position in the country round Croton, not far from the Lacinian Promontory, where the famous shrine of Juno was. Here he placed a votive offering with an inscription, in which he stated the number of the troops with which he had come out of Spain into Italy to fight Rome, his hereditary foe. *Castra Hannibalis* remained in the recollection of later ages as the name of the place. The decisive blow came from the secondary theatres of war. P. Cornelius Scipio had formed alliances in Spain with the Numidian chiefs, among whom there were two rival chiefs, the young Masinissa and Syphax. Mago, the youngest brother of Hannibal, finally evacuated the country of Gades, in order to cut his way through with the fleet to Hannibal. Thereupon Scipio received at Rome the consulship for 205 and at the same time the command in Sicily, with permission to transfer the war thence to Africa. In fact, Scipio landed in the year 204 in Africa, where the allies of the Carthaginians were then troublesome and Numidian dissension was at work. The Carthaginian supremacy began to totter, as formerly in the year 241. Masinissa succeeded in taking the kingdom of Syphax, and proved himself the most active partisan of the Romans, in consequence of which the Carthaginian troops were everywhere beaten.

In these circumstances the Carthaginian government resolved to summon to their aid Hannibal and his army from Italy. It was in the year 202, sixteen years after Hannibal had first trodden the soil of Italy. He obeyed the summons. As negotiations with Scipio led to no results, arms had to decide. At Naraggara, in the vicinity of Zama (there were two places of this name, which makes the matter difficult to settle), five days' march from Carthage, the armies met. The Carthaginians lost the battle, since their opponents were far superior in cavalry, and Scipio had manœuvred skilfully. After the fight Hannibal rode to the coast, two hundred miles away. He soon became convinced that further resistance was impossible.

Terms of peace were proposed, according to which Carthage gave up all her foreign possessions, not only the islands, but also Spain, and renounced all aspirations for an independent foreign policy. She had to recognise Masinissa as ruler of Numidia, to surrender her fleet, and pay the costs of the war. Carthage was now a petty state, as Rome had been one hundred and fifty years before, and was restricted to her original territory. The allied towns, Utica, Hadrumetum, Leptis, were put into a position to resist successfully the efforts which Carthage made once more to consolidate her possessions.

D. The First Encroachment of Rome on the Shores of the Eastern Mediterranean

By the peace of the year 201, the positions of the Powers in the basin of the Mediterranean were finally changed. Carthage, whose influence formerly extended from Phœnicia to the Pillars of Hercules, had been hurled from her proud place; Italy, until then the plaything of foreign nations, now set about arranging the frontiers on a system much more favourable to herself, especially those of the opposite coasts, Africa, Spain, Illyricum, and Greece. But she had also gained a firm place in the state system of the East. Friendly relations had been established with Egypt at the time hostilities against Macedonia commenced in the last war; and as Macedonia, in combination with Syria, opposed the annexations which had been claimed or brought about by the Ptolemies in favour of the Alexandrian trade, Syria also was confronted with Rome. Besides Egypt, the smaller states, which were oppressed by the adjoining great powers, such as Pergamus and Rhodes, rested their hopes on Rome. Macedonia was humiliated in the year 197 by the victory at the "Dog's Heads" (Cynoscephalæ, near Pharsalus), and the Illyrian coast was permanently occupied. But Greece, the mother of all higher culture in Rome, from an enthusiastic love of Hellenism, was declared to be free.

Some years after, war followed with Antiochus of Syria, who had interfered with Greek commerce. Hannibal, who had been exiled from Carthage, was with Antiochus, although the proud Asiatics paid little heed to his advice. While Macedonia remained neutral, Pergamus and Rhodes caused the Romans, who had driven the king out of Greece, to cross over to Asia (190 B.C.). The consul, L. Cornelius Scipio, brother of Publius, led the army across. Antiochus met with so decisive a defeat at Magnesia on Sipylus that he was forced to evacuate the territories this side of the Taurus, then an important boundary between states and races (cf. p. 153). At Ilium, Scipio greeted the supposed kinsmen of the Romans. Pergamus and Rhodes had ample territory allotted to them, while the Galatians, who for a century had played a chief part in all Asiatic struggles, were attacked and punished by an expedition into their homes in the year 189. Hannibal, hunted from one corner to another, died by his own hand at the little town of Libyssa in Bithynia. There a Roman emperor of Punic descent, Septimius Severus, erected a monument to him almost four hundred years afterwards. Such was the end of the great antagonist of the Romans. He died in 183 B.C. at the age of sixty-five, about the same time that P. Cornelius Scipio died.

The great revolution which the Hannibalic War had begun in Italy was now completed. All the communities which had deserted to Hannibal were punished by the loss of their territory, which was distributed among Roman colonists or allies who had remained loyal. Tarentum, Croton, Thurii, Sipontum, were made colonies, and in this way the superiority of the Latin to the Greek population was established for the future. The same was the case on the Lucanian coast, where Pæstum was founded as a colony. On the gulf, northward, the town Picetia had previously stood: this was reduced to a village, on account of its decided leaning towards the Carthaginians, and the colony of Salernum, the modern Salerno, was planted on its territory. In the district of Naples the

colony of Puteoli was founded, which soon attracted a great share of the transmarine commerce.

In a similar way the Romans were active on their northern frontiers. The Celts and Ligurians had to pay for their conduct in showing themselves so conciliatory and helpful to Hannibal. The two colonies of Placentia and Cremona, especially, were strengthened, the Apennine passes and the valleys leading to them were cleared, and complete cantons were transplanted, partly into the plain, partly further away. Two tribes of the Ligurians came thus into the country north of Beneventum, where we meet them even in imperial times. The districts which had shown themselves of importance during the Hannibalic War were secured by the planting of colonies. Such were sent to Luna (in the vicinity of the modern Spezia and Carrara) and to Luca in the Ligurian territory. In the Celtic country Bononia was then made a colony; soon afterwards followed Mutina and Parma, then Aquileia in the country of the Veneti, and, finally, Eporedia (the present Ivrea) at the foot of the important Alpine pass leading to Transalpine Gaul. The construction of roads went hand in hand with this process, highways being built from Arretium to Bononia and from Ariminum to Placentia. The latter road was called the "Æmilian," after the constructor. It had such effect on the development of the whole region that the district was afterwards called Æmilia, after the road.

Thus the Roman-Italian power on the Apennine Peninsula was once more put on a firm basis. The Po district was already reckoned geographically as belonging to Italy, although strictly, according to political laws, Italy did not extend beyond the Arnus and Ariminum. Like Sicily and Sardinia (with Corsica), Cisalpine Gaul also was a province, but it was administered, not by prætors, but directly by the consuls.

3. ROME UNDER THE RULE OF THE OLIGARCHY AND DURING THE REVOLUTION

THE senate of Rome, which directed the internal and external policy, still stood at the head of the state. It was the supreme arbiter of the affairs of the Italian confederacy and, outside Italy, of all powers in the basin of the Mediterranean. It had to be ready to answer all questions which concerned the narrow home territory, as well as to settle the disputes of African or Asiatic potentates. If we add to this the economic conditions, which were given quite a new aspect by the victories of Rome, and now required serious consideration, we can estimate what a burden of business was then weighing on the Roman government.

This government formed a complete oligarchy, since the magistrates were only the executive organs of the senate. The popular assembly submitted usually to the will of the senate, even in the matter of the election of the magistrates. It was exceptional for an opposition to be formed and have its candidate elected. The representative of the opposition could, as consul, effect very little against the will of the senate, and this was ensured by the circumstances that the other consul necessarily belonged to the opposite party, and that the consent of the two consuls was requisite for every act of government. Besides this, the office

only lasted one year, when the senate was again free of any undesirable man. Re-election, according to the more recent laws, was possible only after a considerable interval. In the senate itself there were rival factions, in which personal rather than real differences mostly turned the scale. Thus M. Porcius Cato, a Tusculan, who had acquired the highest reputation in Rome, opposed all his life the group of the Scipios. These prided themselves on having fought the battles of the republic in Spain, Africa, and Asia. The one brother took the name "Africanus," the other "Asiaticus." In answer to which, Cato, in his History of Ancient Italy, took care to mention, not the names of the great generals, but only that of a famous war elephant, the "Syrus."

With reference to foreign policy, the question was long debated whether dependent principalities should be governed by client kings ("friends and allies of the Roman people"), and dependent republics by the party which observed the interests of Rome (when Macedonia rose, under King Perseus, it was divided in the year 168 into four republics), or whether it was better to place them under the direct administration of the Roman state. In the latter case it was usual to nominate a commission of ten senators and to place the country in question under a "prætor," annually appointed. He was not merely a judge, but also a general; and, therefore, exercised within the province the functions of the old consuls in an undiminished form. This was the administration established by Rome in Sicily, Sardinia, and in Hither and Farther Spain; after 146 B.C. in Africa and in Macedonia; after 133 in Asia, as the province was called which was formed out of the confiscated kingdom of Pergamus; and, finally, in Gallia Narbonensis, which was made a province in 121 B.C.

The internal organisation was always based on the existing state of things, since, on the one hand, the Punic and Hellenistic civilisation was superior to the Roman; and, on the other, the Celtic system was incompatible with the Roman. Consideration had to be paid to the cantonal constitution and clan system of the Celts. Thus a treaty was concluded with the Hædui in Transalpine Gaul, by which these were styled "brothers and kinsmen" (*fratres et consanguinei*) of the Romans; and, therefore, the identical obligation to blood vengeance and support was formed, which was customary among the allied Celtic tribes.

After the Punic wars a class of citizens which in earlier times had not come into prominence became of great importance, the "knights," so called because the wealthier citizens discharged their military service in the cavalry. They became the real capitalists of the state, since it required larger means to carry on its foreign operations. Thus the first Punic War had been brought to a favourable conclusion entirely through the voluntary contributions of these persons, and the second by the employment of their slaves for military purposes, particularly on the fleet. The owners had only stipulated that they should be indemnified after victory had been gained. In fact, the equestrian order, which was organised about the middle of the second century as a peculiar class between the senatorial families and the plebs, proceeded eagerly to turn political success most fully to their own interests.

According to the views of antiquity, not only the goods and chattels, but also the person of the conquered, was at the disposal of the conqueror. On this rested the system of slavery, which has impressed a particular stamp on every ancient

state, as compared with modern conditions. Whenever a peace was concluded with a conquered opponent, it was made always on such conditions that the conqueror enjoyed permanent advantages. If the weaker party, nevertheless, recovered its strength, it was threatened to such an extent that its existence was at stake; and if it defended itself, then a pretext had been found to put an end to it.

In this way the Roman state proceeded against Carthage, which, after the loss of her sovereignty, flourished, nevertheless, as a commercial city, in spite of the competition of Alexandria and much to the chagrin of the Roman merchants. These took advantage of the dread which still possessed men's minds after the Hannibalic wars to accomplish the destruction of Carthage, which was carried out in 146 B.C. after a memorable resistance by the desperate inhabitants. In the same year the disturbances which had broken out in Greece were made an excuse for the destruction of Corinth, which stood as much in the way of the Roman capitalists as Carthage. The place where these towns had stood was cursed, so that a restoration of them might never succeed; and, in reality, such a restoration took place only under the emperors.

The detailed history of Polybius goes as far as these events, the overthrow of Carthage and Corinth. In the suite of his pupil, Scipio Æmilianus, he was an eye-witness of the destruction of Carthage; and afterwards went to Greece, or, as it was now called, Achaia, in the interests of his countrymen.

The associations of Roman merchants and of the "Italian" merchants, who in foreign countries were closely connected with them, extended soon over the most important places in the dependent countries, over Africa and Numidia, over Greece and the Orient. They formed everywhere a distinct privileged company, whose political and economic power was not only felt abroad, but reacted at home. The republic was repeatedly forced to undertake a campaign, because the Roman traders abroad had met with some unpleasant experiences, even though they themselves were in the wrong. If a war proved disastrous, a monetary crisis occurred at Rome, such as Cicero depicts at the time of the Mithradatic War. If, on the other hand, a new province was marked out, the Italian capitalists were there at once, in order to do business. It may be that they advanced money to the conquered at high interest, or that they farmed the whole revenue of the province, since the Roman state, following the model of Carthage and Alexandria, preferred indirect to direct management of taxation. The "publicani" (that is, the farmers of the state revenues) were an object, not merely of fear, but also of hatred, to the provincials, as was shown in a sanguinary fashion at every revolt. While the merchant class obtained in this way their part of the spoils of the new world sovereignty, the Roman peasant proprietor, who had taken the most considerable share in the victories of the republic, had obtained as reward absolute exemption from taxes; for now the requirements of the state could easily be met by the income from the public domains and by the taxation of foreign subjects. A development was now brought about which no one had anticipated. The farmers, instead of being placed out of the reach of peril by the immunity from taxation, were oppressed by evils of another sort. The agricultural interests, which had suffered terribly during the long war with Hannibal, owing to the long terms of military service and the devastation of wide tracts of land, were now injured by the superior

competition of the subject countries, Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa, countries which supplied cheap grain to Italy, and, indeed, had to furnish it as a tax in kind, since in this way full advantage was taken of their submission; and in this connection the trifling cost of freight to the western coast of Italy did not come into the question. It was soon discovered that it barely paid to grow grain — one of the blessings of the empire. The state of affairs was somewhat better in the countries of the allies far from the capital, and especially on the east coast of Italy, in Picenum, and elsewhere. The country towns of Latium began to lose their populations, while crowds collected in Rome, in order to enjoy as "Roman people," without work, the theatre, which produced the comedies of Plautus (up to 184), of Terence (after 166), and of other less distinguished but popular authors, as well as the public games, which were always being produced on an increasing scale of magnificence, and to make themselves influential in the public assemblies. Thus the right of the liberty of migration and of voting in the assembly of citizens, which had been granted to the Latins in olden times and under quite other circumstances, was now valuable indeed.

While the constitution of the popular assemblies was altered by this circumstance, as well as by the fact that the numerous freedmen desired some, even if limited, recognition, the reaction on the character of the army must not be overlooked, since political rights and military service were most closely connected at Rome. The old organisation of the army, ascribed to King Servius Tullius, took as a basis the wealth of the citizens. Since every citizen soldier had to pay for his equipment, the wealthiest were enrolled in the cavalry, while the arming of the infantry was graduated in a descending scale down to the proletarians, who in case of need had to be provided by the state with arms, but usually were not taken into account at all. After the Hannibalic War this system could no longer be observed; on the contrary, the material for the army grew worse as economic conditions failed to improve. This was shown by the wars against Macedonia and in the fighting before Carthage, and Numantia (in Spain, near the present Soria, not far from the source of the Durius, now Duëro), where the Roman armies, with their train of grooms, loose women, and sutlers, for years achieved no success.

The political and social ferment which prevailed in Italy spread far beyond its borders. In Greece, about the middle of the second century, socialistic agitations were rife. In Sicily great masses of slaves, whom the Roman knights employed after the Carthaginian fashion to cultivate the soil, broke away and ravaged the whole island for a year. This same economic policy had been already recommended for Italy by radical economists. The speculators, who returned from the provinces to Italy with the riches they had won, bought up tracts of land and cultivated them by unfree labour, which had become unusually cheap. The Carthaginian literature on the subject of agriculture was translated into Latin. On the other hand, a man of a practical and conservative mind, like M. Porcius Cato, defended the traditional Italian method of agriculture.

It was recognised with alarm by the best element of the Roman republic that the nation was being ruined by the so-called empire. Thus has Spain been ruined by empire, and England must strain to maintain her position externally while she suffers great changes internally. Men began to speak in Rome of how their ancestors had checked the excessive accumulation of landed property in

the hands of individuals at the cost of the small proprietors. In point of fact, there was as little lack of laws on the subject in Rome as in the Greek states. It had been settled in antiquity that no one should be allowed to possess more than five hundred *jugera* of the Roman public land, and at the same time that the buying out of the smaller farmers by speculators should be prohibited.

The reform party at Rome, which proposed to check the ruin of the farmer class, identified itself with these restrictive measures. In this connection we may recall the agitation which was directed sixty years ago in England against the repeal of the corn laws. Since then arable land has been continuously changed into pasturage. The number of farm labourers constantly diminishes, while that of industrial workers, who must be fed by imports, is increasing. In Germany at the present day the agrarian and the industrial interests are equally at variance. As no one of the more experienced statesmen at Rome ventured to come forward — since manifold difficulties must have been in the way of such a "reactionary" policy — Tiberius and Caius Sempronius Gracchus, two young men, who belonged to the plebeian nobility, did so, one after the other. They were both tribunes of the plebs, and were fired by the example of the Greeks. In the previous century an effort had been made once more to bring into prominence the Spartan state on the basis of the "Lycurgan laws"; and, after Polybius had become the counsellor of Scipio Æmilianus, Greek tutors were customary in all noble families.

The senate was opposed to the discussion of these questions, especially since long-established proprietary rights were at issue. One even of the tribunes of the people, Cn. Octavius, who was a personal friend of Tiberius Gracchus, and enjoyed his respect, spoke against this proposition. Tiberius Gracchus then allowed himself to be forced into an unconstitutional step. He brought forward in the popular assembly a proposal to depose his colleague, and carried his point. It was decided to elect an agrarian commission, which should regulate the conditions of land tenure. When Tiberius Gracchus, his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, and his younger brother, Gaius, were elected, the optimates grew irritated, as the whole matter was thus placed in the hands of one family. In order to secure his inviolability, Tiberius Gracchus sought re-election to the tribunate of the people, which was a step contrary to constitutional tradition, and caused a violent demonstration in the senate. It declared its political opponent a national enemy, who was not entitled to a regular trial. This involved a suspension of constitutional rights, against which the consul, Q. Mucius, a skilful lawyer, in vain urged objections. On the day of election a riot ensued: a senator, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, placed himself at the head of the opposite faction, which was armed with clubs; Tiberius Gracchus fled and lost his life. His adherents were prosecuted for high treason, and the execution of the agrarian laws was crippled by the fact that the jurisdiction over the disputed proprietary rights was withdrawn from the commission and given over to the consuls. Nevertheless, the laws of Tiberius Gracchus remained in force and filled all Italy with factions, since the territories of the allies were equally affected. The question was then first mooted whether it would not be advisable to concede to the allies the Roman citizenship, since only in this way could agrarian reform be possible for the whole peninsula.

The movement received fresh life when, ten years after Tiberius, his younger brother, Gaius Gracchus, became tribune of the people (123 B.C.). He was more

gifted, but also more impetuous, than his brother, for whose death he had vowed to take vengeance on the aristocracy. During the two years that he was in office he took the initiative in all administrative and constitutional questions, one plan rapidly following another. The machinery of the state was put into motion: C. Gracchus reorganised the system of Italian roads, and led colonies to Tarentum and Squillacium in Lower Italy, and originated the custom that the senate should dispose of the consular provinces even before the periodical consular elections. Further, in order to secure support for himself, Gaius carried a measure that the knights should farm the taxes of the newly constituted province of Asia, an arrangement convenient to the state treasury, and profitable to the syndicate of capitalists, but disastrous, indeed, to the subjects who were oppressed and impoverished by the moneyed classes. A more sweeping measure, by which C. Gracchus sowed discord between the senatorial order and the knights, was that by which the functions of jurymen in matters of administration, which up till now, in accordance with custom, had been exercised by men of senatorial rank, were transferred to the knights, under the pretext that the senatorial jurisdiction over the provincial administration had not proved to be satisfactory, since it was prejudiced by caste considerations. In this way Gaius made the capitalists his political friends.

C. Gracchus met his ruin before he was able to carry out the intended reform of the agrarian question. It was difficult for such a statesman to hold his position, since, indeed, the constitution strictly forbade re-election after the expiration of the official year, and because the citizens from outlying districts seldom came more than once in the year to Rome for the purpose of voting. Finally, numerous separate interests conflicted. The Roman citizens and the Italian allies could not be brought into common action. The bestowal of the citizenship on the allies met with little support at Rome, since the dominant people preferred to enjoy their privileges alone; in consequence of this, both classes of the population of Italy now began to scan each other with hostile looks. Even the plan of Gaius, to devote to the settlement of indigent Roman citizens not only Italy, but also the adjoining provinces, as Africa and the part of Gaul beyond the Alps which was occupied to secure the land route into Spain, appeared at the outset so novel that the conservative party had good reason to hope for a change in public feeling. And this, indeed, resulted while Gaius was detained for two months in the district of Carthage (which had been destroyed and laid under a curse), occupied with measurements and other preparations for founding a colony there. In his absence his opponents carried the election of L. Opimius as consul, who immediately opposed Gaius, since he was no longer tribune. As this led to a rising of the Gracchean party, the consul was invested by the senate with extraordinary powers. The adherents of Gracchus were attacked by force of arms and conquered. Gaius himself ordered his slave to kill him during the rout. In addition, the rising cost the lives of some three thousand of his partisans (121 B.C.).

The agrarian agitation was, it is true, continued for some years, but the rights of private proprietors, in the form they had now assumed, were not attacked any more. The African system of *latifundia* was preserved only in some districts of Lower Italy. Near Rome, in the direction of Etruria, as well as of Campania, centres of the agricultural population no longer existed. When the

Latin feast was celebrated on the Alban Mountain, fewer and fewer claims were made at the distribution of the meat-offering. Places like Gabii, Labicum, Bovillæ, were almost deserted; Fidenæ was an insignificant village; of Ardea, only the name was left; other places had disappeared without a trace, and the farmers had departed. Only the villas of the Roman nobles in the immediate vicinity of the capital, on the Alban Hills, in the Volscian territory, near Tibur and Tusculum, and on the seashore, brought life into the country in the best season of the year. If a politician was for a time out of office, he would spend the whole period at his Tusculum or Albanum or on the Campanian coast, whither the elder Scipio Africanus had withdrawn in dudgeon, and where, later, Lucullus laid out his splendid gardens. Thus the agricultural aspect of entire districts had completely altered within a few decades. The successors of the farmers from Latium, southern Etruria, and further afield, composed the proletariat of the capital, and were, according to a law which C. Gracchus had passed, fed with corn at the cost of the state. For the future, senators, knights, and proletarians shared in the profits of empire.

After the downfall of C. Gracchus the centre of gravity again rested with the senate, which had assumed the protection of the conservative interests against the revolutionaries. The Roman annals of this period are equally tinged with conservatism. Not until the ensuing period do the political speeches have a party character. But there was much that was corrupt in the ranks of these "conservatives." This was especially apparent in the sphere of provincial administration and in the disputes which broke out at that time among the successors of King Masinissa of Numidia.

Jugurtha, an illegitimate descendant of Masinissa, who had gained the friendship of the Roman aristocracy in the war before Numantia, expelled and murdered his cousins, the princes Adherbal and Hiempsal, in order to make himself sole ruler. In Rome this conduct had met with lenient criticism, until the tribunes of the people, from party considerations, revealed the systematic bribery to which Jugurtha owed this indulgence. After the most respected heads of the governing party had been compromised in the matter, the scandal became greater by the way in which the punishment which had been resolved upon for Jugurtha was carried out. Jugurtha himself, as soon as he had been admitted to the negotiations, came to Rome. He knew that everything, the city itself in the last extremity, had its price. When, at the urgent pressure of the opposition, active measures were taken against him, he inflicted a defeat on the Roman army. The war continued, greatly influenced by the attitude of parties in the city; we have an excellent account of the course of affairs in the monograph of Sallustius Crispus, who wrote as a partisan of Julius Cæsar.

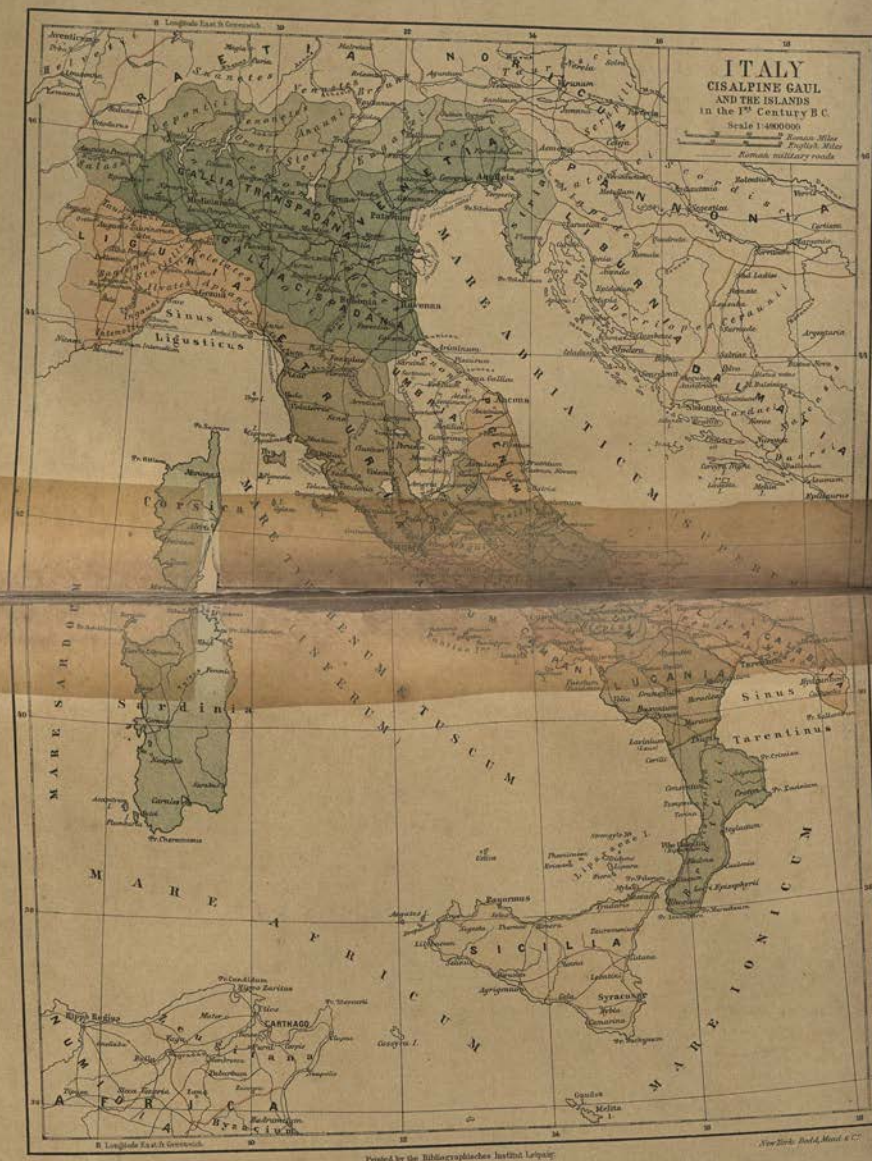
In the Roman army a townsman of Arpinum, C. Marius, had distinguished himself as a subordinate officer of the consul, Q. Metellus. He had allied himself by marriage with the Julian family, and was now elected consul through the efforts of the popular party (107 B.C.). After Marius had conquered Jugurtha and made him prisoner, through the craft of his quæstor, Cornelius Sulla, he became the worshipped hero of the opposition, especially when, in attempting to repel a migration of Celtic and Germanic peoples, which threatened Gaul and Italy, the aristocratic generals suffered repeated defeats in close succession. Marius, consequently, was again elected consul amid violent excitement, and his

election was renewed every year until the Teutons had been defeated in Transalpine Gaul, and the Cimbri and their allies in Cisalpine Gaul (102 and 101 B.C.).

At this period Marius effected the reorganisation of the Roman military system, in accordance with the requirements of the existing social conditions. Marius admitted into his army the proletarians, who gladly enlisted in expectation of booty, and at the same time he abolished the existing composition of the legion, which had taken into consideration differences of property. A uniform armament of all legionaries was introduced, every man receiving a javelin (*pilum*) and a sword. Since owners of land had to be dismissed to their fields after every campaign, the tactical training of the troops had been neglected. Now, when the proletarians made the army their profession, as it were, greater stress could be laid on drill and swordsmanship. In order to accustom the people to bloodshed, numbers of prisoners of war, who had been trained in fighting, were pitted against each other at the public games, and not only imitated a battle, but fought it out to the death. This is the beginning of the gladiatorial shows, without which men soon could not live at Rome: a barbarous amusement for the degenerate rabble of the sovereign city. The previous military organisation was thus practically, though not legally, abolished. In time of need now, as before, the entire male population of Italy capable of bearing arms, between the ages of seventeen and forty-five years could be called out. On ordinary occasions enlistment was sufficient, since enough recruits gave in their names.

But the soldiers were anxious, not only for profitable wars during their period of service, but for a provision for their old age, an allotment of house and land. They wished their victorious commander to gain this point for them from the government. This involved a diminution of the public domain and, therefore, of the financial resources of the state. They were ready, for their part, to vote for him in the comitia. The soldiers were well aware that not every general possessed the necessary influence; and, therefore, when they enlisted, they paid great attention to the person of the commander, a circumstance by which party struggles in Rome from this time assumed a quite different aspect.

After his return from the Cimbrian War, C. Marius had been elected consul for the sixth time, thanks to the agitation of his partisans. It was found, however, that he was not as familiar with the struggles of the forum as with those of the battle-field, so that, in virtue of a decree of the senate which authorised him to take extraordinary measures, he acted most sharply towards his own party friends; and at the end of the year he was quite discredited as a politician. In consequence of this, the senatorial party, now actually in league with the knights, to whom the socialistic views of the leaders of the proletarians were antagonistic, once more came forward. They recognised as their leader L. Cornelius Sulla, the rival of Marius and his former quæstor in the Numidian War. When Sulla had become consul for the year 88, the question arose, what general should conduct the war against King Mithradates of Pontus, who was then stirring up the whole Orient against the Roman rule. The king had been received with acclamations in the province of Asia, and at his orders all the Italians who lived there had been massacred. The settlement of Eastern affairs generally was, therefore, bound up with the command against Mithradates; and thus a prospect of rich gain was held out to the general and his army, quite apart



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from its significance for the relations of the parties in Rome itself, where the general victorious in a great war now always took the first place in the state. The opponents of the senate wished that Marius might be entrusted with the command, and carried their proposal by a decree of the people. Sulla marched with his troops against Rome, took the town, and had the leaders of the opposition proscribed by the senate. The command in the Mithradatic campaign was thus secured to Sulla, but at the same time a new era of civil war was begun.

The distinction which existed in the Italian-Roman state system had already made itself felt, and now was revived by the conflict of the citizen factions — the distinction between the privileged citizen of the city of Rome and the Italian confederates. The native allies had up till now derived advantage from the increased power of the Apennine Peninsula, which had spread over the opposite coasts and gradually over the whole Mediterranean. On the other hand, it pleased the sovereign people of Rome to load the allies as far as possible with the burdens of government, especially with the troublesome duty of garrisoning the provinces. The comitia of the Roman citizens certainly exercised influence on the government in Rome, but not so the allies, who only had powers of local government (the allies had no unity of organisation). This was felt to be unjust. When the Gracchi came forward with plans for reform, they excited the hopes of the allies, a circumstance which did harm to those young champions of the allies against the Roman citizens. After the fall of Tiberius Gracchus, the disaffection of the allies became open hostility. At their head stood the colony of Fregellæ on the Liris, which, after the overthrow of Capua, was the first town in those regions, and probably the first in Italy, after Rome. The revolt of Fregellæ was mercilessly suppressed, but the factions in Rome continued; and the opponents of the ruling optimates maintained relations with the discontented allies, which soon spread over the whole of Italy, so that it was said of M. Livius Drusus, the tribune of the people for the year 92, that he tried to govern Italy through such clientage. The conspirators demanded a part in the Roman elections, admission to the offices in Rome, in short, the complete rights of the Roman citizenship. M. Livius Drusus moved resolutions to such effect, and the opposite faction got rid of him by assassination.

Then the revolt of the Italians broke out. At the head stood those Sabellian tribes which once had only taken a feeble part in the resistance of the Samnites, and, therefore, were admitted into the Italian confederation on very favourable terms. There were the Marsi, who had kept their territory nearly intact. Their capital, which was also the political centre of the stock, Marruvium, was situated on the Fucine Lake (ruins of San Benedetto, near Pescina). The same was true of the Peligni, whose capital was Corfinium. Corfinium (see the accompanying map, "Italy, Cisalpine Gaul, and the Neighbouring Islands in the First Century B.C.") lies near the modern and insignificant town of Pentima; in late Roman times this place was called Balva. South of Corfinium was Sulmo, the second town of the Peligni. Of late a picturesque mountain railroad runs from Rome to Sulmo, and then past Pentima and Chieti (Teate, in the country of the Marrucini) to Pescara, on the outlet of the Aternus, into the Adriatic Sea. The tribes of these districts placed themselves at the head, so that the war was styled the Marsian War. But Corfinium became the principal place of the confederation of "Italia." In the south the Samnites immediately joined; in the north,

the district of Picenum. The movement soon extended to the regions lying nearer Rome, to Campania and Etruria. Rome saw herself attacked on all sides. In the first year many Roman magistrates fell victims to the revolt. If the hostile factions in Rome had not united, at least for the moment, in a common policy, and if, as shortly afterwards, one party had sided with the Italians, Rome might well have fallen. In any case, the seat of government would have been changed, even if the constitution remained the same, for the insurgents had formed their senate, their consuls, and their prætors entirely on the Roman model, although their coins partly bore Oscan inscriptions. As we have already remarked, some of the popular leaders in Rome had expressly recognised the justice of the demands made by the Italians. The proposal was now received with some favour, to split up the forces of the rebellion, by granting the citizenship to all those who still hesitated to join it, especially in the adjacent countries. The Sabellian races were, however, so incensed against Rome that they would hear nothing more of concessions, but set about their avowed purpose of destroying the "lair of the she-wolf." One colony of Rome, Venusia, actually joined the insurgents; others, which lay in the disaffected district or near it, such as Alba, on the Fucine Lake, Æsernia, and Venafrum in Samnium, were compelled by force to join the cause.

But, on the whole, Rome gained breathing space by these measures; at any rate, on the side of Campania, Etruria, and Umbria. The war was carried into the more distant countries, first into Picenum, where Asculum (now Ascoli Piceno, on the river Tronto, the Truentus of the ancients) was a centre of the insurrection. Numerous Roman leaden missiles with inscriptions which refer to this war have been found in the bed of this river. Asculum, after an obstinate resistance, was finally taken by Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the father of the great Pompey, consul in the year 89. Corfinium, after that, could no longer hold out; and the war was continued chiefly by the Samnites, who selected Æsernia as their centre. Æsernia is the present Isernia: the road formerly running from Sulmo, now Solmona, in the Pelignian country, southward over the pass of Piano di Cinquemiglia, into the valley of the Sangro, and thence over the heights into the valley of the Vandra, a tributary of the Volturno, as far as Isernia, has been traversed since 1897 by the railway. In Rome, meantime, the strife between the factions had again broken out, and now the popular party demanded further concessions for the Italians. It was now a question only of the greater or less restriction on their right of voting, and thus the violence of the insurrection was diverted. The leaders lent the popular party assistance against their opponents, especially as Sulla, after his return from the Mithradatic War, attacked the democratic government.

For L. Cornelius Sulla had, meantime, conducted a three years' war against Mithradates of Pontus in Greece and Asia, in the course of which his army was trained and grew attached to his person, so that he was now far superior to the leaders of the rival faction. These were at variance with each other, and possessed, indeed, no leader of universally recognised authority, since Marius had died in his seventh consulship (86), and Cinna, in his fourth consulship, had fallen victim to a mutiny (84). When Sulla advanced from Brundisium, he became master, through a second mutiny, of the army sent against him in Campania (83 B.C.). The opposition of the confederates, who once more attacked

Rome itself, was crushed, and a bloody retribution exacted. Samnium and the Etrurian coast district never recovered from the devastations caused by Sulla's soldiery. Æsernia in Samnium was destroyed; Volaterræ, Arretium, Fæsulæ in Etruria, were deprived of their entire territory. In Campania, Nola and Pompeii received Roman colonists. A great change in the conditions of land tenure was everywhere effected, such as was often repeated in the ensuing forty years, especially for the benefit of the pensioned veterans.

Sulla now no longer delayed to bestow the citizenship on the Italians. In the distribution of the allies among the thirty-five citizen tribes much "electoral geometry" was employed, since the new burgesses were now entitled to take part in the voting at Rome; thus the Marsi and the Peligni were united into one tribe, the Sergian. The place of the customary local authorities (among the Sabellians the title of the chief magistrate of the community had been *meddix tuticus:* cf. p. 308) was taken by two magistrates, corresponding to the Roman consuls. As the administration of justice rested with them, they were usually styled *duumviri juri dicundo.* The members of the municipal council were called decuriones, and the fully qualified citizens constituted the "plebs of the municipium." Thus the Latin-Roman institutions, which up till now had been found only in the colonies, were extended over the whole of Italy, including the Greek towns. The statute for Tarentum was discovered in 1896. In fact, the districts of Gallia Cisalpina were included in the measure, since the places on the north side of the Po received the full citizenship. Those on the south side of the river had to be content with the "Latin" rights. They were thus placed on a superior footing to the Cispadani, a circumstance which was destined to produce violent political agitations in the ensuing decades.

Sulla caused himself to be named dictator to reorganise the constitution, and in doing so he went back to the system which had prevailed before the Gracchi. The tribunate of the people was once more to be a convenient tool of the government, the administration of the state was to rest in the hands of the senate, without being influenced or controlled by the knights. In order, once for all, to guard the constitution from attacks, Sulla gravely determined to exterminate the opposition. He is the originator of the system of proscriptions, the extermination of the best, as this procedure has been called. While Marius and Cinna had proceeded only against the leaders of the optimates, Sulla, quite unexpectedly, had the names of the senators and knights who were to be executed publicly posted up. The list was frequently renewed, until some two thousand senators and knights had forfeited their lives. Their property was confiscated, but freedom was given to their slaves, in order that the system might find supporters in them.

Sulla governed for two years with unlimited powers. He reorganised the provincial administration; in Greece and in Asia, when the question arose as to restrictions to be imposed on the farmers of the taxes, he introduced regulations which were permanent and satisfied the subjects. In fact, for the towns of Asia 84 B.C. was the commencement of a new era, which lasted for more than five hundred years. With regard to the magistracy, Sulla established the rule that the consuls and prætors should discharge their office in the capital, and then as proconsols and proprætors should govern a province for one year.

Sulla hoped that, through his enactments, the conservative party, whose

views satisfied the main body of the nation, had been firmly seated in the saddle; the histories of this period are conservative, though moderate in tone. He himself kept within the limits of his constitution; and, after two years, laid down the dictatorship (80), and withdrew to his villa on the Campanian coast. There he wrote his "Memoirs." While the possessors of such power have usually been eager to secure for their sons a dynastic precedence in the state, Sulla refrained from any such attempt. We are told that young Sulla had his ears boxed at school because he threatened his schoolfellows with proscription.

Notwithstanding all the precautionary measures which Sulla had adopted, political agitation was not ended by him. Numbers of people had joined Sulla for personal reasons, who supported the reaction towards a strict oligarchy, so long as they themselves were not affected by it. This was the view of many of the most important subordinate officers, who had supported Sulla in the Italian War and afterwards during the operations in the provinces. Such were M. Licinius Crassus, who had acquired an immense fortune by lucky speculations at the time of the proscriptions; or Cn. Pompeius Magnus, whose father had belonged to the equestrian party. Firmer supporters of the oligarchy were Q. Metellus Pius, Q. Lutatius Catulus, and the brothers L. and M. Licinius Lucullus. The life and activity of this period are well depicted in the Lives of Plutarch, who, in the second century A.D., recast the old materials. We gain a further insight into it from the speeches, letters, and numerous writings of M. Tullius Cicero, one of the principal creators of the Latin literature.

For the moment all were intent on crushing the remnants of the popular party, which showed signs of active life in the year of Sulla's death (78), even in Rome itself. In fact, one of the consuls for this year, M. Æmilius Lepidus, publicly advocated the Gracchan policy, together with the restoration of those who had been exiled and whose property was confiscated. A rising ensued, which spread to various parts of Italy, particularly Etruria, until Lepidus was defeated before the gates of the capital in a regular battle by Lutatius Catulus and Pompey (77 B.C.). The remains of the army of Lepidus, after its commander himself had fallen on the way, fled under M. Perperna to Spain. Here, from the time of Cinna's rule, Q. Sertorius had held the position of governor, since he knew how to win over the natives. Q. Metellus and Cn. Pompeius Magnus were now sent against him. They carried on the war for years in an inglorious fashion, and only after M. Perperna turned traitor did Sertorius fall (72 B.C.).

In the meantime, L. Licinius Lucullus, consul in the year 74 B.C., had taken command in the war against Mithradates of Pontus, which had broken out again. The optimates, who wished to get the profitable administration of the East into their hands, had struggled for the conduct of the campaign. By special provisions, M. Crassus, as prætor, had to exercise military functions. A general rising of the slaves and the gladiators had broken out in Italy, with which the consuls, who had no military experience, were unable to cope, while Crassus successfully repressed it. Pompey, who had just returned from Spain, annihilated some bands that attempted to cross the Alps.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus, only thirty years old, had, it is true, often commanded armies, but had never held any curule office. He did not, however, wish to hold an inferior position to Crassus, who was now canvassing for the consulship;

for, in spite of his wealth, Crassus was not reckoned to possess any peculiar intellectual ability. This led to all kinds of intrigues.

Julius Cæsar, who was four years younger than Pompey, had already brought himself into notice, and was conspicuous among the young nobility of Rome by the insolent audacity of his conduct and the enormous extent of his debts. As son-in-law of Cinna, he attached himself to the popular party, an act which was not regarded seriously at first in outside circles, although Sulla in his old age is said to have declared that more than one Marius was concealed in the young Cæsar. On account of the dissensions which prevailed among the leaders of the party of Sulla, Cæsar attained to political importance for the first time in the year 71. Cæsar, who was personally on good terms with Crassus, persuaded him and Pompey that, if they were to combine, they would be superior to all rivals. He held out to them the prospect of the votes of the popular party at the consular election if its principal demand, the restoration of the tribunate of the people, were granted. In order to win over the knights also, their former privileges, namely, their participation as jurors in the tribunals, were to be conceded to them. At this time great excitement was caused by a notorious trial, in which the Sicilians impeached their former governor, C. Verres, and M. Tullius Cicero came forward as their advocate: Verres was condemned. Pompey and Crassus, who were influenced by party interests, but not by principles, pledged themselves to the demands of Cæsar in their speeches as candidates, and were then elected consuls for the year 70. Cæsar had won his first success as a politician, since he broke down the constitution of Sulla in very essential points, and at the same time irremediably compromised two leaders of the opposition.

Pompey gained most by this coalition. In the year 67, on the proposal of the tribune of the people, A. Gabinius, he was placed at the head of the fleet and of an army with extraordinary and absolute powers, in order that the outrages of the pirates, which had been increasing since the downfall of most of the maritime powers, might be terminated. The Roman state had neglected the fleet after the Punic War, conditions which might be compared with those of the United States of North America. A special decree was passed that the commander-in-chief should himself choose twenty-five inferior commanders ("legati") from the body of the senators, and that these should be invested with pretorian rank. All places on the coast up to forty miles inland were placed under Pompey's jurisdiction, so that his rivals said with justice that his authority was tantamount to that of a monarch. On the other hand, it was notorious that Sulla had made a blunder when he abolished the central command of the consuls. As there was no fleet to guard the shores of Italy, the communications with the East and the corn-growing countries were more and more endangered, so that there was a threatened failure of the supplies on which the Roman plebs were fed. The proposal of Gabinius was therefore carried, and Pompey executed his commission in the shortest time. He thus became the most popular man at Rome.

Pompey aimed higher. In fact, he was able, through the help of the equestrian party, to contrive that the war against Mithradates and the regulation of affairs in the East should be entrusted to him. This was effected by the "lex Manilia," for which M. Tullius Cicero spoke: a fact of importance, since Cicero

was accustomed to state his views plainly. L. Lucullus had been unfortunate in incurring the hostility of the Roman knights, who were concerned in the most scandalous financial transactions in Asia. By a usury edict, according to which only one per cent. per month could be charged as interest, the towns in the provinces had been enabled to pay off in a comparatively short period an enormous contribution imposed on them by Sulla. The knights had lost thereby immense profits, and they now raised a violent agitation against Lucullus. As, under these circumstances, the Sullan constitution, among the supporters of which was L. Lucullus, was overthrown, the effect on the province and even on the discipline of the army was such that the proconsul could not make use of the advantages he had won over Mithradates. In 66 B.C. Lucullus received his recall, and with it his administrative measures became inoperative.

After Pompey had taken over the command and had reorganised the army, he conquered Mithradates, as well as his ally and son-in-law, Tigranes of Armenia, who had extended his dominion over Syria (cf. above, p. 71). When Pompey then formed an alliance with the Parthians, a peace was arranged with Tigranes, in which he renounced his conquests. Mithradates was forced to fly to the north of the Black Sea, where he met his death, while the conqueror formed a province out of the countries of Pontus and Bithynia (64 B.C.). Legates of Pompey had already taken possession of Syria, where the rule of the Seleucidæ was ended. After the withdrawal of Tigranes, there was a lack of all supreme government until Pompey assumed it at Antioch. He ruled there during the winter of 64-63 B.C. like a "king of kings," set up and deposed princes, and granted privileges to the towns. In the spring of 63 he proceeded to Damascus, where he settled the dispute between the two Jewish princes, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, in favour of the former (cf. Vol. III.). As Aristobulus did not submit, Jerusalem was taken, the temple stormed, and the pretender led away captive. Antipater, the Idumæan, was already prominent as the procurator of Hyrcanus, and from that time succeeded in making himself indispensable to all Roman rulers. The Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus, gives us particulars as to the activity of Pompey and his lieutenants. The Roman authority made itself felt as far as the borders of Arabia and Egypt. The former kingdom of the Seleucids was converted into the province of Syria. In the East, on the side of the Parthians, the Euphrates was adopted as boundary. The Roman government subsequently adhered to it, and crossed it only at a far later period.

All this was the work of Pompey, who, in his administrative arrangements, always took into account existing conditions. In Syria the chronological era of the Seleucids remained in force during the entire length of the Roman rule; and, in fact, has persisted among the Aramaic-speaking Christians up to the present day. The boundaries of the districts were altered only when necessary. Galatia was divided into three principalities. Pontus, although forming with Bithynia one administrative sphere, retained its legislative assembly, if we may give this title to the partly religious, partly political, union of the towns of that province. We cannot fail to recognise the abilities of Pompey. He delivered his decisions after careful deliberation, and at the same time repressed corruption among his lieutenants. His freedmen had most influence over him, among others the writer Theophanes of Mitylene. Pompey attached considerable value to the fact that his exploits were given publicity, especially his last romantic

campaign against Mithradates. The best account of it is preserved for us in the geographical and historical work of the Cappadocian Strabo. Pompey was by no means as great a genius as Julius Cæsar. (See Figs. I. and II. of the plate at pp. 386, 387.) But when, after long struggles, the principate was accepted as the final form of government, the institutions of Pompey were revived in many respects, and were preferred to those of Cæsar.

At Rome an oligarchy still ruled, busied in preparing an inglorious end to the extraordinary power of Pompey. L. Lucullus thought, with the help of his party, to persuade the senate to declare the arrangements of Pompey null and void, just as his own had been annulled. The other factions of the optimates agreed with Lucullus in this; and they were offended, besides, in many ways by the manner in which Pompey had gained possession of the imperium. Men like the young M. Porcius Cato, who on principle held to the constitution, and, on account of his honourable character, enjoyed the respect even of his political opponents, were by no means disposed to smooth the way of Pompey to the principate. Least of all could Pompey expect support from Crassus, with whom he had quarrelled during his year of office. Julius Cæsar about this time declared he would rather be first in a village than second in Rome. He became ædile in 65; prætor in 62, and was entangled in all the political intrigues of the time, chiefly behind the scenes.

While his friend Crassus gave immense sums to enable him to win the favour of the Roman populace by the celebration of magnificent games, Cæsar kept in close touch with the anarchists, in whose ranks bankrupt nobles from both camps were to be found. These cherished the idea of once again bringing in an era of proscriptions by a political revolution. The soul of these attempts was L. Sergius Catilina, a former adherent of Sulla, who had been prætor and then governor in Africa, but had found that his road to the consulate was barred by the present ruling party. In 63, Catiline was defeated for the consulate by a citizen from one of the municipalities, who had come into prominence at Rome as an advocate, M. Tullius Cicero, whose colleague was the insignificant C. Antonius. After having been an unsuccessful candidate once more at the elections of the year 62, and crushed by an immense burden of debt, Catiline resolved to reach his goal by violent measures. He collected round his standard at Fæsulæ in Etruria the victims of the Sullan confiscations and the veterans who had settled there.

These intrigues were no secret at Rome; on the contrary, so effectively had precautions been taken by the government, with the help of the wealthy classes, that Catiline found himself compelled to leave Rome. His confederates were waiting only for a victory in Etruria, to raise an insurrection in the capital. But their schemes were betrayed to the consul, Cicero, who had followed up the matter most vigorously. He arrested the conspirators, and the course of action that should be taken with them was the subject of an unprecedentedly heated debate in the senate. Notwithstanding the opposition of Cæsar, Cicero and Cato carried the proposal that the arrested should be executed without further proceedings, since there was danger in delay. Catiline and his confederates were declared national enemies, and the levies of the Italian militia and troops from the Po district were sent against him. Near Pistoria, now Pistoja, the points of departure of two passes over the Apennines to Modena and to Bologna, he was

forced to fight a battle against a legate of the consul, C. Antonius, in which he was killed (62 B.C.).

Catiline is a typical figure of the Roman nobility of the day, in whose career personal feuds, women, debts, and the desire to win promotion at the cost of the state, play the greatest part. The description given by Sallust in his *Catilina* is verified and supplemented by Cicero, Suetonius, and other authors. We see also how the elections in Rome became the subject of speculation, in which the market in votes, organised by the election committees (*sodalicia*), played an important part. For the same reasons, the games were now given on a continuously increasing scale.

The conspiracy of Catiline, who had entertained wide-reaching plans, would have thwarted the schemes of Pompey. For this reason, Crassus, as well as Cæsar, was not unfavourable to the movement in the beginning. Cæsar's attitude was particularly irritating to the capitalist party, who knew his financial difficulties. Nevertheless, he was successful about this time in securing his election as pontifex maximus, although Q. Lutatius Catulus was the rival candidate (63 B.C.), a fact which shows that he ruled the comitia. But it was due entirely to the wealth of Crassus, who became his surety, that his creditors allowed him to go as proprætor to Farther Spain (61 B.C.).

It was generally believed in Rome that Pompey would make the anarchist movement a pretext for keeping the power in his hand after his return from Asia. But Pompey, who, in a certain sense, clung to the letter of the law, disbanded his legions after landing at Brundisium, in accordance with constitutional precedent. He then proceeded to Rome, in order to secure from the senate the ratification of his acts, as well as the pensioning of his veterans. He found such opposition in the senate, now that his opponents had joined cause, and encountered such a delay in business that his complete fall was imminent. He was only rescued from this plight by the return from Spain in the year 60 B.C. of Cæsar, who, in order to further his own plans, which were directed towards obtaining the consulate, once more made common cause with Pompey and Crassus. Cæsar pledged himself to promote and under all circumstances to carry out the wishes of Pompey and his party in the event of his becoming consul by their aid.

In fact, Cæsar was elected consul for the year 59. He, a member of one of the oldest families, became leader of the popular party and followed in the footsteps of C. Gracchus. His plebeian colleague, M. Calpurnius Bibulus, was a tool of the optimates, but was unscrupulously disregarded by Cæsar. This was the first step towards the establishment of Julian monarchy, which a hundred years later was actually dated from the first consulship of Cæsar. From that day to his death Cæsar never ceased to be a magistrate of the state, and, accordingly, irresponsible. Men thought of this when the last C. Cæsar (Caligula) was murdered, in the year 41 A.D. After Cæsar's consulship the political literature of the time divides into the Cæsarian, at the head of which Julius Cæsar himself stood, and the anti-Cæsarian, lasting beyond the victory of the dynasty.

He provisionally shared the government of the state with Crassus and Pompey. The acts of Pompey in the East were ratified by a decree of the people at the proposal of Cæsar, and the veterans of Pompey were rewarded by dotations of land. The Campanian public domain, which, since the Hannibalic War,

had been farmed out for the benefit of the treasury, was then also set apart to be allotted. Capua revived as a Cæsarian colony. But while Pompey was again confirmed in his supreme authority in the East, Cæsar claimed for himself a western sphere, Gaul; not merely the nearer province, with which the administration of Illyricum was connected, but also that of Transalpine Gaul, which, since the time of the Cimbri and Teutones, was continually menaced by invading hordes. A rich field for action offered itself here to any man who wished to accept the post — a post, however, which required to be held for some years, and was, therefore, incompatible with the principle of holding office for a single year, which till then was applied to republican magistracies. The powerful triumvirate carried their point. Cæsar became proconsul for five years with the same rights Pompey had enjoyed in his command against the pirates and against Mithradates. He received legates, with proprætorian rank, and four legions, with the right to strengthen them by further levies; and, finally, unlimited authority to act in Gaul.

Cæsar governed in Gaul for ten years, as the Barcidæ formerly in Spain, and regulated the movements of the nations, since he forced the Helvetii, who had migrated into Gaul, to return to their country, and then defeated the Suevi, who advanced across the Rhine under Ariovistus. But he settled on the Rhine German tribes, who, in the succeeding campaigns, took the side of the Romans. Even the Celts were not united. In the same way he made the Helvetii his allies, and won over, among the Belgian tribes, the Remi (near Reims) and the Lingoni, and obtained a strong base for his operations in northern Gaul. During the ensuing years he became supreme over the Belgian tribes also. His lieutenant, P. Crassus, son of the rich Crassus, secured the submission, first of the Aremorici and then of the Aquitani. In order to crush the last remnants of resistance, and to punish all that gave help to the rebels, he twice crossed the Rhine, and twice invaded Britain. While Pompey employed others to write for him, Cæsar prepared his own account of the Gallic War and had it published in book form, but without revealing his ultimate projects. Finally, after he had crushed a great rising under the Arvernian Vercingetorix (52 B.C.), he reduced all Gaul to one form of government, so that he could at any moment employ the resources of the land and its population against Rome itself. At the same time the enormous amount of money that became his spoil was employed in extending his sphere of influence. He even came to terms with the client states and the provinces of the East, in order to be master of the situation.

Pompey, in the meantime, was in a difficult position at Rome, since he was being attacked on the one side by the optimates, on the other side by the extreme men of the popular party. He could only make head because of the strength the victories of Cæsar lent the triumvirate. The triumvirate was renewed in the year 56 at a meeting at Luca, which was still in Cæsar's province. While Cæsar obtained an extension of his command for five years, Pompey and Crassus were to hold the consulate, for the second time, in 55 B.C., and afterwards the provinces of Spain and Syria respectively. The most important military commands lay, therefore, in the hands of the triumvirate. As a matter of fact, Pompey, on the expiration of his year of office, administered Spain through his lieutenants, while he himself remained in Rome; and, together with his wife, Julia, daughter of Cæsar, held court there.

Crassus made use of his provincial command in Syria to enrich himself, as Cæsar had done in Gaul. He attacked the Parthians; but in the sandy district of northern Mesopotamia the heavy-armed legionaries were no match for the light troops, and especially the cavalry, of the Parthians; his guides failed him, provisions gave out, and the Roman army suffered a fearful defeat at Carrhæ in 53 B.C. (cf. Vol. III.). Crassus himself, who wished to negotiate terms of surrender, was killed, and with him his son, P. Crassus. The frontier on the Euphrates was held by the quæstor of Crassus, C. Cassius, but the defeat was not avenged until later.

Only Pompey and Cæsar were now left of the great powers in the state. The former, since the death of Julia, and his marriage with the widow of P. Crassus, a daughter of Q. Cæcilius Metellus Scipio, the leader of the optimates, had been driven more and more into rivalry with Cæsar. Family alliances proved very important in Rome, especially in the case of men like Pompey. The party of the optimates, in whose eyes the old oligarchic constitution alone was legitimate, wished to effect the withdrawal of both Pompey and Cæsar from their offices; but, since they could not be master of both, they first contemplated the humiliation of Cæsar, who seemed more dangerous to them, since he had already had a hand in the conspiracy of Catiline, a step which clearly amounted to a breach of the constitution, and he had paid no attention to the remonstrance of Bibulus, his colleague in the consulate; nor while he was ruling as supreme lord in Gaul did he cease to keep up communications with parties in Rome, and to take the most disreputable persons into his service, in order not to allow the opposition to the overthrown oligarchy to die out.

The powerful position of Pompey was respected by the optimates, to which party he leaned. When fresh difficulties arose as to supplying Italy with grain from abroad, Pompey was entrusted with the settlement of the matter. As the rivalry of certain party leaders, such as Clodius and Milo, who had played some part as tribunes of the people, ended in street fighting (indeed, Clodius was, finally, killed by Milo at Bovillæ, in the immediate vicinity of Rome), Pompey was placed at the head of the state as consul "without colleagues" (52 B.C.); that is, he was exempted from constitutional restraints. This was the case when a law came into force, according to which an interval of five years was established between the tenure of the consulate and that of a provincial governorship. Pompey retained his Spanish provinces without opposition, and Cæsar brought no objections against it, although he allowed his partisans to declare that the authority of the proconsul of Gaul had the same basis as that of Pompey. In reality, the rupture between them was postponed, since Pompey adhered to the agreement with Cæsar until the expiration of their covenant.

From the year 49 onward there were no longer any obstacles to prevent the recall of Cæsar from Gaul and the appointment to the governorship of a loyal supporter of the optimates; and Cæsar, out of office, could be tried before a court for the numerous breaches of the constitution which he had committed. Metellus Scipio, M. Bibulus, M. Porcius Cato, made preparations for doing so. And at the last moment T. Labienus, who had for years served as lieutenant under Cæsar in Gaul, and had taken a considerable part in his successes, joined this party. The attempt, however, to break up the army of Cæsar, in the same way as that of Lucullus had been broken up at an earlier period, by political measures,

totally miscarried. Cæsar's efforts were inevitably directed towards the single aim of winning a further extension of his term of office. He therefore demanded the consulship for the year 48, as well as the permission to be a candidate for it in his absence. The consulship would follow directly on the proconsulship, and, therefore, an impeachment for breach of the constitution would be rendered impossible. Besides this, Cæsar hindered the action of his antagonists, since he caused the tribunes of the people, whom he had gained over, to "intercede" for him at the debates in the senate.

In January, 49, however, matters came to a rupture, and Pompey was concerned in bringing it about. Cæsar was ordered to resign his province, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was appointed to succeed him, and the other provinces were filled with partisans of the optimates. Finally, in order to render ineffective the protest of the tribunes of the people, the emergency decree was published, "*videant consules ne quid detrimenti capiat respublica.*" * If Cæsar proved insubordinate, the same measures could be taken against him as against Catiline. The population of Italy was summoned to take up arms; and a man of consular or prætorian rank was sent into each district, in order to direct the measures for defence. At the same time the legions stationed in Spain could advance into Gaul. Pompey was nominated commander-in-chief, and thus remained at the head of the state, while he disregarded Cæsar's repeated proposals that the coalition should be observed. Cæsar, on his side, was determined not to give his opponents time to arm. He stood at the head of the largest body of troops, a force of eleven legions, well seasoned by campaigns, while the remaining armies of the republic were scattered throughout Italy and the provinces. Cæsar had already advanced one legion as far as the southeastern frontier of Gallia Cisalpina. When the friendly tribunes of the people (among their number, M. Antonius), who could no longer hold their position in Rome, came to him as fugitives, he made this a pretext for crossing the Rubicon, the frontier of his province, with the troops that were then at hand. "The die is cast," he said in great excitement, as an eye-witness tells us. He had no other resource left, since the opposite party acted with such fury.

Cæsar surprised his opponents by the speed with which he pressed on from Ariminum to Picenum and Etruria, where he disarmed the militia who had been called out, or forced them to serve in his army. He then won the central districts of Italy by investing Corfinium, where L. Domitius Ahenobarbus held out, contrary to the orders of Pompey, and forcing it to surrender. The government in Rome itself was no longer secure. The senate hastily withdrew with Pompey to Brundisium. Cæsar entered the capital without opposition. He made himself master of the treasury and the public stores and of the whole machinery of government, without troubling himself further about the forms of the constitution or the protests of the tribunes of the people. Individual magistrates who had remained behind, such as the prætor L. Roscius, were forced to publish laws; as, for example, one providing for the bestowal of citizenship on the communities of Cisalpine Gaul, to whom it had been obstinately refused by the optimates. Only a few members of the great families joined Cæsar, among them the prætor

* "Let the consuls see to it that the commonwealth suffer no harm,"—the formula employed to authorise the consuls to choose a dictator.

M. Æmilius Lepidus, son of the consul of the year 78, who thus laid the foundations of his subsequent importance. Together with him, M. Antonius came into prominence as the most capable subordinate of Cæsar.

Pompey, the commander-in-chief, and the optimates, had sailed to Illyricum, in order to effect a counter-revolution (as Sulla had formerly done) in the East, the peculiar sphere of Pompey's supremacy. Immense preparations were made under the protection of the legions which had followed him from Italy. The Greeks and the Orientals hurried up with their auxiliaries and rallied round Pompey as round their monarch, while the governors of the provinces were placed under his orders as legates, an arrangement which provoked much jealousy among the senators who had accompanied him. Cæsar had the great advantage of possessing the sole authority in his own camp. The superiority of Cæsar to Pompey, which may be recognised from comparing their features (see the two portraits, Figs. 1 and 2, on the subjoined plate, "Pompey and Cæsar, Augustus and Tiberius"), consisted especially in the rapidity of his decisions and the energy with which he carried them out. He could count on effective support everywhere. In Spain, Pompey, a generation before, had deposed the followers of Q. Sertorius from power and had placed their rivals at the head of affairs; Cæsar declared the acts of Pompey void, and thus could rely on resolute supporters when he hurried from Rome through Gaul into Spain, in order there to disarm the legions of Pompey. This result was attained by skilful strategy at Ilerda (now Lerida on the Segre, a tributary of the Ebro) in surprisingly short time. Massilia, which had declared for the government of the optimates, was forced to capitulate after a prolonged siege. A large share of its territory was assigned as a reward to the veterans by Cæsar, who did not wish that Italy, as had happened under Sulla, should now be made to suffer unfairly. Cæsar's moderation was universally praised. His opponents had expected the worst, imagining that he would execute the plans of Catiline, and they were pleasantly undeceived. His immediate object was to acquire control of the countries which furnished Italy with grain — Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa. He was successful in the islands, but in Africa, Cæsar's general, C. Scribonius Curio, met with a reverse, in consequence of the untrustworthiness of his own troops and the superiority of the Numidian cavalry, which King Juba led against him. Curio himself was killed. At sea also the opposite party was superior: M. Bibulus, the former colleague of Cæsar, commanded the fleet. Nevertheless, Cæsar with great audacity transported a part of his army in November, 49, from Italy to the opposite coast of Illyricum, where he took up a position near Dyrrhachium until M. Antonius crossed over with the rest of the troops. Pompey, who held the chief command against him, was victorious in two engagements with Cæsar. But the latter advanced into Thessaly, and Pompey followed him. A battle was fought at Pharsalia, where Cæsar, with twenty-two thousand experienced soldiers, defeated an army double in strength (June 6, 48 B.C.). The Pompeians were driven back to Macedonia; and, owing to the energetic pursuit, could find no opportunity to rally. This was really the deciding blow. The senators who did not actually belong to the extreme party made their peace with Cæsar after Pharsalia.

Pompey, however, did not give up his cause as lost, since the East was still unharmed, for Cæsar's partisans there had kept in the background; but he

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS

(From the reproduction in Th. Reinach's "Mithridate Eupator" of the bust in the Jacobsen collection at Copenhagen.)

C. JULIUS CÆSAR

(From the marble copy, in the National Museum at Naples, of the bust at Rome.)

TIBERIUS CÆSAR

(From an antique cameo in possession of the National Library at Paris.)

IMPERATOR CÆSAR AUGUSTUS

(From the statue in the Vatican Museum at Rome.)

PORTRAITS OF POMPEIUS AND CÆSAR, AUGUSTUS AND TIBERIUS

experienced the fickleness of popular feeling, and resolved to go to Egypt, where the royal family, whose throne had been supported by Roman troops at his instance, were under an obligation to him. The officers and eunuchs who surrounded Ptolemy, a boy of thirteen years, thought it only wise to change sides; and they therefore had Pompey murdered before he had actually landed at Alexandria. Cæsar arrived a few days afterwards, and was presented with the head of his rival, the man who had long been his political colleague and afterwards his son-in-law. There was, however, a feeling of deep resentment when Cæsar made his entry as a conqueror and undertook to play off the princess Cleopatra against her brother, Ptolemy, and the ministers. Cæsar was placed temporarily in a very dangerous position, from which he was freed only by the arrival of reinforcements from Syria. In this connection Antipater, Regent of Judæa, who had just saved Hyrcanus from the attacks of Aristobulus, recently released from imprisonment by Cæsar, received the reward for his services from the new ruler. Cleopatra, who lavished her charms on Cæsar, received the throne of Egypt, which was vacant through the death of her brother.

Cæsar went to Asia, where he defeated Pharnaces, a son of the great Mithradates, and reduced to order the affairs of the princes and of the towns. He then returned to Italy, where all sorts of irregularities had been tolerated under the slack administration of M. Antonius. There was also the necessity of annihilating the remnants of the optimates. They had collected a large army in Africa, under Metellus Scipio, the successor to Pompey as imperator, and under King Juba, while in Spain, Gnæus and Sextus Pompeius were in arms against Cæsar's governors, and had won successes. Cæsar, aided by the former follower of Catiline, P. Sittius, coming from Mauretania, defeated his African opponents at the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.). Metellus Scipio, Cato, and Juba met their death, some by their own hands. Exasperated at the continuance of opposition, Cæsar allowed no pardon to be granted. Sittius received for his reward the territory of Cirta as an independent principality. The war in Spain lasted until 45 B.C., when Cæsar ended it by the battle of Munda (in the province of Bætica). Cæsar's victory here, as everywhere, resulted in a complete revolution, not only in the political status, but also in economic conditions. The whole Roman world was in commotion, and no one knew what the end would be.

Cæsar had formed certain plans, but he had been swept on by the course of events. He conducted the government as dictator with constitutional powers, as Sulla had, but he never relinquished his office: thus he held in turn the consulship, or, if not that, a proconsulship, by virtue of which he ruled from Rome, as Pompey had done. In short, he always held the highest power constitutionally attainable. He allowed his head to appear on the coins, crowned with laurel, and the inscription ran "Cæsar Imperator." After the victory had been won, the army was reduced to thirty-two legions, of which twenty-six were destined as garrisons for the provinces, and six as an army in the field. The senate was retained; but while Sulla had restored its broad authority, Cæsar proceeded in an entirely different way, and troubled himself very little about it, especially since he was assured of a majority through his own creatures, and the sullen opposition did not even appear at the sittings. Cæsar settled, as he thought fit, the most important matters, such as the questions of state finance and the appointment of governors, and paid no regard to the laws which had been

enforced under the rule of Pompey. He was, at the same time, concerned with the reconciliation of parties. He nominated as governors men, not only of his party, but also of the opposition, in so far as they had effected a timely reconciliation with him.

After the year 45 the West seemed pacified, but in the East much was still undecided. The defeat of Crassus had not been avenged, the relations of Egypt towards Rome were not defined, and the ruler of Egypt still had control of resources which might once more jeopardise the whole Roman supremacy in the East. Apart from other considerations, the significance of Alexandria as a world emporium was so great as to eclipse Rome in many respects. The constitutional question, too, had to be considered, for in the East men were accustomed to the kingly rule. Nothing had caused such resentment in Egypt against Cæsar as his ordering the fasces and axes to be borne before him as a Roman consul. Roman legions still remained in the country after Cæsar's Alexandrian War. It was said that Cæsar thought of having the kingly title conferred on him for the East, and that he would live at Alexandria, where Cleopatra had won his heart. These were things which even Cæsar's trusted friends, as M. Antonius, believed. At the feast of the Lupercalia, in February, 44, the latter presented Cæsar with a crown; and, though he refused it, many thought that it was a concerted plan.

Against such schemes there rose an opposition in the ranks of the people, who had imbibed the republican spirit in the schools, where they learned of Junius Brutus, the legendary liberator of Rome from tyranny, and who had generally grown up in the traditions of a free state. This feeling vented itself in public placards, or rather pasquinades. On the statue of the famous Brutus were found the words, "Would thou wert now alive," and on a billet, "Brutus, art thou asleep?" These hints were directed at the prætor of the year, M. Brutus, a man whose family had nothing in common with the liberator, except the name, but who was a "philosopher," and connected, through his wife, with Cato; and was, therefore, accessible to such counsels. It is true that he was known in the provinces as an extortioner of the first rank; but this agreed with the ideas of the time as to "Roman virtue," which was based on the sovereignty over non-free people and provincials. Thus a conspiracy was quietly forming against Cæsar, in which persons took part who stood on a familiar footing with the dictator, as Decimus Brutus, who had served under Cæsar in Gaul, and had conquered Massilia for him. Others had gone over to Cæsar after the battle of Pharsalia, and had since then been in no way superseded in their careers; for instance, C. Cassius, the former quæstor of Crassus in Syria, who had proved his worth as a soldier after the defeat of Carrhæ. He was now prætor, as M. Brutus was. The whole conspiracy had its starting-point among the lower classes, while the nobility joined it, because they had lost all their importance under a monarch like Cæsar. It cannot, indeed, be maintained that these liberators did an act that benefited their country. Under the circumstances it would have been the best course to have allowed Cæsar to act as he pleased, both at home and in foreign affairs.

Cæsar was on the point of departing for the East, and had arranged the affairs of government for the immediate future, had designated the magistrates for the capital and the governors of the provinces during his absence, and had

caused his dictatorship to be extended for the period of his life. M. Æmilius Lepidus stood next to him as *magister equitum*. His colleague in the consulate was M. Antonius,* who was again designated to govern Italy after Cæsar's departure, to superintend Western affairs, and to arrange the founding of colonies in Spain and Gaul. Dolabella, the former son-in-law of Cicero, was to act as colleague of Antony for the rest of the year. A sitting of the senate was fixed for March 15, 44, in order to settle the final arrangements. The conspirators determined to effect the assassination of Cæsar on that occasion. The rôles were assigned, just as the followers of Catiline had once done. D. Brutus was to accompany Cæsar, who, as pontifex maximus, lived in the "Regia," to the capitol. Another one was entrusted with the duty of keeping M. Antony, the consul, at a distance, since they feared his strength. The legitimist republicans shrank from putting him also out of their path, since they wished to strike the "tyrant," but not the consul. Thus the hideous deed was done; Cæsar was stabbed and killed by the conspirators during the session of the senate. The senators, who knew nothing of the plot, rushed away in consternation. Even M. Antony fled, while the murderers yelled "freedom." The corpse of the dictator was carried to his house by slaves.

Immediately confusion set in. The conspirators had intended to declare all Cæsar's acts as ruler void, and to bring things back to the condition in which they had been before the year 59, the date of Cæsar's first consulship. But the senate did not remain in session after the occurrence; and when, on the next day, the murderers tried to win over the people by speeches, it was seen that only a few approved of the deed. Several of the conspirators had acquired offices and positions under Cæsar, and had been lately nominated by him to governorships, as D. Brutus, M. Brutus, and C. Cassius: these, therefore, had nothing to win if a new division of offices was desired. Besides this, it was impossible now to discontinue the founding of colonies, which had been begun, the dotation to the veterans, and other acts. The summoning of the senate and of the popular assembly was, as the theorists, who were loyal to the constitution, discovered, in the discretion of the first magistrate of the republic, M. Antonius, the consul.

While the so-called liberators, with whom even M. Tullius Cicero associated himself, were thus negotiating among themselves, Cæsar's friends had recovered from their first consternation. Calpurnia, Cæsar's widow, had made over the entire property left by the dictator to the consul, M. Antony, who thereupon came to an agreement with M. Æmilius Lepidus. This latter was just on the point of setting out for his province of Gallia Narbonensis; he had troops stationed on the island in the Tiber, but made no further use of them. Antony did not wish to have him at Rome; and promised him, therefore, the place of pontifex maximus, the object of universal ambition, and now left vacant by Cæsar's death. Since, for the time being, the results of Cæsar's murder could not be estimated by either side, even the Cæsarians were inclined to adopt a diplomatic attitude. An agreement was entered into with the liberators. Antony appointed a sitting of the senate for March 17, in which a universal reconciliation and amnesty were announced, and these were afterwards celebrated by banquets, to which the heads of the parties invited each other — the veriest farce. Soon afterwards Antony seized upon the state funeral of Cæsar

* Mark Antony.

as an opportunity to incite the people against the murderers. Cæsar had left large legacies to the people, and this fact so heightened the excitement that the houses of the conspirators were threatened with fire, and they themselves were completely overawed. Antony was also supported by the veterans of Cæsar, so that he discontinued his part in the republican reforms, and rather thought to tread in the footsteps of Cæsar. In any case, Antony, endowed with physical rather than intellectual gifts, was not clear as to his object; he was vacillating, and wasted time; he indulged in excesses, like Cæsar, but had not his power of restraint; a talented officer, of easy disposition, he gladly followed his own inclinations, and, therefore, was regularly without means when these were most essential.

Julius Cæsar, in his will, had appointed his sister's grandson, C. Octavius,* principal heir, and had adopted him. Octavius, a youth of not quite nineteen years, was, at the time of Cæsar's murder, at Apollonia in Illyria, where he was pursuing his studies and preparing to join in the campaign against the Parthians. His friend, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, was with him. The sad news came through an express messenger from the mother of Octavius, who, as widow, had married M. Philippus. The question arose now as to what should be done. Agrippa advised him to place himself at the head of the legions, concentrated for the ensuing campaign in Illyricum. But Octavius determined to go at once to Rome and to enter on his inheritance, contrary to the advice of his nearest relatives. We have ample particulars about the matter in the Life of Cæsar Octavianus, which the court scholar, Nicolaus of Damascus, wrote. On his arrival at Rome he presented himself before Antony, and declared that he would accept the will and the clause of adoption; and desired the private fortune of the dictator to be handed over to him, in order that he might pay the legacies. Antony was embarrassed, since he had so dealt with Cæsar's estate that after two months very little was left of it; he refused, however, to give any account of it, since, he said, it was owing to him that the entire estate of the testator had not been confiscated, and private money and public money were mixed up together. He showed no small disposition to treat as illegal the testament of adoption by virtue of which Octavius assumed the name of Cæsar. Antony might have then been able to put the young man out of his way if his dissolute conduct had not roused enemies against him, even outside the circles which proposed the restoration of the republic. On the other side, the veterans, particularly those settled in Campania, gave their support to the heir of Cæsar, who bore his name. Cæsar Octavianus thus found persons ready to help him who otherwise were hostile to each other: the republicans were convinced that, after the overthrow of Antony, which was their first object, they would be able to put Octavianus aside.

M. Tullius Cicero, the famous writer and orator of the law courts, had, as consul, disagreed with Cæsar on the subject of Catiline's punishment. When Cæsar became consul and proconsul, Cicero had to undergo the penalty of banishment. During Cæsar's supremacy he had kept in the background, but came forward once more as spokesman of the senate to confront M. Antony, whose stepfather had been among the executed accomplices of Catiline. In his "Philippic" orations he treated Antony himself as a Catilinarian. Hence a savage and bitter enmity arose between them; and, all the more, because Antony,

* Afterwards Augustus. Called indifferently Octavius and Octavianus.

very unlike Cæsar in this respect, could not repel these attacks by the pen. In general, indeed, Antony carefully copied Cæsar. Since the latter had disregarded the rule of the senate, and governed Rome and Italy by military power while in Gallia Cisalpina, M. Antony planned to do the same; and wished, as proconsul, to go to Gallia Cisalpina, and not to Macedonia, as had been previously determined. He was only desirous of having with him in the new province the several legions that were stationed in Macedonia. The actual governor of Gallia Cisalpina was D. Brutus, who had gone there soon after Cæsar's murder, and did not choose to quit the province, where he found strength in the support of the republicans. Antony was resolved to drive him out by force of arms, and ordered the Macedonian troops to Italy. Cicero came forward to oppose this, while Octavianus, by means of emissaries, was inducing the soldiers to join his cause in preference, and spent his entire private fortune in largesses. Antony could do little in opposition, as he had no money left, and tried in vain to maintain discipline by severity. Octavianus thus placed himself at the head of an army which swore allegiance to him, although he had not been a magistrate of the republic. The senate, at the same time, approved his procedure, in order that they might make him their champion against Antony, and granted the young man a prætorian command with consular rank. In the further course of events, while D. Brutus offered a successful resistance in Mutina, and Greece and the Eastern provinces declared for the republicans, the governors of the Western provinces were ordered by the senate to proceed against M. Antony. Cicero's correspondence and his "Philippic Orations" supply us with details. Thus, amid constant preparations for war, began the year 43, for which, according to the arrangement of the late dictator, A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa filled the consulate. C. Cæsar Octavianus took the field as sole general, in order to fight Antony. There was a sanguinary encounter in the vicinity of Mutina, in which both consuls fell, so that Octavian alone was left; but Antony was defeated, and was outlawed by the senate, while D. Brutus received the chief command. M. Antony withdrew with the rest of his army to Narbonensis, where M. Æmilius Lepidus was in command. The veterans of Cæsar, whose influence decided the attitude of the troops, allowed Lepidus no choice but to extend a friendly welcome to M. Antony, although Lepidus thus fell under the ban.

There were still two governors in the West, on whom the issue depended: Asinius Pollio, who was stationed in southern Spain, and L. Munatius Plancus, who administered Gaul, which Julius Cæsar had conquered. He was just then occupied with the founding of the colonies Lugdunum and Rauraca. Both saw themselves clearly forced, by the sentiments of their troops, to declare their adherence to the Cæsarians. This left D. Brutus isolated. His own troops soon went over to Octavian, and Brutus met his death among the Sequani, to whom he had fled.

In the meantime, M. Brutus and C. Cassius, seeing that they could play no part in Italy, had gone to the East, to buy corn in Crete and the Cyrenaica at the commission of the senate; but, secondarily, inasmuch as the senate was in conflict with M. Antony, to take possession of the provinces, Macedonia and Syria, which had been assigned to them originally, that is, by the dictator Cæsar. Every one in these regions, where the influence of Pompey had been predominant once, joined the "liberators," on whom the senate conferred the supreme command

(*imperium majus*). P. Dolabella, the colleague of Antony in the consulate, for whom this latter had procured Syria as province, was reduced to such extremities by Cassius that he committed suicide. M. Cicero displayed a feverish energy at Rome: men thought that they were nearing their goal, and would be able to disregard the young Cæsar. In the Sicilian and Sardinian waters Sextus Pompeius, who had disappeared from view since the day of Munda, came on the scene at the head of a powerful fleet, which was reinforced by fugitive slaves.

This stress of circumstances produced a coalition between the leaders of the Cæsarian party. Octavian suspended the pursuit of the Antonian forces, and actually allowed a detachment which had been cut off to march away unhindered, while, at the same time, he made overtures to Antony and Lepidus. An advance on Rome soon followed. A deputation from the army demanded the consulate for Octavian, since, through the death of Hirtius and Pansa, both places were vacant. There was no available army at Rome, so that the soldiery met with no opposition. Octavian marched to Rome, in order to press his claim. On August 19, 43, he became consul, and with him his cousin Pedius. Octavian thus attained to a position in which he could treat with Antony and Lepidus on equal terms.

In November, 43, after the death of D. Brutus, the decisive arrangements were completed at Bologna, where the three leaders of the Cæsarian party met. War against the murderers of Cæsar was to be waged. Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian, under the title of *triumviri reipublicæ constituendæ*, that is, men charged with unlimited powers, placed themselves at the head of the state, and apportioned among themselves the most valuable provinces. Narbonensis and Spain fell to Lepidus, the rest of Gaul to Antony; Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia — which had, indeed, first to be conquered — to Octavian. Proscriptions were decreed against the opposite party, in order to raise the necessary funds. The government was divided among the triumvirs. The soldiers were to receive, after the victory, assignments of land in Italy; and in a secret note the eighteen towns were named which were to be sacrificed to this purpose. The Cæsarians prepared to carry out that which Cæsar had avoided. Their programme was completed. It was soon evident that a true statesman was dealing with affairs in the person of the young Cæsar Octavian, whose peculiar characteristics were a ripe judgment and a fatalist belief in his own rights. To confirm his claims, it was necessary that the murderers of his adopted father should be punished as traitors. This object was especially dear to the soldiers, while Antony, who, at the period of his supremacy, had followed other aims, now joined the cause; Lepidus' claims were only considered as justified by the emergency. The march against Rome was immediately commenced, and the most prominent leaders of the senatorial party were proscribed, Cicero among them. Antony was peculiarly bitter against him, and his vote was decisive. Even towards Octavian the great orator had acted more than ambiguously after Mutina; and if the first Cæsar, who had treated him very indulgently, had failed to win him, the triumvirs could not hope to do so. In other respects, when once the necessity was recognised, the proscription was carried out in a spirit of remarkable callousness, and relations and friends were sacrificed by each of the three. Informers were rewarded, slaves who betrayed their masters were promised freedom, and all evil passions were inflamed, just as had happened forty years before, in the time of Sulla. Cicero was killed by a certain Popillius Lænas, whom he had once

defended on a serious charge. Many distinguished men were betrayed by their own wives, but in some cases the proscribed were rescued by the devotion of their slaves. Altogether, one hundred and thirty senators and more than two thousand knights fell victims to the proscription, in addition to a larger number of the third estate. Since the proceeds of the proscriptions were insufficient, especially as Antony never knew how to hold on to money, forced loans and taxes were decreed.

The war was then begun with a force of more than forty legions. Lepidus was left at home, Octavian was to conduct operations against Sextus Pompeius, with Lower Italy as his base, but he discontinued the campaign when the decisive blow against Brutus and Cassius was impending, and joined Antony in Macedonia. The war then took a similar turn to that six years before between Pompey and Cæsar. Brutus and Cassius had completed their preparations in Asia and Syria, and had wrung large sums of money from these rich countries. Egypt had also been forced to contribute. Recruiting was necessary; and, as there was a deficiency of officers, the young Romans who were studying in Athens and elsewhere in the East received important commands, among them Valerius Messalla, who afterwards became one of the most influential senators, Cicero's son and namesake, and others. The poet Horace went through the war as *tribunus militum*. The army took the road from Asia which Xerxes had once followed, crossed the Hellespont, and marched through Thrace to Macedonia, where in the interval Antony had taken up his position. Cæsar Octavianus was with him, being prevented by an indisposition from taking more energetic action.

The decisive engagements took place at Philippi in the autumn of 42 B.C. First of all, Cassius was beaten by Antony; but, at the same time, Brutus defeated the army of Octavian, whose camp was actually captured. Cassius, on the contrary, believed that Brutus also had been worsted, and killed himself, because he saw a troop advancing against him, and, owing to his short sight, mistook them for foes. Twenty days later Brutus, who no longer believed in success, fought a second battle and lost it. He also died by his own hand. Valerius Messalla thereupon surrendered with the remnants of the republican army. All the murderers of Cæsar who could be captured were executed. The other officers received pardon, while the soldiers were drafted into the ranks of the victors. Valerius Messalla describes the occurrences in his *Memoirs*. Only the fleet under Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of Julius Cæsar's antagonist, escaped, and tried to combine with Sextus Pompeius. Thus the Cæsarians here reached their goal.

Two tasks had now to be performed. In the first place, the veterans, who, according to the arrangements of the triumvirs, were entitled to discharge, one hundred and seventy thousand in all, had to be allotted the promised lands in Italy; and, in the second place, the pacification and reorganisation of the East had to be carried out. The first task was a very delicate one, since its accomplishment would once more throw Italy into confusion. The latter was attended with no special difficulty for any one who already knew the land and the people. Antony, who, as the real victor at Philippi, had the casting vote, chose the latter duty. Lepidus, whose attitude had been passive and equivocal, was almost contemptuously ignored. Had not his relations to Sextus Pompeius shown him in an invidious light, he might have been for some time regent in Africa. Cæsar

was to receive the Spanish provinces; Antony, Narbonensis; while Cisalpine Gaul was joined to Italy.

Antony went to Asia and resided, first at Ephesus, then in Cilicia. Everywhere he set up or deposed client kings, confirmed the existing conditions in some towns, altered those of others, and made arrangements generally, according to his own pleasure. Every one was eager to do the will of the new lord. He was in especial need of money, and the Asiatic towns were required now to pay twice as much in contributions as Cassius had taken from them, an exaction from which Antony granted the unlucky province but small remission. The princes willingly sacrificed their wives and daughters if they could gain anything by so doing, and Antony showed himself very willing to receive such gifts.

He also summoned the Queen of Egypt before his tribunal, to excuse herself for the aid she had given the liberators. Cleopatra, who had received precise information as to the character of the man, appeared before him in Tarsus as Aphrodite, and immediately succeeded in captivating him. She had once followed the old Cæsar to Rome; now, Antony accompanied her to Alexandria. He believed that he was acting like Cæsar; but, whereas the latter had dallied with the fair coquette, he had always carried wide-reaching schemes in his mind. Antony became blind and deaf to what was happening outside, though it was of the greatest importance for him.

The task which the young Cæsar had undertaken was not merely difficult in itself, but there were circumstances connected with it which accentuated the difficulties. All Italy was in a ferment, for the towns sacrificed to the veterans had not committed any offence. The way in which the confiscations were to be carried out was indefinite, whether, for instance, the large landowners mainly would have to bear the cost, or whether it would fall also on the middle class and small proprietors, who predominated in northern Tuscany, the Po districts, Samnium, and the country of the Hirpini. One of the consuls of the year 41, Lucius Antonius, brother of the triumvir, declared that he disapproved of the whole measure, and adopted a republican policy, since he considered the continuance of the constructive power had no justification, now that Cæsar's murderers were punished. He set himself up as the champion of the towns. Sextus Pompeius also entered into alliances with the towns situated in southern Italy. In other places the veterans had recourse to violence. Vergil, afterwards so famous as a poet, might have lost his life in the vicinity of his native town, Mantua, had not Asinius Pollio, then lieutenant of Antony in those parts, extended his protection to him. The fate of Vergil befell the other poets of the time, with whose lives we are familiar; Horace of Venusia, Propertius of Asisium, and the father of Tibullus, lost the whole or part of their property. We can picture the wail that arose in the districts affected, for we possess an accurate account of these events by one of the parties concerned, Asinius Pollio. The veterans insisted that the promises made to them should be kept. Cæsar admitted the justice of their claims, and was resolved to carry out the soldiers' wishes in the face of all obstacles, since he would otherwise lose his prestige with them.

M. Antony concerned himself no more about the matter, the unpopularity of which he preferred that his colleagues should bear. He was at his ease in Egypt. But at Rome, against his will, his interests were represented by Fulvia, his wife, one of the spirited women of that stormy epoch. She loved her husband, who

had married her when she was the widow of Clodius. She saw clearly that if Octavian, whose adoption by Julius Cæsar the opposition did not admit, were to carry out, unaided, his plans for rewarding the veterans, Antony would necessarily lose the esteem of his soldiers. Fulvia wrote to her husband that his presence in Italy was urgently required. Above all, she wished to bring him back to Italy from the arms of Cleopatra.

Thus the whole of the year 41 was full of ferment. The consul L. Antonius, Fulvia, and her procurator Manius, the veterans, the victims of confiscation, Octavian, were acting, now independently, now in concert, now in opposition. At last matters ended in actual war. L. Antonius was surrounded and besieged in Perusia. M. Vipsanius, who here first showed his strategic ability, was at Cæsar's side. The decision rested with M. Antony, who did not move from Alexandria for all the messages of Fulvia, and did not send any orders to his lieutenants, so that they looked on irresolutely at the siege. Cæsar thus won the upper hand. Perusia, after a desperate resistance of five months, was forced to capitulate and was cruelly punished, while L. Antonius, out of consideration for his brother, received a safe-conduct; Fulvia escaped to Greece. Many fugitives were received by Sextus Pompeius, who was engaged in operations against Italy, unhindered by Lepidus. It happened at this time that the senator Ti. Claudius Nero had to fly from Cæsar in Campania, and with him his wife, Livia, the future Augusta, holding the little Tiberius in her arms — a noteworthy event at a time when all passions were unchained.

The Parthians, meanwhile, had made an attack on Syria, and the son of T. Labienus served as their leader. M. Antony received the news of it simultaneously with the tidings that Perusia was captured, and that Cæsar was growing hostile to his lieutenants, owing to their ambiguous behaviour. He had the choice of either turning his attention to the Parthians or of going to Italy, in order to arrange matters. He preferred the latter course. He joined Fulvia in Greece, and husband and wife had much to reproach each other with. Soon afterwards Fulvia fell ill and died. Antony then went over to Italy. He had with him Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who came forward with the fleet of the republicans as an independent party leader. He had gone to M. Antony, who, after the most recent events, did not seem nearly so baneful to the republic as Cæsar Octavianus. Even Sextus Pompeius seemed disposed to come to terms with Antony, who accepted his proposals when Cæsar, on account of the presence of the outlawed Domitius Ahenobarbus with the fleet of Antony, refused to open his harbours to him.

But as Italy suffered too severely under the blockade, the friends of the two triumvirs bestirred themselves to effect a reconciliation. At the conference which was inaugurated at Brundisium, Asinius Pollio acted as confidential friend of M. Antony, while that of Cæsar was C. Mæcenas. In his suite was Horace, who has described in verse the journey to Brundisium. Cæsar Octavian was not strong enough to venture on a rupture with M. Antony. The latter was called to the East by the Parthian War. There followed, therefore, towards the end of summer, 40 B.C., a reconciliation between the two great men, which was to be cemented by the marriage of Antony with Octavia, half-sister of Octavian, one of the most esteemed Roman women of the time. There could be no idea of Cleopatra, for the marriage between an Egyptian woman and a

Roman was considered as impossible then as would be now the marriage of a crown prince with the daughter of a Rothschild. The queen had been the mistress of the old Cæsar, why should she not be the mistress of Antony?

For the time being Sextus Pompeius had been excluded from the treaty. But as the supply of provisions for Italy was thus cut off and famine broke out, the relatives of Sextus Pompeius and the triumvirs brought about a new agreement at Misenum, according to which Sextus Pompeius was recognised in his independent command as lord of the sea, especially of the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, to which Achaia was to be added. At the same time, he became augur and was designated consul (39 B.C.). The convention of Misenum was, for the time, most important. Sextus Pompeius called himself from that moment Magnus Pompeius Pius, since he bore the surname of his father as his first name, as the custom was later in the family of the Cæsars, while the name "Pius" marked him as the avenger of his father.

From the agreement with Antony, Octavian had gained the advantage that the Gallic and Spanish provinces were entirely given over to him. Antony was to receive reinforcements from the West in his campaign against the Parthians, and was to be allowed to recruit troops in Italy. The Parthians had in 39 made fresh attacks on Syria and Hither Asia, and had everywhere placed the party of opposition in power. In Jerusalem the Hasmonæan, Antigonus, triumphed over his opponent and uncle, Hyrcanus, and his procurator, Herod, son of Antipater. As Antony was not on the spot, his lieutenant, Ventidius Bassus, conducted the campaign, and brought it to a successful termination. A second invasion in the following year was repulsed. Antony was displeased at this, since he wished it to be understood that the campaign against the Parthians, which Cæsar had once planned, was reserved for him. The Parthians retired to their own country after they had lost in battle Pacorus, son of their king (38 B.C., cf. Vol. III.); Labienus also fell. Antony then placed his lieutenant on the retired list. Herod, to whom the triumvirs granted the title of King, seized power at Jerusalem (37 B.C.).

Antony had gone to Athens, where he and his wife, Octavia, established a court. The latter understood how to arrange matters adroitly between her husband and brother. Antony was in such good humour that long afterwards the memory of it was general in Greece. Two daughters, the elder and the younger, Antonia, were born of the marriage. The preparations for the Parthian War were, meantime, proceeding. This campaign against the Parthians (36 B.C.) failed, and ended in a calamitous retreat (Vol. III.), due partly to the faithlessness of the Armenian allies of Antony and partly to the circumstance that Antony had started too late. The reinforcements which had been promised Antony from the West amounted to very little, since the war against Sextus Pompeius required all available troops. As Antony did not disguise his annoyance at this, the insinuations of the friends of Cleopatra gained the upper hand with him. When he summoned the queen to meet him at Antiochia, the power of her charms, by which he was once more entranced, proved stronger than the political reasons which rendered his marriage with Octavia so important. The latter vainly tried to win back her husband. Antony went to Alexandria with Cleopatra, and ruled from there as the queen's husband. The general course of

politics was now diverted into quite different channels. The dictator Cæsar had already considered the point that it was possible in the East, though not at Rome, to wear the title of Monarch safe from the attacks of the republicans, and Antony followed his example. The empire round the basin of the Mediterranean, at any rate the eastern half, might thus have had a Hellenistic head, while, in the West, Rome might still maintain the leadership. This plan was once more discussed when, in the fourth century A.D., the court was removed to the city on the Bosphorus. Besides the rulers of Rome and Alexandria, there still remained Æmilius Lepidus and Sextus Pompeius, of whom the latter, now that the alliance had been dissolved, was again the scourge of Italy. In addition to political refugees, thousands of runaway slaves had fled to him, and the economic welfare of Sicily was seriously endangered. It was imperative to end such a state of affairs. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, Cæsar's right hand in all military matters, organised the Julian fleet at Misenum, and Antony and Lepidus sent reinforcements. After great preparations the war was begun vigorously with South Italy as a base; Cæsar himself met with a reverse on his first landing in Sicily, and the slaves fought so well that it was not until two years later that the final victory was won in the naval engagements off Mylæ and Naulochus (36 B.C.). When Sextus Pompeius fled, his troops surrendered to Lepidus, who had crossed with his legions from Africa. Lepidus wished to keep Sicily for himself, but Cæsar boldly entered the camp of Lepidus and commanded the soldiers to recognise him as their imperator. His schemes succeeded, as the veterans of Lepidus were promised the same rewards as those of Cæsar, while the veterans of Pompey went empty-handed or were crucified as runaway slaves. Lepidus was declared by Cæsar to have forfeited his sovereignty, on account of his ambiguous conduct; on the other hand, he was given his life and allowed to retain his property and the office of pontifex maximus, but he was forced to withdraw to Circeii.

This was a splendid success for Cæsar, since he now was master of the sea and imperator over forty-five legions. Antony, who was incensed at the action of Cæsar, by which the balance of power had been destroyed, received Sextus Pompeius; the latter, however, met his death the following year (35 B.C.) while attempting to raise an insurrection in Asia. Antony was at that time occupied in Armenia, where he avenged on the king the disasters of the Parthian War. Later he brought him a prisoner to Alexandria (34 B.C.; cf. Vol. III.). He then turned all his attention to the West, where the final struggle for the supremacy could no longer be postponed. While Antony, in the capital of Egypt, was consolidating the countries of Nearer Asia, which had once been owned by the Ptolemies, into a realm for his children by Cleopatra, and was thus planning to base his power on a restoration of the Hellenistic state system, Octavian, with that keen, political insight peculiar to him, was following other paths, which led him far, indeed, from those of his adoptive father, but materially contributed to his ultimate success. He effected a total reconciliation with the party which formerly had supported the great Pompey against the divine Cæsar, and showed himself contented with a position such as that which Pompey had assumed in, and by the side of, the senatorial party. The second Cæsar wished to make complete use of his supreme power, not as dictator or king, but as "princeps," as the first citizen, as the foremost member of the senate, in

direct opposition to Antony, who was disposed to combine the dictatorship and kingly power.

In order to increase his popularity, Cæsar had done much for Italy and Rome in the few years which preceded the crisis. He conducted a campaign in Dalmatia and Istria, in order to give an advantageous frontier to Upper Italy. At Rome a new water supply was provided, a long-felt want. In general, all steps were taken to ensure that the break did not come until a favourable moment. Mæcenas, who influenced public opinion in Cæsar's favour by his patronage of the poets, and Agrippa, who kept the army and fleet in good order, were continuously working towards this object, while Octavian held the reins of government firmly in his hands. Men like Asinius Pollio, who did not wish to co-operate, kept quite in the background, since they saw what would be the result of Antony's infatuated love. Only republicans like Domitius Ahenobarbus and inveterate enemies of Cæsar adhered to Antony. These, with the exception of Ahenobarbus, complied with the queen's wishes that she and Antony should not be addressed as "Thou," as the Roman custom was, and took part in the court festivities in Alexandria, at which everything was conducted with Oriental pomp. Cleopatra brought up her son by the first Cæsar, Ptolemæus Cæsarion, together with her children by Antony, and now played him off against "Caius Octavius." Octavia, on the other hand, educated in Rome not only her own children, but also those of Antony by his first marriage, even after she had obtained a divorce from him.

The year 32 saw further vicissitudes, since, on the one hand, the adherents of Antony became active, and, on the other, Octavian took vigorous measures. He appeared, armed, in the senate, and compelled his opponents to fly, as at the time of the proscription he showed himself devoid of scruples. He caused the will of Antony, which was deposited with the vestal virgins, to be opened, in order to prove that it contained dispositions in favour of Cleopatra and her children, as well as instructions that he should be buried in Alexandria, a revelation which caused an immense stir in Rome. Numerous pamphlets were circulated, in which the plebeian origin of Octavian and the Oriental masquerading of Antony were criticised. While the boys in Rome were playing at "war between Cæsar and Antony," the population of Italy and the Western provinces took the oath of loyalty to Cæsar as their leader, according to the custom, in case of "tumultus" or war. By far the greater number of senators accompanied Cæsar on his departure for the war, which was officially declared against the Queen of Egypt.

Antony, who, in the campaigns against the Parthians, had shown himself once more a brave soldier, if not a successful general, thought that the issue should be decided by a land battle, as, after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius, the opposite party was superior in ships and in experience of naval warfare. But Cleopatra, who was strongest in her ships, insisted on a sea-fight, although there was a deficiency of sailors, and the soldiers, in accordance with their training, did not willingly go on board. As the Romans about Antony could not prevail against the queen, many deserted the triumvir, among them Domitius Ahenobarbus.

With Cæsar Octavianus everything went well. Agrippa had shown his worth on land and on sea; and there stood at his side other capable leaders, as Statilius Taurus and Valerius Messalla. Their ships were, indeed, fewer than those of

Antony, but they were fully manned; and the legions were not merely on paper. Again Italians and other Western nations confronted the East, where recruiting for the legions was difficult, and even the auxiliaries were less efficient soldiers. Antony meditated a landing in Italy, in order to bring the war to an end there, as Sulla had once done. His headquarters were in Patræ, while his army and fleet collected in the Gulf of Ambracia (autumn 32). But in the spring of 31 Agrippa took the aggressive, and was successful in some naval operations, while the land forces faced each other without fighting. On September 2 a great sea battle was fought off the Promontory of Actium. Antony was defeated, as Cleopatra made for the open sea during the fight, and Antony, in his infatuation, hastened after her. A few days after, the land army, left without a leader, surrendered on the same terms as that of Lepidus. The soldiers of Antony, who acknowledged Cæsar as their imperator, were placed by him on an equal footing with his own troops. Traces of the fact that Cæsar's army had been formed out of three others existed for centuries afterwards in the numbers of the Roman legions. There were, for example, three legions numbered III.; namely, the III. Cyrenaica, the III. Gallica, the III. Augusta. The first-mentioned might have originated in the army of Lepidus, the second came certainly from that of Antony.

The war was ended in Egypt, whither Antony and Cleopatra had fled. Serious opposition could no longer be offered, since the foreign tributaries and allies, after Actium, all did homage to the victor, who was only delayed by the insubordination of his own soldiers. In the summer of the year 30, Octavian advanced from Syria against Egypt, while C. Cornelius Gallus attacked from the side of Cyrene. Alexandria was captured on August 1, 30 B.C., after Antony had taken his own life. Cleopatra, detained by negotiations, became a prisoner. She had an interview with Octavian, but found no mercy, nor did her son, Cæsarion, fare better. All claimants who opposed the dynastic interests of Octavian were killed, including Antyllus, an elder son of Antony. His other children were spared. Egypt ceased to be the kingdom of the Ptolemies, though the kingly power still continued officially. Octavian allowed himself to be hailed as "Pharaoh," giving merely another form to the procedure of M. Antonius, and reckoned the years of his reign in Egypt from the death of Cleopatra. He appointed as his representative Cornelius Gallus, a man of equestrian rank, who had acquired a reputation as a poet and a patron of the arts. An insurrection in Upper Egypt was suppressed by him, the Roman dominions were extended to the cataract of Syene, and treaties were concluded with the tribes settled to the south. We have an account of this in an inscription recently come to light at Syene. Cornelius Gallus, a man of somewhat strange fancies, felt himself so completely the successor of the old kings that he was suspected at Rome and recalled. When Octavian made him feel his displeasure, he committed suicide. The age of pretenders was over, once for all.

Only those who had successfully passed through these crises remained in the foreground, even after Octavian had announced at Rome the restoration of the old constitution. The senate conferred on him in the year 27 B.C. the additional name of "Augustus," the "Exalted"; and he was in the future officially called "Imperator Cæsar Augustus." With M. Vipsanius Agrippa, his trusted friend, in victory and power, he shared the consulate in the years 28 and 27 B.C. Both

were then between the ages of thirty-five and thirty-six. Augustus (see Fig. 4 of plate facing p. 386) was fair and blue-eyed, but not otherwise physically striking: Agrippa had an expressive head, which resembles that of Napoleon in his youthful days. He wore, as a naval victor, the naval crown (*corona classica*), while Augustus was awarded the civic crown (*corona civica*) of oak leaves for his humane behaviour after the battle of Actium. Neither of these honours was beyond the reach of any citizen. In their capacity as consuls these "crowned" leaders, who were popularly compared to the twin brothers, Romulus and Remus, carried out a satisfactory settlement with the senate, formerly the sole ruling body. The problem was how to preserve the Roman constitution and at the same time to assure the supremacy of the Augustus, to give him such a position as Hiero had held in Syracuse, the Atallidæ in Pergamus, or, earlier still, the Pisistratidæ, or Pericles himself, at Athens. The more conservative the spirit in which they acted, the more lasting would be the new arrangement. This was the belief of Augustus, and he always acted in accordance with it.

4. THE TIMES OF THE PRINCIPATE

A. The Julian-Claudian House

By the constitution of Augustus one position was still left as a sort of hereditary possession, which the senate had already granted to the great Pompey, but had refused to the first Cæsar. Just as the sons of Pompey and the son of Antony had come forward as successors to their fathers, so the adopted son of the dictator Cæsar thought to keep this position in his family: they called it the "principate," the first place among the families that ruled the republic. With this was to be joined the supreme command over the troops in the countries not yet pacified — Syria, the Rhine, North Spain, and, soon after, Illyricum. These provinces, since the "princeps" could not always leave Rome, were governed, as Spain had been under Pompey, by lieutenants (*legati*), who were entrusted with independent power of action, but were always related to the ruling family.

Generally speaking, the fiction was officially kept up that Augustus, after five or ten years, when everything was reduced to order, would willingly resign this accumulation of governorships. In Rome and Italy the consulate did not carry with it absolute predominance, for the office had to be shared with a colleague. Augustus, therefore, after being re-elected to the consulate up to 23 B.C., had the "tribunician power" conferred on him, once for all, by virtue of which he could exercise supervision over all ordinary magistrates, while, by historical tradition, the championship of the plebs — that is, of the people against the nobility — was inseparably connected with it, a point which seemed of importance as evidence of the formal restoration of the old constitution. While the years were still dated, as before, after the two consuls, the number of the year of Augustus' tribunate was also recorded. When the former triumvir, Lepidus, died (12 B.C.), Augustus assumed the chief pontificate. He was then already member of all the chief priestly colleges, a condition contrary to the customs of republican times, when, at the most, two priestly offices might be held together. In every respect the "princeps" held an extraordinary position.

The senate continued to act together with him, being formally in possession of the powers which Sulla had conferred on it, with the exception that more scope was given here to the initiative of the "princeps." If he did not wish to come forward with a motion, this was done for him by senators who belonged to the circle of his friends. An opposition only made itself felt on unimportant questions. The noblest families, such as those of Æmilius Lepidus, Domitius Ahenobarbus, Fabius Maximus, Antony, and Claudius, were connected by ties of relationship with the ruling house. Asinius Pollio lived, after the battle of Actium, in complete retirement, but his son, Asinius Gallus, became consul in early life, later proconsul, and married a daughter of Agrippa. L. Munatius Plancus, always a trimmer, played the part of a loyalist, as it was at his initiative that the senate conferred on Octavius the title of Augustus. Valerius Messalla, descended from a republican family, closely attached himself to Augustus, though not without clinging to constitutional forms with excessive punctiliousness. Another man who, during the civil wars, had stood on the side of the republicans, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, was induced by Augustus to accept the consulate for the year 23 B.C., in order thus to show his acceptance of the new state of things. The son of M. Tullius Cicero became consul at the time of the battle of Actium, in order to wreak vengeance on Antony for his father and his uncle. On his motion the name of Antony was erased from the consular lists. Cicero, though personally unimportant, afterwards went to Asia as proconsul. The civil wars had swept away all men of independent views. When the consul for the year 23, M. Terentius Varro Murena, attempted to form a conspiracy, he was brought to trial, condemned, and executed.

Public opinion was in favour of the "principate," and of the primacy of the Julian house in particular. This was important, in view of the fact that most writers at the time of the first Cæsar had upheld the republic; not merely Cicero, Brutus, and Labienus, but also the poet Catullus and the historian Cornelius Nepos, who both were natives of Cisalpine Gaul. The historian Livy of Patavium grew up a "Pompeian" in feeling; the poet Vergil of Mantua appears first as a client of Asinius Pollio, and Horace the Apulian had fought for freedom at Philippi. But soon after Actium, when Livy began to cast the old annals into an appropriate form, he was already one of the circle of Augustus, who took a personal interest in his productions. Vergil and Horace were intimately acquainted with the trusted friend of Augustus, Mæcenas of Arretium.

Greek literary men also began to make Rome the centre of their labours. Strabo of Amasea in Cappadocia, as historian and geographer, followed in the footsteps of Polybius and Posidonius, who, according to the most approved models of the period of the Diadochi, had combined the history of the Roman West and the Greek East into a universal history; so also did Diodorus, who came to Rome from Sicily. Others, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, treated the earlier history of Rome after the example of the Roman antiquaries, whose most learned representative, M. Terentius Varro of Reate in the Sabine country, lived during the principate of Augustus. The rhetorician Nicolaus of Damascus, who was engaged for some years in teaching the children of M. Antony at the house of Octavia, wrote a comprehensive history of the world, in addition to an account of the youth of Augustus. The poet Crinagoras of Mitylene, whom his native town sent repeatedly as envoy to Rome, dedicated some of his best poems to Octavia

and her relatives. King Juba of Mauretania belonged to this circle. He was a son of that Juba, King of Numidia, who had fought with the optimates against Cæsar, and had been educated at Rome. He married there the daughter of Cleopatra and Antony, who also was called Cleopatra, and afterwards proudly named her son "Ptolemæus," as if he were heir of the Ptolemies. Juba wrote in Greek on Roman antiquities and African geography; a memorable literary phenomenon of a time when Rome became the capital of the Hellenic-Roman sphere of civilisation, and to a certain extent had maintained her position as such in the struggle against Antony and Cleopatra. The princes of other client kings were, like Juba, sent to Rome to be educated, and there they entered into personal relations with the house of Augustus, as in the case of the sons and grandsons of the Jewish king, Herod, of whom we learn many interesting particulars in the "Antiquities of the Jews" of Flavius Josephus. The children of the Parthian kings also came, and so did Thracian princes and even the sons of German chiefs, who went to Rome as hostages, and were, indeed, lost to their own people, since they grew effeminate amid the delights of the capital.

Augustus stood for more than forty years, after the establishment of his principate, at the head of the state, supported at first by Agrippa, who became his son-in-law in 21 B.C., and afterwards by his stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus, and for a time by his grandsons, Gaius and Lucius Cæsar, the sons of Agrippa and Julia.

The supreme command of the army, the administration of the frontier provinces, the foreign policy, were all united in the hands of the ruling house, while the senate had under its supervision only the affairs of Italy and the pacified provinces, among which Asia and Africa took the first rank. The same dualism was apparent in the financial question. The rule was soon established that the coinage of gold and silver was the concern of the "princeps," whose likeness the coins bore, while the senate struck the copper pieces through separate masters of the mint.

The largest item in the state budget was the outlay for the army. Augustus, after he had disbanded the enormous masses of troops which were kept up during the period of the triumvirate, had organised a standing army, in order, once for all, to ensure the protection of the frontiers. The organisation of Marius was, on the whole, retained, Cæsar's alterations were modified, and, out of consideration for the finances, even the field army was done away with, a change which later proved disastrous. Not merely the pay of the troops actually serving, but the rather high pensions of the retired soldiers, had to be met; for this purpose a five-per-cent. inheritance tax was imposed even in Italy. The princeps, as commander-in-chief, was entitled to a staff, which drew high pay. Two naval stations, at Misenum on the Campanian coast and at Ravenna on the Adriatic, were established, to guard the sea.

Great sums were expended on the capital, in feeding it, in keeping the Tiber embankments and the sewers in good order, and especially in producing the public games. The "Roman people" were anxious to retain the advantages of their lordly position, and demanded bread and games. Of the provinces under Augustus, Egypt yielded the most in taxes. Asia was, it is true, a senatorial province; but in the way of indirect duties soon paid a considerable revenue into the coffers of the princeps. Gaul and Spain, which at first cost more than they

brought in, became, in the course of the peaceful times that followed, countries of great financial importance. Africa and Narbonensis were closely identified with Italy, and shared its prosperity. Carthage, which Cæsar had restored, became again the capital of the far-reaching sphere of Punic-Roman civilisation.

In Spain, Augustus and Agrippa completed the conquest of the Cantabrian and Asturian highlands, though a considerable force was required for a long time afterwards to hold the country. Three provinces were created, of which the most southern, the country of the Bætis, was under senatorial rule, while the other two, Lusitania and the so-called "hither" province, were subject to the princeps. Corduba (Cordova), Emerita (Merida), and Tarraco (Tarragona) were the capitals. Emerita was a new colony, which Agrippa had settled with his pensioned soldiers. In the north of the country Cæsaraugusta, now Saragossa, so called in honour of the princeps, has preserved the recollection of Augustus up to the present day.

In Gaul, which was conquered by the first Cæsar, or rather in the "three Gauls"— that is, the districts of Celtica, Belgica, and Aquitania, which were always distinct from the old province (Narbonensis), as being departments with a military government — the newly founded Lugdunum became the religious and economic centre of the Roman rule. Belgica was afterwards combined with the German departments for administrative purposes. Aquitania also tried to keep its separate institutions. The "concilium" of the three Gauls, which met yearly at the confluence of the Arar (Saône) and the Rhodanus (Rhône), in order to sacrifice to "God the emperor and Rome the goddess," was an important institution: Lugdunum became the capital of one of the great territorial divisions of the empire, just as Carthage was of Africa. In both places was stationed a cohort, resembling the police soldiery of the city of Rome, which was at the disposal of the administrative authorities.

We find no less than eight out of the twenty-five legions, which the army numbered in the last years of Augustus, stationed on the Rhine, where they could be employed equally against the Celts and the Germans. The interests of the districts occupied by these troops became all the more identified with the Roman interests, in that the tribes of Belgica and the neighbouring Germans eagerly took service among the auxiliaries of the legions. This branch of the service was well paid, and the national characteristics of the tribes were preserved under native leaders, in so far as they themselves did not covet Roman titles and rewards. The second large army, four legions, was in Syria, facing the Parthians, who soon, however, adopted diplomatic methods, as they were weakened by internal dissensions; the standards which had been captured by the Parthians from Crassus at Carrhæ were thus regained. Augustus declared he was content (20 B.C.) with this arrangement, since he preferred the West to the East and devoted his energies more willingly to places where Latin civilisation might thrive. In Egypt the military system was left on the footing on which it was placed during the time of the last Ptolemies. The numerous Galati were united with the Greek elements into army corps, which were counted as "legions" of the imperial army. Their commanding officers were nominees of the princeps; and, therefore, never senators, but usually men of the rank of Roman knights. In Africa alone the proconsul commanded one or, if necessary, two legions, which had to guard the frontier against the unruly tribes of the

desert. In Illyricum the forces were originally under a senatorial governor, until Augustus submitted his plan for the regulation of the frontiers, and entrusted its execution to his colleague, Agrippa, and, after his death, to his stepson, Ti. Claudius Nero. Tiberius was then merely "legatus" of Augustus, and from that time the command in Illyricum also was "imperial" (12 B.C.). The aim of the government was directed, first and foremost, towards obtaining firm and, as far as possible, natural frontiers for the empire. (See map at pp. 441, 442.) In the East the Euphrates; in the West, on the one side, the Atlantic, on the other the Danube and the Elbe, form this frontier. While the line of the Euphrates was easily secured by strong fortresses, difficulties were met with on the Danube and in Germany. The Alpine districts, except Noricum, with which, since the time of the Cimbri, peaceful communications had been opened, had to be taken by force of arms. The hardy tribes in the heart of Illyricum showed like hostility. Here, too, the Roman system would have taken firm root, through the services which the natives rendered as auxiliaries, had not the legionary been accompanied by Roman tax-gatherers and Roman lawyers, who were compared by the Illyrians to wolves. The same was the case in Germany, which Drusus, the second stepson of Augustus, had traversed victoriously as far as the Elbe, by land, from Mogontiacum (now Mainz) and from Castra Vetera (near Xanten), and by water as far as the mouth of the Albis (that is, the Elbe), where the Romans prided themselves on capturing the original home of the Cimbri—splendid feats of arms, which extended the geographical knowledge of the time as much as the earlier campaigns of Pompey and of Julius Cæsar.

After the premature death of Drusus (9 B.C.), Tiberius (see Fig. 3 of the plate facing p. 386) continued the policy of his brother. The German tribes were content to serve under the Roman standards. Arminius, a young prince of the Cherusci, became a Roman knight, and personally commanded the contingent of his tribesmen, while his brother (who was surnamed "Flavus") became a Roman even in sentiments. The lawyers, here as elsewhere, ruined what the soldiers had won. In the year 9 A.D., owing to the failure of the incompetent governor, P. Quinctilius Varus, to preserve order, an insurrection broke out, at the head of which Arminius placed himself. In the Teutoberg forest the unfavourable nature of the soil, rendered treacherous by heavy rains, the desertion of the German officers, and the blunders of the general, brought annihilation on three Roman legions. The position of the *saltus Teutoburgensis* cannot now be exactly determined; but, as numerous gold coins of the times of Augustus have been found at Barenau, to the east of Bramsche, many are inclined to locate the battle-field at that place. Quinctilius Varus killed himself, while many of the prisoners were massacred by the insurgents or sacrificed to the gods; only the cavalry escaped. The numbers of the legions, 17, 18, and 19, disappeared for ever out of the imperial army; their memory was accursed, to adopt the ordinary expression.

As a consequence of the defeat of Quinctilius Varus, Augustus withdrew the frontier from the Elbe to the Rhine, and the latter river was not again crossed until the emperors of the Flavian house did so, to effect a permanent occupation of the country. Until then the district on the right bank of the Rhine was, if not "free," at any rate, "neutral," a region where the Romans went to forage or

to hunt. In times of peace the Roman officers certainly led their men across in large bands to catch the wild geese, of which the feathers were highly valued in Italy. Germans also came over the frontier to trade, and exchanged natural products for implements and ornaments of Roman manufacture. The Hermunduri, who settled north of the Danube, were allowed, by special permission, to come to Augusta Vindelicorum ("Augsburg"), the market town of the Rhætian province, while elsewhere commercial transactions had to be conducted on the frontier under the supervision of subordinate officers.

Carnuntum, situated on the Danube, near the middle of its course (below Vienna), was considered an important emporium for the trade between Illyricum and the Baltic countries. Amber, which was then highly valued, was brought to Rome by this route. The main Roman army was, at the time of Augustus, concentrated in southern Styria, near Pötovio (now Pettau), while the Hungarian districts on the Danube were not included within the Roman line of defence until the time of Trajan. Singidunum (near the present Belgrade) and Viminacium (Kostolatz in Servia) were the strongholds on the Danube, and kept in check the countries lying to the north and south. The province of Dalmatia (to which Herzegovina and Bosnia belonged) was occupied for decades by two legions as garrisons, since a great insurrection, lasting four years, 5-9 A.D., had shown that the peoples of that part were by no means subdued. In order to settle matters there, central Germany had to be relinquished, for its occupation would have required an enormous expenditure in money and men, an expenditure which Augustus, at the end of his life, could no longer make up his mind to incur. It was enough if, by the suppression of the insurrection of Pannonians and Dalmatians, the eastern frontier of Upper Italy was rendered as secure as the north had become earlier through the Rhætian War. As a result, the Po district attained to a hitherto unknown prosperity. The great monuments commemorative of victory, the "Tropæum Alpium," on the summit of the Maritime Alps (near the village of Turbia, above Monaco) and in Ticinum (now Pavia) testified to the gratitude of this country, and spread the fame of the sovereign and his family.

In other respects, too, Italy was benefited by the government of Augustus. The country towns recovered from the terrors of the civil wars and the proscription. Augustus did everything to heal the wounds which he himself had inflicted, especially at the time when he had been forced to recompense the veterans after the battle of Philippi. Perusia received its entire territory back again, and remained a municipium, entitled, according to custom, to vote in the sacred Etruscan league. Roads like the Via Flaminia were put into better order, an improvement very welcome to the towns situated on it, such as Fanum and Ariminum. The management of the Italian roads, which could not be entirely entrusted to the separate municipia, on account of their keen rivalry, was provided for by the appointment of a central commission, composed of distinguished senators, which sat at Rome. In other respects, indeed, the separate municipia, while enjoying the advantages, were also liable to the burdens of autonomy. They were small states within the state; annually they changed their two magistrates, who stood at the head of the government, after the manner of the consuls in ancient Rome, and with a few subordinates conducted the administration under the authority of the municipal council. The financial

question caused little difficulty in the municipia, so long as persons who had amassed wealth in the imperial service thought it an honour to fill the offices in their native town, and to make contributions out of their own purses. Thus the material advantages of the imperial system were felt even by the smallest communities of the Apennine Peninsula.

The new monarchy introduced many improvements in the administration of the capital. A prefecture of police was established for Rome, modelled after that of Alexandria, a change which would never have commended itself to republicans. The prefect had a few cohorts of military police under him; the supervision of the numerous slaves, as well as their protection from the caprice of their masters, was assigned to the new magistrate, whose sphere of duty steadily increased as time went on. Architectural regulations were introduced, according to which a new quarter sprung up on the Campus Martius, to which the trade of the capital was attracted more and more from the old districts. The forum of the republican time (see the subjoined double-paged engraving, "The Forum Romanum") and the new forums, as well as the capitol, served chiefly for the transaction of legal business and for public purposes, while the Palatine was adopted by Augustus for his residence. Cities were built after the model of the capital even in those provinces where the Italian municipal system had not yet obtained a footing; colonnades, long lines of tombs, the forum, the theatre, the amphitheatre, arose. The republican city had been exclusive; imperial Rome became the subject of assiduous imitation.

A similar reproduction of Alexandrian institutions was found in the fire brigade at Rome, organised on a military system; this had previously been composed of the slaves in the town, or else the duty had been left to private enterprise. A special prefect was now appointed for this purpose, as well as to supervise the provisioning of the capital, which was entirely dependent on the regular importation of grain from Egypt and Africa, since the vicinity of Rome had become the mere "garden of the empire." The villa quarter of the imperial capital extended on the north as far as the lake of Sabate (now Lago di Bracciano), on the south to the Gulf of Naples, on the east into the country of the ancient Sabines, Æqui and Volsci. The conquered world had to supply all that was required, a state of things at once as ideal and as unnatural as Paradise, since the greatness of Italy had been built up by the free farmer, who now survived only in remoter districts. The period of the Æquian and Volscian wars was even then ancient history. However, men did not experience the grief of the Gracchi at this state of things, but were contented with matters as they stood, enjoyed the era of peace, and praised Augustus as the author. Above all, joy was felt at the immunity from the oppressive burden of military service, since Italy south of the Po was not ordinarily a recruiting ground; and ancient Latium, Etruria, and Umbria furnished soldiers chiefly for the Prætorian cohorts, that is, for home service.

The cheap slave markets had ended with the close of the incessant wars. A stratum of half-free, or entirely free, workmen and husbandmen was now formed, which produced in the sequel a more peaceful development in the economic life of Italy. There was, besides, a natural improvement in many respects. The value of land in Italy increased notably, trade and commerce prospered, public morals and order, which had greatly deteriorated during the

EXPLANATION OF PLATES ON OPPOSITE SIDE

a. Basilica Julia (54 begun, 46 consecrated, completed by Augustus).

b. Templum Jovis Capitolini (69 B. C. dedicated the second time, under Domitian restored the fourth time).

c. Templum Saturni (497 consecrated, 44 B. C. renovated, later destroyed and restored.

d. Arcus Tiberii (erected 16 A. D.).

e. Templum Divi Vespasiani (erected under Domitian, restored under Septimius Severus).

f. Tabularium (state records office, built 73 B. C.).

g. Rostra (the old, built 338 B. C., the new, under Augustus).

h. Templum Concordiæ (built 366; enlarged 7 B. C.).

i. Arcus Severi (erected 203 A. D.).

k. Carcer (built in the time of the kings, restored 22 A. D.).

l. Citadel with the Templum Junonis Monetæ (built 344 B. C.).

m. Curia (built by Julius Cæsar).

n. Domus Tiberiana.

o. Basilica Julia (54 begun, 46 consecrated, completed by Augustus).

p. Templum Castoris (consecrated 484, renovated 6 B. C.).

q. Templum Apollinis Palatini (built by Augustus).

r. Arcus Augusti (erected 19 B. C.).

s. Arcus Titi (highest point of the Sacred Way).

t. Templum Divi Juli (on the spot where M. Antonius spoke, March 19, 44, built by Augustus, dedicated, 29 B. C.).

u. Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum; begun by Vespasian, completed by Titus).

v. Templum Veneris et Romæ (double temple built by Hadrian).

w. Templum Divi Romuli (round temple).

x. Templum Antonini et Faustinæ (erected 141 A. D.).

y. Basilica Æmilia (founded 179, rebuilt 54, renovated 14 B. C.).

The letters a — y corresponding to this explanation are on the inserted transparent leaf.

SOUTH AND WEST SIDES OF THE ROMAN FORUM, LOOKING FROM THE PERRON OF THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR

(After the reconstruction by Ch. Hülsen.)

NORTH AND EAST SIDES OF THE ROMAN FORUM, LOOKING FROM THE NORTH CORNER OF THE ROSTRA

(After the reconstruction by Ch. Hülsen.)

civil wars, were ameliorated. Increased respect was officially paid to the cult of the gods; and in the year 17 B.C. the great feast of atonement, the secular festival, was celebrated with unprecedented splendour, in commemoration of which the poet Horace, by order of Augustus, wrote the noble dedicatory hymn, the "Carmen Sæculare." Of the old fraternities, the origin of which went back to the time of King Romulus, that of the Husbandmen was revived by Augustus with great magnificence. The princeps, together with the foremost members of the senate, joined it, while the remaining places were filled up by election.

Under such circumstances, and for the reason, too, that the stability of the system of government was involved in them, the personal and family relations of the "First Citizen" became increasingly important. In the good old republican times the individual had kept much in the background, even if the senatorial families kept alive the memory of great ancestors, in their splendid halls, by pictures and busts with appropriate inscriptions. This we hear, for instance, of the Fabii, who distinguished themselves in the war against Veii and later in the Samnite wars. Even the Fabius "Cunctator," who had avoided all battle with Hannibal, was honoured, because his conduct appeared justified by the subsequent disaster at Cannæ. Then the Scipios came into prominence, and influenced, in their way, the outcome of the Second and Third Punic wars. There followed the Gracchi, Marius, Sulla and his contemporaries, Pompey the Great, and Cæsar, the predecessors and models of Augustus.

The old commemorative inscriptions ("elogia") of the family halls were no longer sufficient to mark the rôle of the individual, who now stood at the head of the commonwealth, and towered predominant in all circumstances. The whole course of history was intimately connected with the individuality of those men, who were conscious of their own greatness. Sulla left "memoirs"; Cæsar published his "Civil War" after his "Gallic War," and ordered his other campaigns to be described by men who had served in them. Octavius followed his example, and published in the year 36 B.C., after the successes against Sextus Pompeius, a survey of his previous operations. Augustus, at his death, left an account of the acts of his reign, which has come down in an inscription; this is the famous "Monumentum Ancyranum," which was engraved on the walls in the Temple of Roma and Augustus at Ancyra in Galatia. Asinius Pollio wrote the history of his time, uninfluenced by the biassed account of Octavius. Augustus had the tact to allow the former comrades-in-arms of his adoptive father to do as they pleased; as when Valerius Messalla, in his description of the battle of Philippi, praised Brutus as his imperator.

M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the victor over Sextus Pompeius and Antony, stood in very intimate relations with the sovereign. Sprung from an unimportant family, a contemporary and friend of the young Augustus, he had stood by him through the vicissitudes of fortune at Perusia against S. Pompeius and on to Actium. Later he was actively employed on the Rhine frontier, where he founded the city of the Ubii, which became a "colony" under his granddaughter, Agrippina. It is the modern Cologne. Subsequently we find Agrippa with Augustus in Spain, which he reorganised after the subjugation of the mountain tribes. In order to make the resources of Spain, Gaul, and Germany available for the needs of the empire, he completed a census of those countries. He also

devoted his energies to the administration of the city of Rome. In the year 33 B.C., after having served as consul, he took over the ædileship, in order to establish a system for the supply of drinking-water to Rome. It is not the least of Agrippa's services that Rome up to the present day is one of the capitals of Europe possessing an excellent water supply. One of his buildings, the Pantheon, still bears his name on the front. He was an energetic and, above all, a practical man. At a time when all the world, up to the very highest circles, dabbled in poetry, Agrippa kept from the temptation. On the other hand, his geographical and statistical labours formed a foundation for the knowledge of the following centuries. Agrippa was considered an upstart by the old nobility. Augustus, however, recognised how greatly indebted he was to his friend.

The position of C. Mæcenas was different. He was the intimate personal friend of Octavius, and was sent by him on important diplomatic missions, as at the time when, after the fall of Perusia and the disarmament of L. Antonius, a conflict with the triumvir Antony seemed imminent — a conflict which would have come all too soon for Cæsar. Mæcenas then negotiated the marriage of M. Antony with Octavia. When, later, the rupture was brought on, C. Mæcenas remained in Rome as representative of Octavius, and held the reins of power in the capital. He relentlessly crushed the attempt at a rising made by the son of Lepidus, the deposed triumvir. After the triumph of Augustus, Mæcenas withdrew from public affairs and, without aiming at political distinction, lived a Roman knight, though, as a scion of Etruscan Lucumones, he looked down on the Roman nobility. He devoted himself to the fine arts and the pleasures of life, and was lauded by the poets as their patron, yet constantly consulted by Augustus on all private matters. His wife, Terentia, ruled him, while Augustus played the part of the friend of the family.

Among the members of the family, Octavia, the eldest sister, or half-sister of Augustus, took the first place. She had supported her brother's policy at a critical moment, when, just become a widow, she gave her hand to M. Antony, and by this means kept him, for several years to come, loyal to the triumvirate. When Antony preferred Cleopatra to her, she returned to Rome, where she won universal sympathy by her dignified conduct. She also made an impression on the literary men of the time, for she showed no small appreciation of their works.

Next to Octavia stand Livia, the third wife, and Julia, the daughter of Augustus by his second marriage with Scribonia. Augustus had twice married from political motives; first, Clodia, a daughter of Fulvia by Clodius, the opponent of Cicero, and, therefore, a stepdaughter of M. Antony. This marriage, which was arranged at the time of the first triumvirate, and had never been consummated, was ended when Fulvia rose against Cæsar, in the year 41 (cf. p. 395). When, soon afterwards, Sextus Pompeius attained to great importance, and was especially courted by the Antonians, Cæsar made approaches to the family of the senator Scribonius Libo, from which Sextus Pompeius had taken his wife, and married a Scribonia. Julia was born of this marriage. Scribonia was afterwards divorced, for Livia, wife of the prætorian Ti. Claudius Nero, had so captivated the triumvir Cæsar that he compelled her husband to divorce her, in order that he might marry her. Her sons, Tiberius and Drusus, remained at first under the control of Claudius; and only on his death, which followed soon after, did Cæsar receive them into his house. His union with Livia was childless.

Under these circumstances Julia, the only legitimate child of the prince, attained to great prominence, for Augustus intended to confer the principate on the husband of his daughter: this, indeed, led to a conflict with the interests of the state and with the most influential personages after Augustus. He had actually selected the son of Octavia by her first marriage, M. Claudius Marcellus, as his heir, just as he himself, a great-nephew of Cæsar, had become Cæsar's heir. Five years after the battle of Actium, the marriage of Julia, aged fourteen, and Marcellus, a youth of eighteen, took place (25 B.C.). Marcellus was pointed out to the senate as the future sovereign, and was paid appropriate honours.

This purely personal policy of Augustus was now challenged by the man who had played the most important part next to him, M. Vipsanius Agrippa. He was admittedly a thorough-going partisan of the monarchical order of things, and recognised in Augustus the right man for the place; but such a combination of state and personal interests was foreign to his taste. The saying was heard at Rome, "Marcellus may be the favourite grandson of Augustus, but Agrippa will not let him have the power." The latter withdrew from all political life and went into voluntary exile in Lesbos. The rupture between the two chiefs was thus made plain to the world. Fate then interposed, for Marcellus, barely three years afterwards, was carried off by an illness, to the intense grief of Octavia and Augustus (end of 23 B.C.). The question of the succession was once more open. Mæcenas now interfered in the matter. He explained to Augustus that he had placed Agrippa in such a position that nothing remained except to have him put to death or to accept him as a son-in-law. Augustus chose the latter alternative; and two years after the death of Marcellus, Agrippa, having divorced his own wife, married Julia (21 B.C.). It was a marriage which, like many of that time, was completely dictated by policy: father-in-law and son-in-law were of the same age, just as Pompey had been actually older than his father-in-law, Cæsar. The marriage did not, on the whole, turn out badly. Two sons, the issue of it, Gaius and Lucius, were adopted by Augustus, and destined to be the future rulers of the empire. Agrippa displayed unwearying activity in the establishment of the royal house, especially in the eastern half of the empire, and Julia followed her husband there. In Lesbos, where she resided for some time, she was extolled as a new Aphrodite. Everything seemed propitious.

This state of affairs lasted nine years, certainly the most prosperous period of Augustus' reign. But in the year 12 B.C., Agrippa, while preparing for a campaign in Pannonia, was taken ill, and soon afterwards died. By this event the existing family arrangements were thrown into confusion. Augustus, never of a strong constitution, grew so feeble that all expected his speedy death. If he died, it was doubtful if the principate could be gained for the young children of Julia by Agrippa. In any case, they needed a trustworthy guardian until they should grow up. Besides this, Julia, who was but twenty-eight years old, could not be left without a husband: Augustus knew his daughter. It seemed best, under these circumstances, to marry Julia to Tiberius, the elder stepson of Augustus, who had already given proofs of his abilities. Tiberius was, it is true, happily married to Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa by his first marriage, while there was no trace in him of any affection for Julia. But Augustus was

not the man to be deterred by such considerations. He carried out his family scheme in a despotic manner, and the marriage of Julia with Tiberius was concluded.

The marriage proved a complete failure. Husband and wife soon grew to hate each other. Julia was full of vivacity, and she was interested in poetry; Ovid, the poet of love, belonged to her circle. She was a true princess in her licentiousness. It was said she had been unfaithful to Agrippa in his latter years. Julia was no suitable wife for the cold and stern Tiberius. The couple separated without being divorced, for official decorum would not allow of this. From a political point of view the position intended for Tiberius did not appeal to him: he was to keep the throne warm for Gaius and Lucius Cæsar, but to retire when they came to mature years. When Augustus ordered Gaius, a boy of fifteen, to be designated consul by the senate, and prepared the same honour for Lucius, Tiberius acted as Agrippa had in a similar case; he retired from all public affairs, and went as a private citizen to Rhodes, as if into exile (6 B.C.). The work of the empire, naturally, suffered from this; an invasion of Armenia had to be postponed, because Augustus had no other trustworthy officer at his disposal, and he complained, justly, that he was left in the lurch. It was only several years later that Gaius Cæsar could be sent to Armenia with a proper suite; but at the siege of Artagira he received a wound, from which he never recovered. In the year 4 A.D., Gaius, who was just twenty-four, died; his brother, Lucius, had died two years before at Massilia on a journey to Spain.

No course now remained for Augustus but to nominate as his successor Tiberius, who had in the interval returned to Rome. The man of forty-six was adopted into the family of the Julii, "for political reasons," as Augustus said, who certainly did not do so from love. At the same time, the powers of imperator and tribune were conferred on Tiberius, as they had been on Augustus himself (June 27, A.D. 4). In this way the principle of a hereditary principate was broken and yet adapted to the peculiar arrangements of Roman family life. For ten years Tiberius stood loyally by the side of Augustus, and displayed great energy wherever it was necessary, in Illyricum or on the Rhine. This was the period when Tiberius won respect and popularity, especially in military circles. He suppressed the rising in Pannonia more by skilful administrative measures than by force of arms, a result which was considered a considerable achievement. Augustus, nevertheless, jealously held the reins of government in his own hands up to the very end. The form which Augustus gave to the Roman empire remained in force for three hundred years, although it was based on a compromise between oligarchy and monarchy, and thus contained a contradiction within itself. Practical politics do not always agree with theories, and depend rather upon the individual. A man like the first Cæsar would have given another direction to the state after the senate had been completely subordinated to him. Octavius, in opposition to M. Antony, had united in himself the old offices, which, even after his triumph, kept their importance. Augustus is characterised by the dynastic trait of his policy, as shown by the way in which he made himself the successor of the dictator even in his political position, and staked everything for the interests of his family. (See the genealogical tree of the Julian-Claudian house on p. 411.) He recoiled before Agrippa, but not

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE JULIAN-CLAUDIAN HOUSE.

1st emperor

Emperor Cæsar AUGUSTUS, born 63 B.C. † 14 A.D.
= (1) Clodia. = (2) C. Scribonia. = (3) Livia, † 29 A. D.
Formerly wife of Ti. Claudius Nero.

Julia, * 39 B. C.
= (1) Claudius. Marcellus, † 23 B. C. = (2) Vipsanius. Agrippa, † 12 B. C. = (3) Tiberius.

(1) Caius Cæsar, * 20 B. C. † 4 A. D.
2. Lucius Cæsar, * 17 B. C. † 2 A. D.
3. Vipsania Julia, † 28 A. D.
4. Vipsania Agrippina, † 33 A. D. = Germanicus.
5. Agrippa Postumus, * 12 B. C. † 14 A. D.

(1) Ti. Claudius Nero, * 42 B. C. after 4 A. D. *Tiberius* Cæsar, † 37 A. D. = (1) Vipsania. = (2) Julia.

2nd emperor

Drusus, Livilla, Drusi filia. † 23 A. D.

(1) Julia, = Nero, son of Germanicus, * 19 A. D. = (2) C. Rabellius, † 37 A. D. Blandus.
(2) Tiberius (Gemellus).
(3) Germanicus, * 19 A. D. † 23 A. D.

(2) Nero Claudius Drusus (Germanicus), * 38 B. C. † 9 B. C. = Antonia II.

(1) Germanicus,* * 15 B. C. † 19 A. D. = Vipsania Agrippina
(2) Livilla. = Drusus. Ti. f. (son of 2nd emperor)

1. Nero, * 6 A. D. † 31 A. D. = Julia, Drusi Cæsaris f.
2. Drusus, * 7 A. D. † 33 A. D.
3. Tiberius, } * between
4. not named, } 8 and 10 A. D.
5. Caius, * 11 (died in infancy).
6. Caius, as Emperor (Cæsar Augustus) Germanicus (*Caligula*), * 12 A. D. † 41 A. D.
7. Julia Agrippina, * 15 A. D. = Domitius Ahenobarbus. = Emperor Claudius.
8. Julia Drusilla, * 16 A. D. † 38 A. D. = M. Æmilius Lepidus.
9. Julia Livilla, * 18 A. D. † Before 48 A. D.

3rd

4th emperor

(3) Ti. Claudius Nero Germanicus, after 41 A. D. Augustus Germanicus, † 54 A. D.
= [1] Plautia Urganilla. = [2] Ælia Pætina. = [3] Valeria Messalina, † 48 A. D.
Claudius Drusus, † 20 A. D. Claudia.
Claudia Octavia, † 62 A. D. = Nero.
Claudius Britannicus, † 55 A. D.

Ti. *Claudius* Cæsar
= [4] Julia Agrippina, † 59 A. D., formerly wife of Cn Domitius Ahenobarbus.

Domitius Ahenobarbus, after adoption, 50 A. D. Nero Cæsar as Emperor, from 54 *Nero Claudius* Augustus Germanicus, † 68 A. D. = Claudia Octavia.

5

* Germanicus seems before adoption into the Julian house to have borne the name Nero Claudius Germanicus. After adoption he was called Germanicus (Julius) Cæsar.

before Tiberius, and maintained his own authority even against these great men. At a time when his own grandsons stood by his side he courted popularity, both with the senate and the people.

In his private life Augustus found no happiness. After her separation from Tiberius, Julia had continued her gay life in her own circle, despite all the warnings of her father. Finally, the love precepts of Ovid became facts, for regular orgies were the order of the day. The most prominent among Julia's lovers was Jullus Antonius, the younger son of the triumvir by Fulvia, who had been educated by Octavia, and held the first rank by the side of Livia's sons. He was married to Marcella, daughter of Octavia and divorced wife of Agrippa, gained the consulate in 10 B.C., and then became proconsul in Asia. In short, his intrigue with Julia had a political colouring, as though the principate could be transferred from the Julian to the Antonian house, even against the will of Augustus. When the matter could no longer be hushed up, Jullus Antonius was executed for high treason, and Julia herself banished by Augustus (2 B.C.). Nine years later Ovid went as exile to dismal Tomi, chiefly on account of Julia's daughter and namesake, who had likewise been found unfaithful to her husband. This was a heavy blow for Augustus, who had taken such pains to guide the disordered family life of the higher circles at Rome into better paths. Octavia and Mæcenas, who had formerly been his agents in such delicate matters, were now dead; and Livia saw with satisfaction the downfall of Julia and her children, since the road to the throne was now opened to her own son, Tiberius. As she outlived her rivals, she assumed in the latter years of Augustus a position of importance in polities. She was with her husband when he was taken ill at Nola on a journey into Campania. Messengers were immediately sent off to Tiberius, who had started on a mission to Illyricum. Tiberius was on the spot when Augustus died, August 19, 14 A.D.

Tiberius was "imperator." The military officials of the capital, especially the commandant of the guard, as well as that of the fire brigade, were thus under his orders. According to precedence, the consuls, the military officers, the senators, the soldiers, and the people, swore allegiance to the new lord. In the same way the corresponding orders were issued to the provinces. At Rome itself a meeting of the senate was called, by virtue of the "tribunician power" of Tiberius, at which a vexatious incident occurred. Tiberius, always somewhat awkward as a speaker, did not at once find the right word to explain that he took over the place of his adoptive father, and he acted as if he expected the orders of the senate: when some orators prepared to take this seriously, for in this body the independent feelings of their fathers, as of an Asinius Pollio, had been inherited by the sons, the supporters of the dynasty had to intervene. There was, indeed, a party already which was working for the successor to the throne. There was living at the time a posthumous son of M. Agrippa and Julia, Agrippa Postumus, whom Augustus, after the scandals connected with his daughter, had been unable to favour above Tiberius, but who was regarded by the opposition as a rightful claimant. He was executed in his place of exile without the orders of Tiberius. Julia was put to death in her prison at Rhegium, but we have no particulars of the occurrence. Tiberius entered on the sovereignty at the age of fifty-six, beyond the prime of life, but having displayed fine abilities for many years in the foremost positions; a Claudius, who had come into the house of the

Cæsars by adoption. He was now officially styled Tiberius Cæsar, or, in brief, "Cæsar"; or, as the title was as well known as the name, simply "Tiberius," just as modern monarchs usually call themselves merely by their Christian names. Tiberius did not belie his Claudian descent; the arrogance which was innate in that family was not brought forward against him by his enemies alone. Augustus had fixed still more exactly the order of succession in his house. The younger son of Livia, Drusus, the conqueror of the Germans, had always been his favourite, so that town gossip gave out that he was his son, for Drusus was born after Livia had come into the house of the triumvir Octavianus. The noble youth, when grown up, received the hand of the second Antonia, daughter of Octavia by the triumvir Antonius, a splendid woman, who, even as widow, enjoyed the complete esteem of the family, and was on especially good terms with her brother-in-law, Tiberius, all his life.

Drusus had died a young man, in 9 B.C., from the effects of a fall from his horse, and left two sons behind him, of whom the elder, inheriting the cognomen won by his father's victories, called himself "Germanicus," while the younger, Claudius, was considered feeble of intellect, and was the butt of the family. Tiberius, at the command of Augustus, was compelled to adopt Germanicus, now aged twenty, although he had, by his marriage with Vipsania, a son, named Drusus, who was only a little younger, but now was obliged to yield precedence to his cousin, or rather his adopted brother. Germanicus, who had shown himself a brilliant officer at the time of the revolt in Pannonia and Dalmatia, under the supreme command of Tiberius, was married by Augustus to his granddaughter, Agrippina, a daughter of Julia by Agrippa. Numerous children were born of this marriage, to the joy of the old emperor, who thus saw his descendants multiplying and the succession secured to them after the death of Tiberius. Germanicus, at the moment when Augustus died, was in command of the eight legions stationed on the Rhine frontier, the strongest corps of the imperial army. He ordered the troops to swear allegiance at once to the new ruler, for the will of Augustus was as sacred to Germanicus as to Tiberius.

It happened then that the legionaries wished to seize the opportunity of a change in the person of the sovereign, to improve their own condition. The armies of Illyria and the Rhine mutinied simultaneously. The soldiers complained of their long period of service, which spread over twenty years; of the hard work in the improvement of the provinces which was exacted from them in times of peace; of the brutal corporal punishments which were continually inflicted on them by the subordinate officers; of the constant drilling and training in heavy marching order. When a man was lucky enough to have ended his twenty years' term, and became entitled to the reward of his service, he was often kept in suspense for years, from financial reasons, or he was given house and land in a mountainous or even swampy district, which he had first to make habitable. The guards, on the other hand, had only sixteen years of service, could share in the pleasures of life in the capital and the provincial towns of Italy, and received higher pay. The whole movement assumed a dangerous aspect, since the legions on the Rhine were inclined to proclaim Germanicus as imperator. But he took energetic steps to prevent this. When Agrippina with her children was sent away from the camp, the soldiers' mood was changed: in Illyricum, where Tiberius had sent his son, Drusus, an eclipse of the moon

produced a favourable turn of affairs. The demands of the soldiers were, indeed, momentarily conceded, but the ringleaders were seized, and discipline was restored. This was the first time that the principate measured its strength in this way with its tool, the imperial army. The government afterwards gradually withdrew the concessions which had been made, since the finances of the empire did not permit a reduction in the length of service or an increase of pay; and, according to the views of the most experienced officers, of whom Tiberius himself was one, discipline could not be maintained without corporal punishment, drills, and the labour of constructing camps and cultivating the fields.

Germanicus thought that the soldiers should be restored to their proper mood by a new and inspiring campaign; and, therefore, without any previous inquiries at Rome, he led his troops on his own responsibility over the Rhine. In fact, he repeated these expeditions in the following years, wishing once more to follow the victorious steps of his father, Drusus, and to avenge the defeat of Quinctilius Varus. He reached the Weser and the Elbe, sent his ships into the North Sea, fought with Arminius, and actually invaded the Teutoburg forest. The remains of the fallen Romans were recovered. But such dangers were run and such heavy losses incurred that Tiberius resolved to place restrictions on the adventurous spirit of the heir to the crown. Germanicus was recalled on the most honourable terms, and granted a magnificent triumph at Rome. The consulate, "for the second time," was bestowed on him, an office which Tiberius assumed at the same time with him (18 A.D.). But the chief command in Gaul and Germany was abolished; and, while the inner provinces were placed under civil governors, the Rhine legions were divided into two corps: one for Upper Germany, with headquarters at Mogontiacum (now Mainz), the other for Lower Germany, with headquarters at Castra Vetera (near Xanten).

Germanicus was given a command in the East, where some affairs had to be arranged which might well have been entrusted to the provincial governors. Germanicus saw the commission in this light, and combined with the journey a pleasure trip, in order to see the battle-field of Actium, the monuments of Athens, and, lastly, the pyramids of Egypt. In Syria the imperial governor, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, refused to obey the prince. Piso was the son of the consul of the same name of the year 23 B.C. He had himself been consul in 7 B.C. with Tiberius, and was married to Plancina, a daughter or granddaughter of L. Munatius Plancus. There were at first angry scenes; and, finally, the officers on both sides confronted each other with drawn swords. When Germanicus, who, by virtue of his proconsular authority, had suspended Piso, suddenly was taken ill, he believed that he had been poisoned. He died, and bequeathed this suspicion to his widow, Agrippina, who, in her bereavement, accused the emperor himself of having had a hand in the matter. Tiberius left the investigation to the senate. The charge of poisoning was not found to be proved, but Piso was condemned for disobedience. He committed suicide. The whole affair compromised the government, which, in any case, had played an ambiguous part. There was talk of secret instructions which Piso, an old friend of Tiberius, had received and, perhaps, had exceeded, according to the letter; at any rate, the emperor's intention had been to give the haughty prince a rebuff. Piso's wife, Plancina, implored Livia to save him; and the hostility between Livia and Julia and her descendants was known. But the opposition party was not less busied in procur-

ing proofs, so that Piso was left to his fate. All this caused great excitement at the time, for Germanicus had been very popular (19 A.D.).

Drusus, own son of the emperor, was now designated successor to the throne; but the most important part at court was played by Sejanus, a Roman knight of Volsinii, whom Tiberius had placed at the head of the guard. This guard consisted of nine cohorts, which Augustus had distributed in Italy; Sejanus concentrated them in Rome. Their fortified camp, which was constructed in front of the Viminal gate, became thenceforward the citadel of the citadel. The administration of the imperial provinces was in good hands, since Tiberius kept round him the efficient members of the nobility, and appointed as governors men who had been put to the test. It was seen that the best emperors were not men born in the purple, but those who, in an inferior position, had long studied the methods of governing. The provincials were thankful that the peaceful rule of Augustus had been continued by the new monarch. He was praised for punctiliously observing the constitution of the empire. Each province, and occasionally an individual tribe, had a charter or enjoyed certain privileges. Thus in the three Gauls at first sixty and later sixty-four states were self-governing, and they alone had a share in the "concilium" of Lugdunum. The others were "apportioned" to the privileged states, that is, were governed by them. In Egypt and Judæa itself the Jews possessed peculiar rights, by which they were protected in the observance of their religion, and were excused from military service in consideration of paying certain taxes. Regard had also to be paid to Egyptian superstition, since the killing of a sacred cat would have deeply insulted the native population. Tiberius had strict order maintained by his governors in all such matters.

In consequence of this, trade and commerce attained to an unprecedented prosperity, and the finances of the empire showed a surplus, which was unparalleled even under Augustus. In the event of unforeseen calamities — for example, when an earthquake destroyed a dozen towns in the province of Asia — the emperor was not niggardly with his money, but expended it at the right time. Only in his latter years was the complaint heard that economy had degenerated into avarice and the useless hoarding of treasure. Strabo and Philo, contemporary writers, give us full details of provincial affairs under Tiberius. The attitude of the provinces towards the emperors was very loyal, since the improved administration was gratefully appreciated. The foreign policy of Tiberius was pacific. The conquered positions on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates, were occupied without any attempt, after the recall of Germanicus from Germany, to extend the frontiers. (See the map at pp. 441, 442.) In Africa a rising of the border tribes had to be quelled. Any other events that occurred were limited to Rome and Italy. At first only narrow circles were interested in them; but, finally, the general policy of the empire was sympathetically affected.

The relations of the members of the ruling house were far from satisfactory. Drusus, the heir to the throne, could not tolerate Sejanus; and, in fact, he went to the extent of striking him, an insult the prefect never forgave. The latter was firm in the confidence of the emperor, who made it a principle never to abandon capable officials. Sejanus, evil by nature, was initiated into the family affairs of the dynasty, since he seduced Livilla, the wife of the successor to the throne, and induced her to poison Drusus. His death caused no surprise, for the

loose life of the prince was thoroughly calculated to undermine his health (23 A.D.). The sons of Germanicus and Agrippina were now next in the succession, and were presented as such to the senate. The elder was named Nero; the second, Drusus; the former was the son-in-law of Livilla. Sejanus always learnt from Livilla the plans of the princes.

The brother of Tiberius, from whom these young men were descended, had already held views which, in modern days, would have been termed "liberal." He had expressed his opinion that Augustus should be compelled actually to restore the old constitution; that the senate and the comitia ought to rule the Roman world in the old fashion, and the whole monarchical edifice ought to be destroyed. Every proconsul was to be allowed to issue coins with his own likeness stamped on them, a privilege granted by Augustus at the time of Gaius and Lucius Cæsar, but not later. Besides this, the Cato who had committed suicide at Utica, M. Tullius Cicero, M. Brutus, and C. Cassius were honoured as heroes and martyrs to their convictions, even in the family of Augustus. Claudius, son of Drusus and brother of Germanicus, who devoted himself seriously to the study of history, under the influence of Livy, composed a description of the civil wars, which met with violent opposition from his mother, Antonia, and grandmother, Livia. Germanicus was himself supposed to hold these views; in point of fact, he had concerned himself very little about monarchical arrangements, and had appeared rather as a proconsul who was subject to no other control. This, indeed, greatly increased the pride felt by Agrippina that, by descent, she was nearer Augustus than Tiberius, who was merely an adopted Claudius. There was, besides, a strong opposition in the senate against this Claudius, as if he had obtained the principate, of which others were equally, if not more, worthy (certain names were mentioned), only through the machinations of Livia. Hints were thrown out that the premature deaths of Gaius and Lucius Cæsar were due to foul play.

Tiberius, for his part, successfully carried out the Augustan policy, but without the formalities to which Augustus, from certain considerations, had adhered. These concerned, for example, the acceptance of the provinces for merely a limited period, and not for life. Augustus had had his full powers renewed every five or ten years, although they could not really have been refused. Tiberius accepted the principate absolutely without any restriction of time, while he reserved to himself in general terms the right of retiring at some future time. Augustus had continued the existence of the comitia, although for the last century they had no significance as a popular assembly; and the candidates designated for the offices by the government, that is, by the senate and the princeps, were chosen by the comitia. Tiberius, however, abolished the comitia as superfluous, and had the usual officials, whose competence was continually decreasing, owing to the progressive development of the principate, nominated in the senate, on which he, as a member, could bring influence to bear.

Notwithstanding the fact that the imperial system, as originated by Augustus and perfected by Tiberius, had sprung from existing conditions, and was completely justified by them, an opposition appeared. The restoration of the comitia formed one of the objects which they put before the people. In this way the republican propaganda and the dynastic opposition, for which Agrippina and her sons had worked, were revived. Tiberius remained firm, and did not fail to

issue warnings, since the passionate Agrippina regarded him as the murderer of her husband, and acted as if her life were in danger; but she would not be warned. Besides Agrippina and the circle devoted to her, the aged Livia, whom Augustus had adopted in his will, played her part. She had a special following among the older senators, who formed a separate party. Then came Livilla, who wished to marry Sejanus; although the emperor did not allow that, the intimacy continued. Sejanus, in the name of the emperor, directly opposed the party of Agrippina, who planned a rising in the provinces, but could not prevail against the powerful prefect.

Tiberius was so weary of these intrigues that he resolved to avoid them. His house was desolate. Since his divorce from Vipsania he had become so soured that he had given himself up to excesses in Rhodes, and in his old age he could not abandon them. The gossips of the capital told hideous stories about him. The appearance of the old Tiberius was anything but beautiful. The once majestic form (see Fig. 3 of the plate facing p. 386) was bent, while his face was disfigured by an eruption: in consequence of this, the custom of kissing, which formerly played a great part in Roman etiquette, was discontinued at court. There was also the annoying state of his family relations: the three widows especially were antagonistic to each other, even though Livia insisted strictly on decorum. In the year 26 A.D., Tiberius went to Campania, never again to return to Rome. Instead of that, he went to the island of Capri in the Gulf of Naples, which Augustus had acquired. Here he established his royal residence, where he could avoid all intercourse that was unpleasant to him. The numerous deputations which usually came to the royal abode were, as a rule, not admitted, since Tiberius thought that if he received one party, he could not refuse the other, and that thus there would be no end to it. He contented himself with the society of a few friends of senatorial or knightly rank, and he welcomed learned men. There was an astrologer in his suite, for Tiberius, who otherwise was not of a religious nature, attached importance to divination. The prefect of the guard, who represented the emperor in Rome, came to and fro on business, while a company of the guard was stationed on Capri, and acted as couriers.

In 29, Livia, the mother of the emperor, died at the age of eighty-six. The destruction of the family of Germanicus, which had long been premeditated, was no longer postponed. Agrippina, as well as her sons, Nero and Drusus, was arrested on a charge of treason and conspiracy; Nero was executed, Agrippina banished, Drusus imprisoned. This was the work of Sejanus, who aspired to the first place in the state.

Tiberius was now more than seventy years old: the question came up as to who should rule when he died. First of all, there were two boys, Gaius, the youngest son of Germanicus, and Tiberius, son of Drusus the former heir to the throne, and of Livilla. If Gaius, and with him the party of Agrippina, came into power, Sejanus was lost. He, therefore, wished to secure himself against all emergencies. Sejanus did not underrate the strength of the opposition, which lay in the popular programme it possessed. He was ready to lend himself to this programme, in order to reach his goal. The prolonged absence of Tiberius, the reports which reached Rome of his life on Capri, made his undertaking appear promising. The guard was devoted to its prefect: he had a following in the senate; the most important governors and some client princes were on his

side; he had been now for years the "vice-emperor." Tiberius trusted him as much as ever. In fact, in the year 31, Sejanus, as a signal mark of imperial favour, had been made regular consul with Tiberius. If he acquired also the tribunician power, he would be *ipso facto* successor to the throne. Tiberius and the surviving members of the dynasty could then be put to one side without difficulty.

Only at the last moment did Tiberius receive a warning. It came from his sister-in-law, Antonia, who sent a trusty messenger to Capri with the disclosure. Tiberius now recognised the danger in which he was. He took his counter-measures with great circumspection. There was no time to be lost, nor could recourse be had to open action. Preparations were made to enable him to take ship and escape to the legions on the Rhine if the worst happened. In Rome the services of Nævius Macro were employed, who took into his confidence Graccinus Laco, commander of the fire brigade, since no trust could be reposed in the guard. At the same time, a missive of the emperor was despatched to the senate; and, as some urgency was attached to it, Sejanus believed it announced the conferment on him of the tribunician power. The letter was read in the senate by the presiding consul: after many circumlocutions it contained at the end the command to arrest Sejanus and to condemn him. Macro, meanwhile, had gone to the camp of the prætorians, in order to declare to them the will of the emperor and to assume the command. Laco surrounded the council room of the senate with the men of the fire brigade, and the order was also given to release, in case of necessity, Prince Drusus, who was prisoner in the Palatium, to act against Sejanus. But the latter was so surprised that he never dreamed of resistance. He was executed the very same day. The soldiers of the guard showed some resentment at the fact that more confidence had been placed in the firemen than in them. The disturbances produced by the fall of Sejanus and the arrest of his partisans lasted several days.

Tiberius remained master of the situation; but the treachery of Sejanus made the deepest impression on him. He had thought that he could rely on Sejanus, since the latter had saved his life before his retirement to Capri. Sejanus had been promoted to the highest dignities. The most noble houses of Rome had formed family alliances with him; and he himself belonged, as it were, to the imperial house, since the daughter of Livilla had been betrothed to him. Yet he had not been able to wait until the aged Tiberius should close his weary eyes. In addition, the trial of the relations and partisans of Sejanus had revealed most exasperating facts, among others how the death of Drusus, his intended successor, had been brought about, and many other black crimes. Such disclosures were, indeed, calculated to drive a man mad; and Tiberius became mad.

The trials and the executions went on for two years, until, in the year 33, the emperor gave orders that an end should be made; he wished for the future to hear nothing more about the matter. Tiberius still held the reins firmly, with the exception that the freedmen exercised greater influence; but his life became more and more lonely. The two elder sons of Germanicus had been killed; Gaius, the youngest, who was brought to Capri, did not inspire Tiberius with much confidence: he seemed to have all the bad qualities of Sulla and none of the good ones. No one could wish for a better servant or a worse master. Not until two years after the fall of Sejanus did Tiberius nominate Gaius to be

quæstor. The affections of the emperor were fixed rather on Tiberius Gemellus, his own grandson; but, after the relations of Livilla with Sejanus had become known, little certainty could be attached to his parentage. The emperor, therefore, let things have their own way, since he inserted in his will both princes as heirs to equal shares of his private estate, without solving the problem of the future principate.

Nævius Sertorius Macro, with whose wife Gaius carried on an intrigue, held the office of prefect of the guard, a post that turned the scale in every event. As companion to the prince there lived at Rome a member of the royal Jewish house, Julius Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, son of the Aristobulus who had been executed in 7 B.C., and a former friend of Drusus, the intended successor to the crown. His reminiscences give us details of the last days of Tiberius.

Those times weighed heavily on the upper circles at Rome. Insults to the emperor had been prosecuted before this as a violation of the sacred tribunician power. Literature, and especially history, was subjected to censorship on this ground. Nothing could be written against the government. The historian Cremutius Cordus, whose views were republican, was condemned. In consequence of this, Velleius Paterculus of Capua, who, in his youth, had served as an officer under Tiberius in Germany and Dalmatia, published a Roman history full of cringing flattery of the Cæsars generally, of Tiberius and the then all-powerful Sejanus in particular. Another work, a collection of biographies from Roman history, by Valerius Maximus, which appeared after the fall of Sejanus, ends with imprecations on the memory of Sejanus as one who deserved to be punished even in the lower world. Thus they wrote, because thus only were they allowed to think and write. The luxuriant crop of informers proved too dangerous to every independent thinker.

Although a change of ruler was imminent, no one ventured to talk about it. Julius Agrippa was maliciously accused by a revengeful groom of holding a conversation on the subject with Gaius Cæsar, and was immediately arrested, nor was he released until the death of the emperor. It is noteworthy that on the first news of the death of Tiberius no one ventured to give expression to his feelings; the news might be once more premature: and only when it was confirmed, could men breathe freely. Tiberius had become gradually very feeble, but held himself upright, and would not hear of a physician. He was indignant when he read in the protocols of the senate, which were laid before him, that the conclusiveness of his evidence in some trial had been disputed; as a matter of fact, after his death the oath was not taken to his "acta." Tiberius crossed over from Capri to the mainland of Campania, wishing to reduce the senate to its former obedience. A fainting fit seized him at Misenum, in the former villa of Lucullus, which now belonged to the emperor. There are different stories told of his last moments. It is said that all had already done homage to Gaius, when the dying man raised himself once more, whereupon Macro had thrown pillows over him and suffocated him (March 16, 37 A.D.). Thus died Tiberius, after Pompey, Cæsar, and Augustus, the fourth founder of the Roman imperial power, nowhere beloved, hated in some circles, but certainly a memorable character. The empire and the principate only survived the succeeding reigns of evil because both had been securely founded by these great men.

Gaius was brought by Macro to Rome, where he was greeted with acclamations

as son of Germanicus, and his rights to the principate were recognised by the senate. Gaius then adopted Ti. Gemellus, and thus placed him under his paternal authority. Then the old demand for the restoration of the comitia was granted, various limitations on the senate were put aside, even literature was declared free from its fetters, and, generally, there was a return from the system of Tiberius to that of Augustus. The new ruler met with a favourable reception from the army, since the younger officers ventured to hope that now more rapid promotion would become possible, Tiberius, from economical motives, having kept the old commanders in the service. Even the members of the family of the young princeps are said to have shared the common joy. His uncle, Claudius, who had been hitherto much ignored, became consul; his grandmother, Antonia, was proclaimed "Augusta," and his sisters were granted imperial privileges; the bones of his mother, Agrippina, and his brothers, who had been executed, were recovered and solemnly buried.

But Gaius soon showed himself not only incapable, but actually depraved. The decisive turn for the worse came after a severe illness, which attacked him in the eighth month of his reign. The emperor did not fail to notice that many persons had set their hopes on the succession of Tiberius Gemellus, and that the latter stood in the way of his own glory. Ti. Gemellus received the command to kill himself. No man might venture to lay hands on him, since a Julius was, by his descent, inviolable. When Macro attempted to urge Gaius, who was his creature, to serious action, he was deprived of his post of prefect of the guard, and sent as viceroy to Egypt: a pretext to remove him far from Rome. Later he was put to death. Macro's wife, who once had been the favourite of Gaius, shared his fate. When the father-in-law of Gaius, the venerable senator, M. Junius Silanus, remonstrated with him, he was despatched to the other world to join his daughter, as Gaius said with a jeer. And so things went on. All the tried statesmen of Tiberius were soon recalled from their posts as governors, so that the new system made itself felt in the provinces also, and turned out by no means to their advantage. We learn particulars about this from the writings of the Alexandrian Jew, Philo; he was one of the embassy which was sent to implore the protection of the emperor against the attacks of the mob of Alexandria. The less the new monarch accomplished, the more exalted did he feel himself above all mortals. He extolled his glorious descent from Augustus and from Antony, while he was less delighted at his descent from Agrippa. He regarded himself as the fixed star round which the client kings should move like planets. They, therefore, received from him various marks of his favour. Herod Agrippa was provided with a principality in Judæa. Ptolemæus, King of Mauretania, was granted the extraordinary privilege of issuing gold coins of his own. The princes of Thrace, Armenia, and Commagene, experienced his kindness. It is true, however, that the said Ptolemæus was arrested and executed, because he appeared at Rome with a more splendid retinue than that of the emperor.

Soon afterwards military affairs were thrown into confusion by Gaius. In order to win laurels as a general, Gaius marched to Gaul and the Rhine, where the Chatti were unquiet. After he had obtained a specious victory, he proceeded to the north coast of Gaul, in order to invade Britain. The expedition resulted in nothing, and the emperor ordered the troops to collect shells on the beach as

a tribute of the sea. He quarrelled decisively with the commanding officers, and made many enemies in the lower ranks by his numerous dismissals. Besides this, there was a deficiency of money, since Gaius had squandered in an incredibly short time the hoard gathered by Tiberius, which was the more necessary, because loans from the temple treasuries were difficult to negotiate. It was, of course, an easy task to enrich many people, but now the deficit had to be made good by taxes and extortions, confiscations and executions.

The persons who were in the intimate circle of the emperor's friends were already aware that the state of his mind was not normal, and that in the interests of the empire and the imperial house he must be deposed. The husband of Drusilla, a sister of Gaius, M. Æmilius Lepidus, and Cn. Lentulus Gætulicus, the governor of Upper Germany, took the matter in hand; but were betrayed, and paid for the attempt with their lives (39 A.D.). Since, however, Gaius treated even the officers of the guard churlishly, some of them, including the old tribune, Cassius Chærea, formed, together with the consular L. Annius Vinicianus and others, a conspiracy, to which the chief personages of the palace offered no opposition. On the occasion of a state performance in the theatre, Gaius was struck down behind the scenes by Cassius Chærea, who was on duty. His wife, Cæsonia, and her child were also killed (January 24, 41 A.D.).

Gaius had not been unpopular with the lower strata of the inhabitants of the capital, who used to call him by the pet-name Caligula (that is, the Little Boot), which had been once given him by the soldiers on the Rhine. He had, contrary to his predecessor, scattered money among the crowd, given games, and shown his appreciation of every kind of sport, for he felt himself at home in the stables of the circus riders. He had deteriorated through excesses. The race of the Julii, to whom Rome owed so many great men, ended with this boy. His German body-guard remained loyal to him even after his death, since they attacked the assembled people and killed or wounded several senators.

What was to be done? For the first time no provision had been made for the succession to the principate. Since the fall of Macro the power of the commander of the guard had been weakened by a division of his functions, and the dynasty had been deprived of all manly scions by Tiberius and Gaius. No one took serious account of Claudius. He had never been given office under Tiberius; Gaius had, it is true, frequently conferred the consulate on him, but no importance attached to that post. Vinicianus and Cassius Chærea thought of a restoration of the rule of the senate, since the "principate" was only an extraordinary authority, according to the constitution. On the other hand, some senators hoped that they themselves would be able to step into the first place, though others, such as the future emperor, Galba, at once disowned any such suggestion. A session was called, to which the senators hastened from their country seats. Here the consuls pronounced the usual phrases, as in old times, while the police, who were under the orders of a prefect of senatorial rank, placed themselves at their disposal. "Freedom" was proclaimed.

But among the soldiers of the guard other considerations prevailed: if there were no princeps, there would be no guard. Some of them had dragged out Claudius from behind a curtain in the palace, and brought him, frightened to death, into the camp of the prætorians. Here the adherents of the dynasty were assembled, among them the Jewish king, Agrippa, who had already played some

part under Gaius. He now acted as mediator, inspiring Claudius with courage, confirming the good resolutions of the prætorians, and negotiating with the senators: Flavius Josephus has incorporated his recollections of Agrippa into the nineteenth book of his "Antiquities of the Jews," while Tacitus' description of these events has been lost. The result of the discussions was that Claudius was proclaimed imperator by the soldiers, and that the majority of the senate did homage to him. As soon as this was settled, Cassius Chærea was arrested and executed. An agitation in favour of the rule of the senate, which was attempted by Camillus Scribonianus, the governor of Dalmatia, a friend of Vinicianus, soon failed, owing to the opposition of the legions. The army was everywhere loyal to the principate, so ingrained had monarchy already become in men's minds. The institution could live even apart from the personality of the ruler.

Claudius, the son of the elder Drusus, was born at Lugdunum while his father was governor of Gaul (10 B.C.), and was, therefore, now in his fifty-first year. Weak-minded in youth, he had grown up among servants, and had been carefully kept out of public sight, in order not to compromise the dynasty. He had later become a diligent student, and acquired much learning, of which, indeed, he made a display at inopportune moments. His long speeches in the senate, which frequently began with a survey of the period of the kings, were dreaded and ridiculed. He further insisted on introducing the digamma and the diphthong *ai* into the Latin alphabet, so that in his reign Caisar, for example, was written instead of Cæsar, La*F*inium instead of Lavinium, and so on. As an authority on Etruscan history and antiquities, he reformed the guild of the Haruspices. He had in other respects the best intentions; openly blamed his uncle, Tiberius, for his persistent absence from the capital, reproved Gaius for his mad acts, was a diligent attendant at the law courts, and respected the senate.

The real power lay with the freedmen of the palace. The most conspicuous for their ability were Callistus, who had kept the machinery of government working, so far as it had worked, even under Gaius; Pallas, who directed the finance department; and Narcissus, who decided the foreign and home policy at the most critical moments. Thus under this reign many beneficial changes were introduced. In order to simplify the problem of feeding the city, a new harbour, the Portus Claudius, was constructed at the mouth of the Tiber, and the system of water-works enlarged by the Claudian aqueduct, which ran from the upper Anio. Its arches are still a feature of the Roman Campagna. The district round the Fucine lake was drained by means of a tunnel driven through the mountain, which led off the superfluous water into the Liris. When, in 1874, the water of this lake was completely drawn off by its owner, Prince Torlonia, the work of the Claudian era could be seen. As Gaius, by his march to the seacoast, had pledged the Roman government to action, steps were taken to occupy Britain, although this necessarily involved great expenditure and a permanent increase of the military establishment. Narcissus carried out the expedition. When it succeeded, Claudius went to Britain, in order to join in the campaign and to be personally saluted as imperator. He named his son Britannicus, in commemoration of his journey. He celebrated a stupendous triumph without according any distinctions to the commanding generals, one of whom was the later emperor, Vespasian, who had seized the island of Vectis (Isle of Wight) and subdued two tribes.

In the army there had been many improvements. The districts from which recruits could be obtained for the legions were enlarged by the bestowal of the Latin or Roman franchise on the Alpine countries. In Lower Germany, where Domitius Corbulo then commanded, a successful expedition was made against the Chauci on the North Sea, in which the elder Pliny, the well-known writer, took part as a staff officer. The government did not, however, allow the general to give play to his schemes of conquest, but ordered him to maintain securely the Rhine frontier and to go no further. The emperor, on behalf of Gaul, which he regarded highly as his native land, proposed in the senate the admission of its Roman burgesses to the magistracies in the capital. This was conceded to members of the Hæduan tribe, which had long been friendly. The kingdom of Mauretania, where disturbances had broken out after the execution of Ptolemæus (p. 425), was incorporated and placed under Roman administration, as Egypt was after the death of Cleopatra.

If, however, the reign of Claudius brought with it much that deserves to be honourably recorded, since some officials of the palace showed political ability and continued the traditions of the ruling house, the personal incompetence of the monarch was very clearly apparent. Claudius, from consciousness of his own defects, was so nervous that it was easy to entice him to sign the death warrant of a senator or a knight; and, naturally, this disposition was greatly abused. Then there were his family affairs. Claudius was married several times: when he came to the throne, his wife was Messalina, who came of a distinguished family, and bore him Britannicus and Octavia, but afterwards, as empress, took to ways which aroused horror even in that immoral society. She was grossly sensual; but, at the same time, it was dangerous for men to refuse her advances. She caused her husband to command the dancer Mnester not to show himself insubordinate towards the empress; and Claudius did not, indeed, know what the real issue was. Finally, she had a love affair with a distinguished youth, C. Silius, to whom she was formally married. Silius wished, indeed, to pose as a claimant to the throne; for, from other reasons, no one would have wished to take Messalina as wife. There was a diversity of opinions among the freedmen of the palace as to the course of action. Men were so used to things at this court that the latest event might have been ignored. But Narcissus was in favour of warning and saving Claudius. This was done. Narcissus had the command over the guard in Ostia, where the emperor then was, transferred to him, and led the amazed Claudius to Rome, straight into the camp of the prætorians. These received him with acclamations, and the cause was won. C. Silius was killed and Messalina arrested. Were she allowed to see Claudius, no one was sure that she would not make her peace with him and annihilate her enemies. Only through cunning did Narcissus succeed in extracting the death warrant from Claudius. Messalina was forced to commit suicide in the gardens of Sallustius (on the modern Monte Pincio), 48 A.D.

Narcissus was supported by a party in the senate, at whose proposal the insignia of a quæstor were conferred on him. This aroused the jealousy of the other freedmen, which was apparent when several candidates for empress were proposed to Claudius, who wished to remarry (he felt quite hearty; and, in any case, a man of sixty might well marry). Of the rivals, Agrippina, who was supported by Pallas, finally was chosen: she was a niece of Claudius, being

a daughter of Germanicus by the first Agrippina, and had been married to Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, by whom she had borne a son. She was licentious, as most of the great ladies of the time were, but was still more ambitious. She wished to be empress. After her marriage to Claudius, she had the title of "Augusta" immediately bestowed on her, an honour to which Messalina had never aspired. Narcissus was put in the background, and in his place Pallas, who maintained scandalous relations with Agrippina, was brought forward.

The nomination of Sex. Afranius Burrus, an experienced officer and administrator, to the prefecture of the guard, effected by Agrippina, was an important measure. At the same time, the philosopher L. Annæus Seneca, who had been banished at the instigation of Messalina, was chosen tutor of the young Ahenobarbus, for whom Agrippina wished to procure the throne, in place of Britannicus. He was, in fact, adopted by Claudius and betrothed to his daughter, Octavia. Narcissus vainly opposed her schemes, and advocated the cause of Britannicus. Claudius wavered, but his fears were always allayed by Agrippina. Claudius died suddenly while Narcissus was in Campania taking the waters for his gout, and it was publicly whispered that his death was caused by poisoned mushrooms. Burrus presented the son of Agrippina, called, after his adoption, Nero, to the prætorians as the heir to the crown; and these, accustomed to obey their commander, saluted him. Britannicus, had he been brought before them, would have equally pleased them. But Britannicus, deprived of his trusted friends, did not venture to leave the house after his father's death. Narcissus was away, and Burrus had completely identified himself with Agrippina, while Seneca supported her in the senate. It did not cause much excitement that the stupid Claudius, as Seneca described him in a biting satire, the *Apocolocyntosis* (that is, "Gourdification," instead of "Deification"), was dead. The proposal was made in the senate, for the sake of appearances, that he should be worshipped as a god, an honour previously only conferred on Cæsar and Augustus. The proposal was unanimously adopted, and no greater loyalty could be evinced.

Nero, a boy of seventeen, now ruled in place of the aged emperor, who had been the tool of so many different powers. Men now asked who would lead the new emperor. For this period we have, besides the account of Tacitus, the works of the contemporary Flavius Josephus, who was presented at court in the year 63. He gives us important information in his autobiography, as well as in his "Antiquities of the Jews." Court scandals alone interested, as might be expected, the circles in the capital, which had become so accustomed to them; and only in the provinces did accounts of real events trickle through. Government by freedmen had caused, under Claudius, disgust in senatorial ranks and in the army, which had once saluted Narcissus with the shout, "*Io Saturnalia*," a distinct allusion to his position as freedman. A government, of which Burrus and Seneca were the representatives, seemed, in comparison, an improvement. At the same time, it is true, the mother of the emperor tried to assert herself as co-regent, although she had not shown political abilities. The young Nero was equally incapable, and preferred to follow his ignoble impulses. He was in love with a freedwoman of the palace, Acte — so deeply in love that he wished to marry her against the protests of his mother. The ministers made use of this dispute to undermine the influence of Agrippina. When she threatened him with Britannicus, Nero gave the latter a poisoned cup of wine at a court dinner

(55 A.D.). Such occurrences did not even excite especial interest. It was remembered that Romulus, founder of the race, had killed his brother, Remus. There was far greater fear of future complications than there was horror felt at a murder in the imperial house.

The government, under Burrus and Seneca, pursued its regular course, so that the later emperor, Trajan, used to declare that the empire had never been better governed than in the first five years of Nero. Burrus proved a success at the head of the army and of foreign affairs. A revolt which broke out in Britain was quelled by the governor, Suetonius Paulinus, while in the East Domitius Corbulo conducted skilful operations against the Parthians. In the senate, Seneca was spokesman in the name of the government, and Nero had to read speeches composed by Seneca. It was much remarked that Nero was the first imperator who did not show himself a capable speaker, so that in this respect he was inferior to Gaius. On the other hand, Nero dabbled in all arts which had nothing to do with his position. He drove, sang, composed, carved. Sometimes he roamed the streets at night in disguise, and indulged in escapades, which occasionally ended in his being cudgelled. Such freaks were harmless so long as the young man did not interfere with the real conduct of affairs. For the moment it seemed a point gained that the ambitious Augusta was removed, together with her favourite, Pallas.

The hostility between mother and son was increased when the latter was drawn into an intrigue with an empty-headed woman, Poppæa Sabina, wife of Nero's friend, Salvius Otho. Poppæa, who came of a noble stock, wished to become empress. Agrippina, however, declared that Nero had received the throne by the hand of Octavia, which, indeed, was the general view. Nero's hate was vented on his mother, whom he accused of plotting against his life. He availed himself of her absence in Misenum, on the Campanian coast, to make an attempt to kill her by a preconcerted shipwreck. When this plot failed Nero had Agrippina murdered by the sailors, whom the admiral of the fleet placed at his disposal (March, 59 A.D.). The ministers subsequently approved of the deed, and the senate congratulated the emperor on his escape. Nero had hardly expected this, and for the moment had feared popular feeling. Out of regard for the death of his mother, his divorce from Octavia, on the ground of her barrenness, was obtained; and his marriage with the new "Augusta," Poppæa Sabina, did not take place until 62. As people made remarks about this, Octavia, an innocent victim of all these complications, was exiled and killed.

In this same year, 62, a complete change in the governmental system was inaugurated, for Burrus was dead, and the position of Seneca was weakened. Ofonius Tigellinus, the new prefect of the guard, shared and acquiesced in all the iniquitous actions of Nero. At this date the personal rule of Nero begins.

In the year 64, Rome suffered from a great fire, which raged six days, and destroyed many quarters of the town. Nero took energetic measures for the rebuilding of the destroyed parts. He ordered broad and perfectly straight streets to be constructed, while he built on the Palatine "the golden house," with such extensive grounds that the Romans jestingly said he would include everything in them as far as Veii, if not Veii itself. Town gossip even accused Nero of having intentionally set the city on fire, partly to gain a vivid conception of the burning of Troy, partly in order to carry out his plans for building.

When this talk came to the emperor's ears, he thought it best to charge the Christians at Rome with incendiarism. Many of them were, consequently, put to a cruel death.

The Christians were held to be a Jewish sect, and the Jews a worthless race which might well be sacrificed to higher considerations. This had been the view of Tiberius, who, otherwise, protected the Jews in the provinces, as in Alexandria, where Jewish disturbances broke out, first under Gaius, and lasted a long time. Judæa itself was in a ferment. The people were expecting a Messiah, who should free them from the foreign yoke. There was also the opposition of the official priests and teachers to the popular preachers. As one of such, Christ had been given up to be crucified by the native and the Roman authorities. But the movement still continued: a former adherent of the orthodox Jewish doctrine adopted Christianity, Saul of Tarsus, who possessed the Roman citizenship, and, for this reason, styled himself Paul. He spread the new teaching in Syria, Nearer Asia, Macedonia, Greece, wherever there were large Jewish communities, and, besides that, among the non-Jews, until he was arrested as an enemy of the public peace; and, on appealing to the emperor, was brought to Rome. In prison there, he continued his activity; and in this manner the new religious movement was transplanted to the capital of the empire at an early period.

Nero, unrestrained by any one, lived according to his inclinations and lusts. As he considered himself a gifted poet and singer, he let himself be heard, first in private circles and then in public. He founded the Neronic games, after the Greek model, which were to be dedicated to the arts of the Muses, while up till then gladiatorial combats and wild-beast fights on a large scale had chiefly interested the population of the city of Rome. The emperor compelled his suite to attend, and employed the troops of the guard as a *claque*. In 66 and 67, Nero undertook a journey to Greece with a large following, in order to give a performance at the national games. When the Greeks loudly applauded, the emperor issued an edict, by which they were for the future granted freedom and immunity from taxation: the Roman governor, who had till then resided at Corinth, was withdrawn. The edict was composed by Nero himself in a high-flown strain, and was proclaimed throughout Greece.

Things had thus gone as far as under Gaius. There was an emperor who plumed himself greatly on his high and divine origin, but who entrusted the conduct of business to his servants, while he himself toured as an artist. That could not go on for ever. Nero wasted enormous sums. When the coffers were empty, the trials for *lèse-majesté* began to assume larger proportions, especially as there was no lack of informers. As this did not produce enough, Nero took measures to debase the currency, an act which caused discontent in the army and among the state officials. The general ill-will led to a conspiracy at Rome in the year 65, in which distinguished officers and senators were involved, including Seneca and the poet Lucan. The consular C. Calpurnius Piso stood at the head of it. When the conspiracy was discovered, owing to the rashness of its members, the emperor seized the opportunity to rid himself of his former tutor and of two rival poets at the same time. Thrasea Pætus, the leader of the rival school of Stoicism, was also executed. Nero insisted on the fact that, as Poppæa Sabina had borne him no heir, he alone was left of the whole dynasty; and that, therefore, nothing could happen to him. Domitius Corbulo, who, as governor of

Syria, had brought the prolonged negotiations with the Parthian empire to a successful conclusion, was suspected by Nero, and had to commit suicide at his orders. Vespasian, who attended the artistic performances of the emperor, received the chief command against the Jews, who had revolted in the year 66, and had driven the Syrian army out of the field.

In March of the year 68 a rebellion broke out in Gaul, at the head of which stood the governor of the province of Lugdunum, C. Julius Vindex, a man who belonged to the provincial nobility, and now roused his countrymen to arms. His proclamation promised not only the liberation of Gaul from the Roman rule, but, still more, the liberation of Rome from the tyrant. The insurrection in Gaul caused Nero, who, in the course of the year 67, had returned to Rome, as if in triumph, little concern at first, since the Roman rule in those parts depended on the legions along the Rhine; and these, on account of their opposition to the Gauls, were loyal to the emperor. The commander of the Upper German army, Virginius Rufus, who belonged to an undistinguished family of Upper Italy, led his troops into the disaffected district. While he was beginning negotiations with Vindex, the legions and auxiliary troops came into conflict with the Gallic militia; and, as was to be expected, the latter was defeated. Vindex fell by his own hand, while Nero rejoiced at the thought of coming confiscations.

But the state of affairs had altered. Sulpicius Galba, the governor of Hither Spain, had, like Verginius Rufus, treated with Vindex; that is, these officers had proceeded to check the rising less energetically than Nero had expected. He immediately sent orders to the administrative officials in Spain that the governor should be superseded. Galba, in concert with his officers, declared against Nero and for the "senate and people of Rome," leaving it uncertain whether the principate as such would be maintained, and who was to hold it. The decision was entrusted to the senate as the representative authority. Verginius Rufus adopted this standpoint, although his soldiers offered him the imperium. Galba, besides, was of famous lineage, an advantage which, at the beginning of the revolution, was still considered. The Prætorian Guards at Rome had already become wavering: they no longer placed any sentries in the palace, and their commander, Tigellinus, allowed Nero to fall. Nero, seeing himself completely deserted, fled to the farm of one of his freedmen, which lay outside Rome, by the fourth milestone, between the Via Salaria and the road to Nomentum. The senate at once outlawed him. When the officers came to find him, he ordered his freedman, Epaphroditus, to kill him. He was thirty-one when he died (June 9, 68 A.D.). Acte buried him in the tomb of the Domitii, to which family Nero had belonged before adoption. With him died the last descendant of the Julian, Claudian, and Domitian houses. It is noteworthy that legends sprung up about the name of Nero to the effect that he was not dead, but would reappear. Years afterwards garlands were still placed on his tomb, an eloquent proof that rulers of his stamp are always popular in certain circles so long as their misdeeds affect only the upper ten thousand.

B. Galba, Otho, Vitellius

Just as after the murder of Gaius, the republic momentarily ruled at Rome. The senate had deposed the incapable princeps; the consuls issued commissions,

and sent despatches, under their seal, into the provinces by the official post. The governors declared that they stood at the orders of the senate, and changed their titles: in the same way the commander of the legion in Africa, who, since the reign of Gaius, acted, together with the proconsul, as legatus of the emperor, now styled himself legatus of the Roman People.

But the reasons which had led to the restoration of the principate after the death of Gaius still prevailed. The army required an imperator, and a revival of the disunited republican times would have struck a deadly blow at the interests of the empire. The guards, under the influence of one of their prefects, Numpidius Sabinus, who wished to keep his position for the future, if possible, proclaimed as imperator Servius Sulpicius Galba, the most distinguished in lineage of the governors who had opposed Nero. When this was done, there was nothing left for the senate but to approve it. The recognition of the new ruler by the provinces followed. Under such conditions Galba, at whose side his freedman, Icelus, and the commander of the legion, T. Vinius, were conspicuous, started for Rome. In Gaul he commended and rewarded the adherents of Vindex, at which the German legions chafed. As he approached Rome the marines whom Nero had collected into a legion, in order to resist his enemies, met him, and demanded that their organisation should be recognised, since the legionaries were in every respect better situated than the marines. Galba refused to hear them; and when they became more urgent, he decimated them. In Rome itself discontent was aroused, because Galba treated leniently persons who, like Tigellinus, had deeply compromised themselves under Nero, while, on the other hand, he insisted that actors and such people, on whom Nero had lavished great sums, should pay these back, an impossibility for most of them. Icelus and T. Vinius governed as favourites, since Galba, who was seventy-two years old, lacked the requisite energy. He belonged to the class of rich, but complacent, senators whom Nero had sent by preference into the most important provinces, since he had nothing to fear from them.

Besides the above-mentioned favourites, Salvius Otho played a part. Nero had sent him as governor to Lusitania, because he wished to have Otho's wife, Poppæa Sabina, for himself. Otho had joined Galba, and with him gone to Rome, as he hoped to be adopted by the childless old man and to be nominated his successor. With this object he turned to good account his old connections in Rome, including those with the guards, to whom he was known from the time when Nero had been his friend. The classes which had profited by Nero's administration were for Otho, but Galba was not. He decided in favour of L. Calpurnius Piso Licinianus, a very distinguished and thoughtful youth, who was proclaimed his successor at the beginning of 69. But the legions in Germany had already refused allegiance; and on New Year's Day had proclaimed the governor of the lower province, A. Vitellius, as emperor.

Otho, smarting at being passed over, stirred up the prætorians, who murdered Galba and Piso on January 15. Otho was then proclaimed emperor, and recognised as such by the senate. The whole *Orbis Romanus* was in an uproar.

The legions in Germany prepared to march on Rome. Otho, in defence, summoned the Illyrian troops to guard Upper Italy. Troops which Nero had set into movement were drawn into the contest by one or the other party just as they stood. In the East the campaign against the Jews, whose capital, Jerusalem,

Vespasian was besieging with divisions of the Syrian, Egyptian, and Danubian army, was suspended till the struggle in Italy was determined. Vespasian had sent his son, Titus, to do homage to Galba. Under the present circumstances the only course was to wait to see whether Otho or Vitellius would prove superior. In the early spring the German troops began their advance under the command of two "legati," Cæcina Allienus and Fabius Valens, of whom the one took the route through the country of the Helvetii and over the Great St. Bernard, while the other marched through Gaul, in order to press into Italy over the western passes. A. Vitellius followed them after he had organised his court at Lugdunum. He himself was a man of straw. The affair was arranged by the generals who were opposed to Galba, as a friend of Vindex, and, still more, by the soldiers who had conquered Vindex, and did not wish to see his adherents rewarded. The Illyrian legions were for Otho, since they were rivals of the German troops. But in Italy no one would hear of the "German emperor," the new Germanicus, as he called himself. The choice of an imperator was, people said, the business of the court and the senate at Rome. Not merely a constitutional form, but the supremacy of Italy over the provinces, was at stake. When Vitellius and his generals advanced, the population was incensed, because they wore trousers, like the barbarians. This costume had been adopted by the Romans in Germany, on account of the more inclement climate; in Italy they still wore the toga, while the soldiers had their legs bare. The extensive literature recording the "Year of the Three (or the Four) Emperors" is epitomised in the biographies of Galba and Otho by Plutarch of Chæronea, who was then about twenty years old, and later made the acquaintance of the highest circles in Rome. Tacitus follows the same sources in his Histories. Where these Histories break off, the "Lives of the Emperors," by Suetonius, becomes more and more valuable.

The first stand was made on the line of the river Po, which now became once more strategically important. The system of roads branched in such a way that the union of the two divisions of Vitellius' army was bound to take place in the district of Ticinum, for the routes from Germany and Gaul met there. Cremona also and Placentia received, in these circumstances, renewed importance, since from this point the fords of the Po were commanded. Above all, the road leading from the east, by Mantua, through Bedriacum, to Cremona was of importance, since the junction of the guards of Otho, strengthened by gladiators and sailors, with the Illyrian legions advancing by way of Aquileia would necessarily take place on that route. The Vitellians were eager to prevent this meeting. The first encounter took place near Placentia, between Cæcina, who had anticipated Fabius Valens (April, 69), and the Othonians. Cæcina was forced to withdraw to Cremona, but effected his junction with Valens unopposed. When the Othonians crossed the Po and offered battle near Bedriacum (between Cremona and Mantua), they were beaten. No decision was, however, arrived at by this defeat, since the Illyrian corps was not yet on the spot. There was no supreme commander in the camp of the Othonians: Otho himself was considered incapable as a soldier; and the better generals, who joined the expedition, as Suetonius Paulinus, displayed no real enthusiasm. Otho, whose nervous temperament was overstrained, gave himself up for lost when he saw that many soldiers would fight no longer. He killed himself, on the day after

the battle, at Brixellum (now Brescello), where he had awaited the result (April 15).

The senate then recognised Vitellius. He sent back the defeated legionaries to their old quarters, though not before excesses had been committed. The victorious army, whose discipline was loose, then marched to Rome. All the demands of the soldiers, some of which had been expressed as early as the death of Augustus, were conceded by Vitellius, the prætorians were disbanded, and a new and stronger guard made up out of the best troops of the German army, while the rest drank greedily of the pleasures offered by Italy and the capital. Vitellius was not the man to create order out of chaos. He was of noble birth, had been in his youth a comrade of Gaius, a favourite at the court of Nero and in the stables of the circus drivers; a great gourmand, without energy and brains for business, and now a plaything of the troops and their leaders, whose opinion of him grew worse with time. The result was that the course of affairs in Italy was soon criticised by the outside world. The Illyrian troops, which had come too late to decide the matter, returned to their quarters in disgust, and their officers plotted conspiracies.

In the East, where the governor of Syria, C. Licinius Mucianus, and the governor of Egypt, Ti. Julius Alexander, had entered into intimate relations with Flavius Vespasianus, the commander of the army which was investing Jerusalem, the belief prevailed that neither Vitellius nor the rule of the Rhenish soldiery should be endured. Mucianus, who was childless, suggested Vespasian and his son, Titus. Ti. Julius Alexander, who, as Præfectus Ægypti, was only a member of the equestrian order, and, therefore, was not himself considered in the question, had Vespasian proclaimed emperor in Alexandria on July 1, 69. The attitude of Egypt was of decisive importance, since that country to a great extent supplied Italy, and especially the capital, with grain; and pressure from there could also be brought to bear on Africa. The following course of action was adopted: Vespasian went to Alexandria, while his son, Titus, remained before Jerusalem with Ti. Julius Alexander as chief of his staff. Mucianus finally marched from Syria through Asia and Thrace to the Danubian provinces, in order to join the legions posted there, and to advance against Italy, if, indeed, their opponents did not transfer the theatre of war from Italy to Dyrrhachium.

In the meanwhile, the officers of the troops on the Danube had, on the first news, declared for Vespasian. They deposed the thoroughly useless governors, who dated from the times of Nero, and commenced on their own responsibility the advance from Pötovio to Upper Italy, with Antonius Primus, one of the commanders of the Pannonian legions, at their head. The corps from Dalmatia and Mœsia followed. The invading force advanced without encountering any opposition as far as Verona, which they quickly seized, in order to cut off any possible reinforcements from Germany and Rhætia. An important turning-point was reached when Ravenna went over to the side of Vespasian, for the crews of the fleet there were recruited from Dalmatia and Pannonia. The Vitellians, who had thought first of holding the line of the Adige, marched back again to the Po; but Cæcina, who commanded there, had so completely lost confidence in Vitellius that he came to an understanding with the party of Vespasian. Not so the soldiers; the Germans did not choose to capitulate to the Illyrians, and they threw the treacherous general into chains. In a murderous encounter between

Bedriacum and Cremona, where the battle was continued with unexampled fury throughout the whole night, superior generalship decided for the Illyrians. Cremona was taken by the troops of Vespasian, sacked, and reduced to ashes. Fabius Valens, who led the remaining troops from Rome, now tried to reach Gaul from the Etrurian coast, in order to alarm the troops stationed on the Rhine, but was captured near Massilia and afterwards killed. It was already winter when Antonius Primus marched forward in mad haste on the Flaminian road over the Apennines, deep in snow. The Vitellians in Umbria surrendered. Vitellius himself declared his wish to abdicate, and began negotiations with the prefect of Rome, Flavius Sabinus, a brother of Vespasian. But the soldiers were against the plan, besieged the capitol, set fire to it, and slew the prefect (December 19, 69). The next day the troops of Vespasian, who had met with resistance in the suburbs, succeeded in forcing their way from the Milvian Bridge into the city, and stormed the camp of the prætorians. Vitellius, who had crept away like a coward, was put to death.

C. The Flavians

When the senate recognised Vespasian as emperor, the latter's second son, Domitian, came out of his concealment, in order to take part in the resolutions, and, at the same time, to prove, by all sorts of eccentricities, committed with impunity, that he was a prince. Mucianus, as soon as he entered Rome, set Antonius Primus and his followers aside, for persons whose past was not without reproach were to be found among them — persons who were fit enough to effect a revolution but not to organise a government. First of all, steps had to be taken to provision the capital, for the supplies on hand were sufficient for only ten days. There followed some appointments, executions, suicides — the new order of things had come. When Vespasian came to Rome from Egypt, in the spring of 70 A.D., he was hailed on all sides with joy, for men were wearied of civil wars. Vespasian, leaving the events of the year of revolution alone, accepted the government in the same form as the Julii and Claudii. While Vitellius had styled himself merely "Imperator" and "Perpetual Consul," Vespasian connected his name with the first dynasty, since he called himself "Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus Augustus," and named his two sons "Cæsar." Thus the principate, which, after the fall of the Julii and of the Claudii, had to go through a grave crisis, emerged in a definitely recognised constitutional form.

T. Flavius Vespasianus, born at Reate, in the Sabine country, was sixty years old at the time of his elevation. He was no genius, but a thoroughly practical character. He came of a moderately wealthy municipal family, and had laid the foundations of his career under Gaius and Claudius, especially when, at the head of a legion, he shared in the conquest of Britain, distinguishing himself in the campaign. Nero had given him advancement, because he loyally overlooked the follies of his emperor. Vespasian's father had been a banker, and the son inherited the aptitude for finance, which was then peculiarly necessary. Vespasian, however, commenced his reign with an immense deficit, which had to be made good by new and, in many respects, unpopular taxes. Even the public latrines were taxed; and when Titus ventured a remark on this subject, the old man held a gold coin under his nose, with the words, "*Non olet*" (it

smells sweet). Thus, after a reign of ten years, he placed the finances once more on a sound footing.

The affairs of the army had also to be thoroughly reorganised. The defeat of the German legions in Italy had a sequel. That part of the legions which had remained behind in Germany, together with the German auxiliaries, especially the Batavi, had been greatly excited at the occurrences of the times, and had, moreover, been worked upon by the emissaries of the different parties. The rivalry between the auxiliary troops and the legionaries was apparent, and the former found support among their kinsmen in the tribes. A heavy price was paid for having employed these national troops near their homes; and, all the more, because the province of Belgica and the adjacent parts of Germany were inhabited by very warlike tribes, on the auxiliaries from which the strength of the Rhenish army chiefly rested. These, in opposition to the legions, declared for Vespasian before the decision was known. But when Vespasian had won, Julius Civilis, at the head of the Batavi and the Caninefates, supported by reinforcements from the right bank of the Rhine, continued the war against the legions, while, at the same time, the Treviri and Lingones, with other tribes of Belgica, rose under the leadership of Julius Tutor and Julius Classicus, who were Treveri, and of Julius Sabinus, a Lingonian. An independent Gallic empire was planned, a scheme far wider than that entertained two years previously by Julius Vindex, whose rebellion was remembered. The leaders were now Germans and Belgi with the rights of Roman citizenship, as Arminius the liberator had been. The opposition of the legions failed after the overthrow of the Vitellians in Italy was completed, since even the higher officers, excepting C. Dillius Vocula, the commander of the XXII. Legion, completely lost their heads. The troops mutinied, and deposed their officers; first, the governor, Hordeonius Flaccus; later, Vocula too. All the frontier camps in Lower Germany, Castra Vetera, Novæsium, and Bonna, fell into the hands of Civilis.

This was the climax of the rising. As soon as Vespasian was in Rome, he sent to Germany an efficient officer, Petilius Cerealis, who had distinguished himself in Britain. He received four or five legions, including the serviceable portions of the Vitellian troops. At the same time, reinforcements from Spain, Britain, and Rhætia, were brought up. The advance on the insurgents was made, after the recapture of Mainz, from Upper Germany, where the legionary camp of Vindonissa (Windisch in Aargau) had held out. It was soon apparent how unnatural was the alliance between Gauls, Germans, and Roman soldiers. The last returned to their allegiance everywhere; the Treveri were defeated at Bingen, and their capital occupied. Civilis, it is true, surprised the Roman army at Trier with his combined forces; but Cerealis atoned for his want of caution by splendid bravery, and by his victory opened the way into the country of the Batavi. The vanquished were, in the end, leniently treated, only the Gallic insurgent leaders were executed; and Civilis, who had not favoured the scheme of a Gallic empire, was pardoned. By the autumn of 70, everything was quiet. Vespasian disbanded the legions which had mutinied, and formed new ones. Changes in garrisons were also made. The principle was laid down that auxiliary troops should never be employed in the vicinity of their homes; that the separate divisions should be kept apart, and should be commanded by Roman and not by native officers. Most of the German auxiliaries went to Britain, where they

were separated by the sea from their kinsmen, until at a later period the bodies of men who voluntarily came over from their homes led to the "Germanising" of that island.

At the same time, Titus, the son of Vespasian, ended the Jewish War after he had invested Jerusalem in April, 70. The town had three lines of fortification. After the first and the second wall were taken, the old city and the Temple Hill still offered a successful resistance, although the miseries of famine were daily increasing. On August 29 the temple was taken and burnt, and on September 26 the upper town was also captured. The victors levelled all the fortifications, except three towers, which were left standing, to testify to the difficulties of the siege. The city, which had been for a thousand years one of the homes of the ancient civilisation, was destroyed, as Carthage and Corinth had been. The Jewish people were deprived of their ethnical and religious centre, and scattered over the face of the globe, a dispersion that has often been regretted later. The Jews who remained true to their ancestral religion were forced from this time to pay to the Capitoline Jupiter that tribute which they had previously offered to God in the Temple at Jerusalem. A hundred thousand prisoners were sold into slavery after the soldiers had crucified as many as they pleased. The province of Judæa received a legion as garrison; and some military colonies, among them Emmaus, were established there: these were intended to facilitate the work of holding the country, and to complete the mixture of nationalities. In the Syrian legions, Syrian was frequently spoken by the soldiers when off duty; otherwise, Latin was adopted there also as the military language. Cæsarea, founded by Herod, remained the capital of the province. Titus, together with his father, celebrated a triumph at Rome. On his triumphal arch were represented scenes from the war and the sacred vessels of the Temple, while the inscriptions stated that the Jewish people had been tamed, and that the hitherto unconquered Jerusalem was destroyed. It was noticed that the emperors scorned to assume the surname "Judaïcus," though they received the greetings for their victory as "imperatores."

Vespasian reorganised affairs in the rest of the East. Thus he transferred a legion to Cappadocia, because the countries by the Caucasus and Armenia often showed themselves eager to make inroads. An invasion of the Dacians on the lower Danube had to be repelled and the garrison strengthened. On the other hand, the legions were withdrawn from Dalmatia, a province perfectly pacified; and, instead, the legionary camps of Carnuntum (on the lower Danube, near Petronell) and Vindobona (the modern Vienna) were formed in Pannonia. Much was also done in the Danubian provinces and in Dalmatia towards improving the condition of the towns. Vespasian conferred the Latin rights on the Spanish communities, and by this means the way was prepared for the spreading of the Roman spirit. In Africa the institution of the provincial cult goes back to Vespasian. Achaia became a province again, since, as the emperor remarked, the Greeks had forgotten how to be free: with no governor there to decide, the quarrels between the separate communities had broken out once more.

In Rome, Vespasian carried out great architectural schemes, since the prisoners supplied the necessary labour, and the rest of the population was eager for employment. He built the temple to the goddess of Peace and the great Flavian amphitheatre, called the "Colosseum." (See Fig. 4 of the plate, "Roman

Buildings from the time of the Emperors" at p. 453.) It was shown that the emperor, otherwise so thrifty, did not shun expenditure for objects of general utility.

Mucianus and Titus exercised great influence in the government. While the former filled the consulate for the second and third times, Titus received, as the nominated successor to the throne, the command of the guard, which had been restored to its old footing. By this means the necessary force could be brought to the aid of the authorities. When Cæcina, the former general of Vitellius, tried to stir up the soldiers to sedition, Titus invited him to dinner and had him stabbed on leaving. At first Vespasian found opposition in the senate, because he was descended from a plebeian family. He was opposed, too, by the doctrinaires, who always honoured Cato, the antagonist of the Cæsars, as their ideal. This resistance was broken down; the resolute republican, Helvidius Priscus, son-in-law of Thrasea Pætus, was brought to trial, and the senate reorganised. The old families who had once governed the republic were greatly diminished, for the numerous executions in the Julian and Claudian times, as well as their own excesses and celibacy, had reduced their numbers. Thus the last Sulpicius had been buried with Galba. When Vespasian and Titus assumed the censorship, in 73, they filled up the senate from the municipal ranks, which even in Rome were far less independent than their predecessors. A new era began, both for the principate and for the senate, an era of which the literary standard-bearers were Cornelius Tacitus and the younger Pliny (cf. pp. 438, 439).

When Vespasian died, in 79, after a vigorous reign, his son, Titus, then in his fortieth year, succeeded him. Titus had grown up at the court of Claudius as the playmate of Britannicus, with splendid talents, a brilliant officer, but licentious. His health was undermined. Great notoriety attached to his relations with the Jewish princess, Berenice, a daughter of Julius Agrippa, who followed him to Rome. When he assumed the sole sovereignty, he laid down the principle that no one would be permitted to leave the emperor unconsoled. He would not have gone very far thus in the long run, but he was fated to find an occasion to test his charity on a large scale. On August 24, 79, an eruption of Vesuvius, which had until then been considered an extinct volcano, overwhelmed the Campanian towns of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiæ. The elder Pliny, a comrade-in-arms of Titus from the time of the Jewish War, then prefect of the fleet at Misenum, met his death there, for his curiosity as a naturalist carried him too far into danger. Of these buried towns, Pompeii, especially, has been brought to light by excavations made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. We are indebted to this event for an exact picture of the domestic life of the Italian population in the first century A.D. (See the subjoined plate, "Remains of the House of L. Cæcilius Jucundus, a Banker, at Pompeii.") The emperor did all that lay in his power to help the sufferers, as he did on the occasion of a three days' fire, which devastated Rome in the following year.

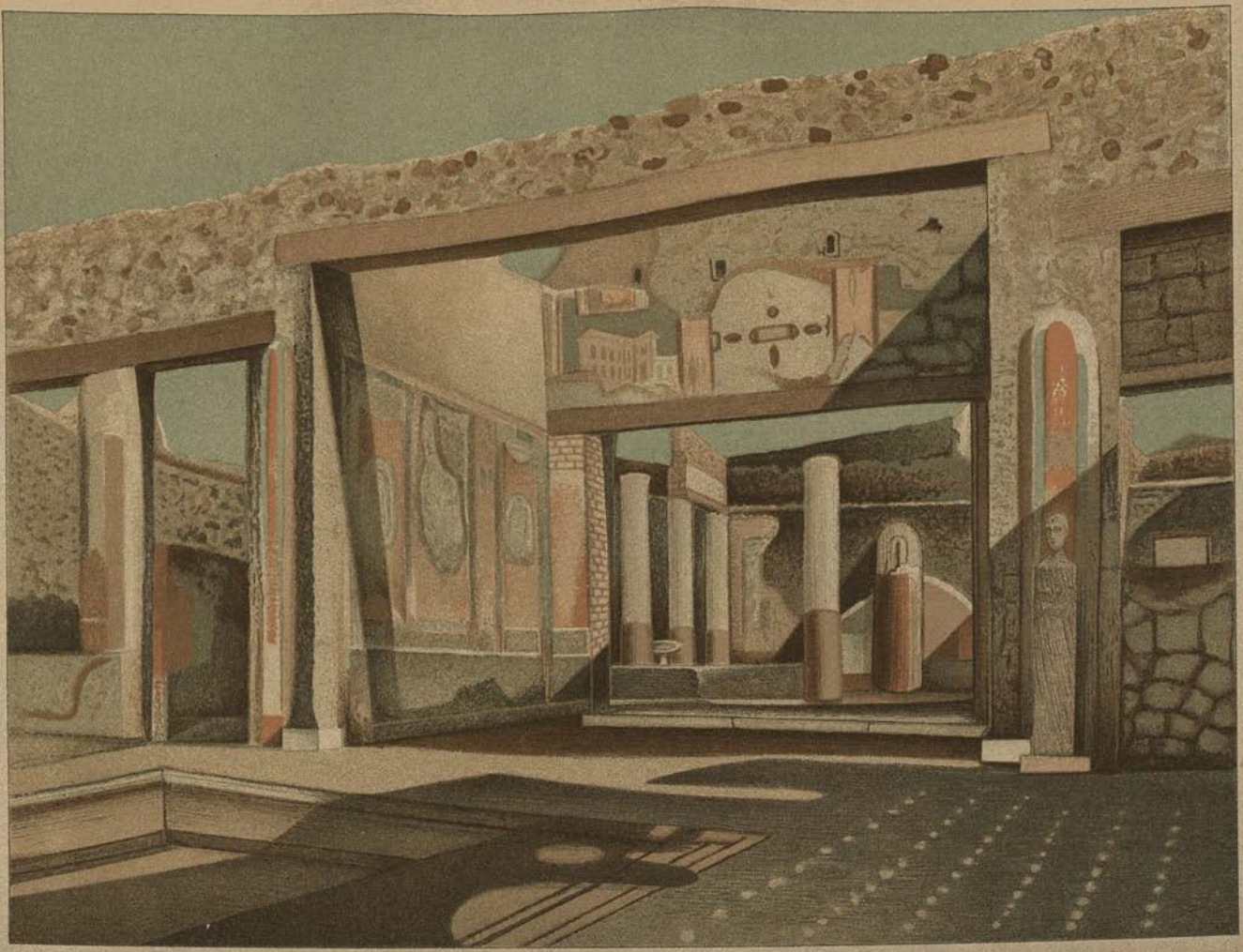
Titus was succeeded two years afterwards by his brother, Domitian, who had up till now been kept in the background, except that he had repeatedly filled the consulate, and had been admitted into all the priestly colleges. His personality is unsympathetic. Just as he had previously intrigued against Titus, so he now made the senators feel his power in every way, as he filled the consulate seventeen times; and, as perpetual censor, reserved to himself the right of filling up the senate with nominees of his own liking. The title of censor disappeared

REMAINS OF THE HOUSE OF THE BANKER L. CAECILIUS JUCUNDUS AT POMPEII: THE TABLINUM, SEEN FROM THE ATRIUM.

(After E. Presuhn, Pompeii. The most recent excavations of 1874–1881.)

REMAINS OF THE HOUSE OF THE BANKER L. CÆCILIUS JUCUNDUS AT POMPEII

THE name of the owner can be assigned with certainty to very few houses in Pompeii. The house represented in the plate on the opposite page, excavated in 1875, is the only one of which the owner can be accurately determined by name, portrait-statue, and rank; even the business and the means of this banker, L. Cæcilius Jucundus, are preserved for us in many hundreds of charred wooden tablets, covered over with wax inside and written on, — a find which is kept in the Papyrus-room of the Museum at Naples. The mural decorations in the atrium (entrance hall), from which the view is taken, have suffered very much; the floor consists of black mosaic inlaid with bright pieces of marble, and round the impluvium (cistern), which fills up the foreground to the left, is drawn a broad ornamental border in black and white mosaic. The bronze bust of the master of the house was found during the excavation, thrown down from the pillar, and is now placed in the Museum at Naples, on the pillar which formerly, corresponding to the one visible on the right of our picture, stood on the left in front of the tablinum. The portrait shows a well-fed, contented-looking, comfortable man of fifty, with a mouth drawn crookedly, and a wart on the left cheek; the inscription on the pillar: "Genio L. nostri Felix l." (Felix the liberated to the Genius of our Lucius) acquaints us with the name of the man who dedicated the bust. The lofty tablinum (the business room of the proprietor) was brilliant in 1875 with a wealth of colours, especially with vermilion. The antique decoration, done in the delicate Greek style, was perhaps somewhat rich, but of peculiar beauty. On the great central panel of the left wall, flanked by two side pictures and one upper one, which is now in the Museum at Naples, there was a representation of Iphigenia in Tauris, stepping out of the temple in order to sacrifice the two strangers, from which this house is also called "The house with the picture of Iphigenia." In the background we look on the left into the peristylium (the court yard), which was approached through a small corridor, and enclosed on two sides by a portico running out on seven pillars and once covered in; on the right we see the viridarium (the garden) amongst the once isolated pillars of which three sleeping and dwelling rooms have later been built on. The room on the left edge of the picture is the triclinium (eating room), that on the right is an exedra (a reception-room).



London: Wm Heinemann. Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig. *New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.*

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after Domitian; but the right of nomination remained in the emperor, and formed an important stepping-stone in the development of the principate into the monarchy. Domitian, on the whole, took Tiberius as his model. Epaphroditus, the freedman of Nero, long enjoyed influence over him, until Domitian recollected that Epaphroditus had aided the suicide of Nero; this caused his fall and death. The emperor was resolved to rule without favourites, trusting in the support of the army and the people. He wished to be addressed as "Lord" and "God," which corresponded to the Oriental conception of the attitude of the ruler to his subjects, not to the Roman idea of the "First Citizen." The emperor called the month of October, in which he was born, Domitianus, after himself, just as in the same way July and August received their names. The mistrust felt by the emperor for all senatorial officials resulted in his exercising a strict control over the administration of the provinces. This proved beneficial to the subjects, and his government can in no way be put on the same level as that of a Gaius or a Nero. An insurrection, which L. Antonius Saturninus, the governor of Upper Germany, attempted in Mogontiacum with the help of the independent tribes on the other side of the Rhine, was suppressed by armed force. (88 or 89 A.D.). In these operations the Spanish "legatus," Ulpius Trajanus, the subsequent emperor, distinguished himself. The conquest of Britain, under the administration of C. Julius Agricola, which took seven years, proceeded rapidly, especially with regard to the strengthening of the interior, which had been frequently interrupted by repeated insurrections. The geographical horizon of the Romans was thus widened by sea and by land towards Caledonia, Hibernia, and Farthest Thule (the Shetland Islands).

War also was made on the Chatti and the Sarmates, in which the latter completely annihilated a Roman legion. Finally, the war against the Dacians demanded the exertion of the full strength of the empire. The sphere of Dacian influence, starting from the modern Transylvania, had gradually extended, on the one side, through the easterly passes up to the Black Sea; on the other, on the west towards the central, and on the south towards the lower, Danube. The governor of Mœsia fell in battle; and the province was placed in so critical a position that Domitian himself went there with his prefect of the guard, Cornelius Fuscus. The war, in which the Romans assumed the aggressive, was in the end successful: after the death of Cornelius Fuscus, Domitian concluded a peace in 89 A.D. with Decebalus, the Dacian king, in which the latter received a yearly present of money and certain privileges; the opposition, therefore, said that the peace was bought. It became apparent that Domitian was not fit for the task which had to be performed there; but he did not wish to entrust it to any one else, in order not to effect a change of parties. The tension between the emperor, on the one side, and the senators and military chiefs, on the other, increased. Besides this, there were family disputes. The emperor was not on good terms with his wife, Domitia Longina, a daughter of Domitius Corbulo, after he had ordered her lover, the actor Paris, to be assassinated. The emperor also ordered his cousin, Flavius Clemens, and his wife, Flavia Domitilla, to be executed, because they were well inclined towards Christianity. Domitian strictly upheld the old religion. On September 18, 96, Domitian was murdered by members of his household. He was forty-five years old. The "Lives of the Emperors," which were published under Hadrian by his secretary, Suetonius

Tranquillus, is a sufficient authority so far. From this point the "History of the Emperors," by Cassius Dio, becomes the chief source.

D. Nerva and His Successors

Although Domitian had selected the sons of Flavius Clemens to succeed him, their dynastic claims had ceased to be respected, and the aged consular, M. Cocceius Nerva, was proclaimed emperor: quite an unsuitable choice, made, it is evident, by women and lackeys. A reaction was setting in against the government of the senate which up to this time had been in violent opposition to the principate, and was now officially suppressing all memorials of Domitian and annulling his acts. It was soon apparent that Nerva, who had been a successful writer of erotic verse under Nero, but had shown no special ability in a military or civil capacity, was unequal to his task, at all events, as far as the enemy was concerned. When the prætorians, whose favourite Domitian had been, demanded the surrender of his murderess, Nerva was powerless to protect them. Moreover, an able soldier was required both for Germany and for the Dacian campaign. The situation as regards the Parthians and other Oriental peoples was likewise far from reassuring and there was always the danger of these hostile groups uniting into a formidable confederacy, if timely measures were not taken.

Such were the motives which led the childless Nerva to adopt M. Ulpius Trajanus, the governor of Upper Germany (97 A.D.). Henceforth it became the rule for the reigning emperor to choose his successor in the principate, contrary to the previous custom by which the welfare of the state was subordinated to dynastic interests. Recent events had proved the inefficiency of purely senatorial government and the need of an actual *imperator*.

Trajan, a native of Italica in Spain, and at this time 44 years of age, was the son of a man who had commanded a legion in the Jewish war and had been subsequently consul and governor of the province of Syria. The new emperor-elect was above everything a soldier. He was then in Germany engaged in carrying out the policy of the Flavian emperors of which one feature was to resume possession of the districts on the right bank of the Rhine, including the so-called *agri decumates* with their capital, Sumelocenna (near Rottenburg in Wurtemberg.) (The origin of the name *decumates* is uncertain; it is possibly a term used by the *agrimensores;* the rendering "tithe-lands" resting on no real evidence.) It was his countryman, the consular Licinius Sura, that recommended Trajan to Nerva. The news of his adoption reached him at Cologne. He at once sent for the mutinous prætorian guard, in order to seize and punish the ringleaders. A victorious campaign was fought against the Suevi on the Danube, in consequence of which Nerva and Trajan assumed the title of Germanicus. At the same time the concentration of troops on the lower Rhine, begun under Domitian, was continued. On the 27th of January, 98 A.D., death removed Nerva, and Trajan assumed supreme authority at Rome. He received a hearty welcome from all who had felt themselves oppressed under Domitian, above all from Cornelius Tacitus, consul in the year 98, and from the younger Pliny, consul in the year 100 A.D.

Steps were taken at this time to reform the condition of Italy. The sovereign

country had become more and more a land of capitalists. Apart from the senatorial class in whose hands numerous large estates in various parts of Italy became concentrated, there were the office holders returning home with well-filled purses after filling some civil or military post in the provinces. Others had made fortunes out of trade and speculation. These men played an important part at home, as they spent their money freely, particularly in the endowment of public institutions — baths, libraries, games — by which the lower classes benefited; but, in reality, such public benefactions formed only a vast subsidy system extremely unfavourable to sound economic conditions. Domitian had endeavoured by police regulations to preserve agriculture wherever it was still found in Italy; otherwise vine-culture would have been more general, especially as Italian wine, which at this time found no competitors in burgundy or tokay, formed a profitable article of export.

But the country was suffering from other disorders: the condition of society was such as might be expected of an enervated population living in indolence. A reluctance to marry or to bring up a family, united to such universally disseminated vices as we find censured in the satirists of the period, Petronius, Martial and Juvenal, was taking such deep root that the population, instead of increasing with the material progress of the country, was rather on the decline. Some attempt therefore had to be made to rescue those, at least, who as yet were not hopelessly corrupt — the young. This was done by means of the magnificent alimentation endowments, which Nerva had initiated and which Trajan continued. Their object was to provide yearly allowances (*alimenta*) for boys and girls until the completion of their education. The endowments were in land, and several records in the form of land registers have come down to us, one from the district of Beneventum, the rest from that of Veleia (in Liguria). This beneficent scheme, which aimed at preserving the supremacy of Italy, was further developed and organised by succeeding emperors.

After spending the years 99 and 100 at Rome, Trajan in 101 took the field against the Dacians. The positions of Aquincum (near Old Buda) and Acumincum (near Szlankemen) on the middle Danube had already been taken and the garrisons reinforced from Britain and the Rhine, the whole campaign indeed was carefully planned and vigorously executed. Trajan commanded in person, accompanied by the *præfectus prætorio* Claudius Livianus and a trained staff. It was intended not merely to relieve Mœsia but also to seek out the Daci in their own territory, whose rich gold mines must have been in themselves a strong attraction to the Romans. The first campaign ended in the overthrow of Decebalus, whose authority extending to the Danube and the sea was now confined to the region of Transylvania. There he was to rule, a vassal of the Romans (102 A.D.). But Trajan soon discovered that Decebalus was unfaithful to the terms of the treaty, and that a second campaign would be necessary. This opened with the building of Trajan's Bridge over the Danube (near Severin), by which the river, which had proved his most formidable adversary, was put in irons. For the second time Trajan converged his forces on the Dacian capital, Sarmizegethusa,* in the Hatzeg valley (now called Grediste by the Slavo-Roumanian Wallachians, and Várhely by the Hungarians), by way of the valley

* Zermizegethusa.

of the Alt and the Rothenturm pass, the Banat and the Iron Gate, and most probably the Vulkan pass. The Daci defended themselves in their woods and fortresses, whither they had conveyed their treasures for safety — among other places at the "Muncseler Grediste," which lies at the head of the valley to the south of Broos, a region which, to this day, is remarkable for the discovery of Greek and Roman coins and even of entire treasure-hoards hidden at that time. Decebalus committed suicide when he saw that all was lost. Of the Dacians, part submitted and part were exterminated or expelled, their place being taken by settlers from other provinces. Sarmizegethusa became the new colony of Ulpia; the gold region was occupied and a legion quartered at Apulum for its protection (107 A.D.). Apulum is the modern Carlsburg, named after the Emperor Charles VI., and lies at the entrance to the Transylvanian gold district; it is known as Gyula-Fejervár to the Hungarians and Belgrade to the Wallachians. The triumph of the Roman arms was now complete, and the Greek cities on the Pontus were delivered from the oppression of the Dacian power. There was great rejoicing in Olbia and in Tomi; and the founding of Nicopolis on the northern slopes of the Hæmus worked effects that were felt later throughout the whole of the Balkan peninsula. The hard-won victory was recorded at Rome as well as on the banks of the Danube and on the Euxine on coins and monuments. Fitting honours were paid to the fallen warriors, and a triumph and games were celebrated. A "*Tropæum Trajani*" was erected at Adamklissi in the Dobrudscha not far from Tomi, on the coins of which town the trophy is represented. The monument to the fallen soldiers has been recently discovered. None the less the new province of Dacia entailed fresh burdens on the finances and necessitated a permanent increase in the military establishment.

About the same time (106 A.D.) the governor of Syria, A. Cornelius Palma, annexed the district round Bostra and Petra. It received a legion as garrison and formed henceforth the Roman province of Arabia, through which an imperial road led to the Red Sea. The emperor, however, proceeded from Dacia to Rome. Here he spent the following years and built the "Forum Trajani," containing the Pillar of Trajan, on which are bas-reliefs commemorating the Dacian War. Trajan devoted himself with energy to the business of government, above all to the encouragement of Italian commerce. He began the improvement of the harbour of Ancona, which was important for the trade with the opposite coast of Dalmatia and the East. He further constructed the Via Trajana from Beneventum to Brundisium, which, being shorter than the Via Appia, opened up new districts to commerce. The gratitude of the inhabitants was expressed in the triumphal arches, erected in his honour, which exist to this day in Ancona and Beneventum.

Nor were provincial affairs neglected at this time, as may be seen from Trajan's correspondence with the younger Pliny, who from 111 to 113 was governor of Bithynia. Pliny had been entrusted by the Emperor with an extraordinary mission, which accounts for the interest displayed by the latter; but we see at all events that the central government wished to be kept informed even of comparatively unimportant matters. About the same time or a little earlier, P. Cornelius Tacitus became proconsul of the province of Asia; he already possessed a great reputation as orator, advocate and historian. Tacitus had completed the "Histories," which covered the period from Galba to the end of

Domitian, and was engaged on the period from the death of Augustus to the downfall of Nero, when Trajan entered upon his Oriental campaign.

In 114 the war with the Parthians broke out. The late king of the Parthians, Pacorus, had formed an alliance with the Dacians, and the ruling king Chosroes had encroached upon the Roman sphere of influence in Armenia by arbitrarily imposing a king on that country. In Armenia Parthian interests had ever been in conflict with those of Rome, and Trajan resolved to determine the dispute once for all. With the support of the Caucasian tribes and of the dependent princes of Syria he annexed Armenia and made it a province. After setting up a rival claimant to the Parthian throne Trajan went into winter quarters at Antioch. Early in the following year he crossed the Tigris, and reduced the districts of Adiabene and Babylon with the towns of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, reaching the Persian Gulf through the territory of Mesene. Two more distant provinces were formed — Mesopotamia and, beyond the Tigris, Assyria. Only old age prevented Trajan from going to India as Alexander the Great had done. Soon however reverses came. A rising in the conquered countries forced Trajan to retreat in order to preserve his communications. The strongly fortified town of Hatra was besieged by him in vain; Chosroes regained possession of Parthia. In addition a rising of the Jews took place throughout the Eastern provinces partly fomented by their kindred who were enjoying prosperity in the Parthian kingdom, and partly occasioned by a revival of Messianic hopes; in Cyrene they went so far as to set up a "king." Trajan broke down under a strain that was too severe for a man of sixty, and returned to Antioch a pitiable wreck. He had hardly set out on his journey to Rome when he died on the way at Selinus in Cilicia on the 8th of August, 117 A.D.

And thus the life of Trajan ended in grave misfortune. He had overtaxed his own and his country's strength and the result had been failure. It was at this time the aim of Roman policy in the East to control the overland trade with India. An advance in the direction of Arabia had been attempted by Augustus (see Vol. III.); and Trajan's expedition to the Persian Gulf had been undertaken with the same object. But the attempt generally miscarried, the interior of Arabia being protected by its deserts, and the province of "Arabia" was no more a province than were "Africa" or "Asia." Arabia proper with its caravan routes remained a world apart till the rise of Islam. The Romans had therefore to content themselves with developing the maritime route from Egypt to India, and with entering into an agreement with the Parthian kingdom which secured the trade route to India and the country of the Seres, i.e. China. In such circumstances, no reason remained for the retention of Assyria and Mesopotamia, or even of Armenia, either from a military or from an economic standpoint.

So thought the man who became Trajan's successor, P. Ælius Hadrianus. He also was a native of Italica in Spain; he was a cousin of Trajan, and had been brought up as his ward. His marriage with a granddaughter of Trajan's sister, Marciana, had brought him into still closer connection with the imperial family. An able officer, he had accompanied Trajan on all his campaigns and had held important commands both on the Danube and on the Euphrates; after the second Dacian War he had been made governor of lower Pannonia. At the time of Trajan's death he was at the head of the army of Syria. His biography

is the first of the lives of the various emperors in the *Scriptores historiae Augustae.*

As regards the real circumstances of his adoption, a tradition was preserved in the family of a later governor of Cilicia that it was due to a forgery on the part of Trajan's wife Plotina after the decease of her husband. It could, however, have been no secret that Hadrian was not in sympathy with Trajan's policy of expansion. On the other hand the generals, who, like Trajan himself, reasoned only as soldiers, were all in favour of this policy; such were Lusius Quietus, the governor of Judæa, who, after much bloodshed, had lately been victorious over the Jews in their native country, Cornelius Palma, the conqueror of Arabia, and others. Hadrian had therefore to face a strong opposition in this quarter when he departed from the path of his predecessor. His first act was to terminate the Parthian war, by recognising Chosroes as king, abandoning the conquered territories, Arabia excepted, and consenting to the installation of a member of the Parthian royal house as ruler of Armenia. Immediately afterwards came the suppression of the Jewish revolt in Egypt and Cyrene by Hadrian's most devoted lieutenant, Marcius Turbo. This Marcius Turbo was sent to Mauretania and afterwards to Pannonia and Dacia. Even this last province would have been resigned by Hadrian, had not so many Roman settlers been established there. Hadrian contented himself therefore with reducing the garrison, after travelling in person from Antioch through Mœsia and Dacia. Marcius Turbo was appointed by Hadrian to the post of *præfectus prætorio* at Rome, where a conspiracy seems to have been formed shortly before his arrival. Lusius Quietus and Cornelius Palma, together with Avidius Nigrinus, who under Trajan had been mentioned as his possible successor, met their deaths on this occasion, and the new ruler was rid definitely of all who coveted or envied his position.

Hadrian took the affairs of state vigorously in hand. The finances, which Trajan's military policy had thrown into confusion were organised with such success that Hadrian was able to remit a great accumulation of arrears in taxes in Italy, and to a smaller extent in the provinces; this measure gave general satisfaction. Further a notable advance was made in the direction of the codification of the law, the jurist Salvius Julianus being instructed by Hadrian to define once for all the principles on which the prætors administered justice. But it was to the organisation of the army and of the civil administration that Hadrian especially devoted himself. Every province and every army corps came under his personal supervision. The civil service of later times is his creation; whereas previously imperial freedmen of all sorts had held office, he drew far more exclusively on the middle class, the "Roman Knights." He revised the army tactics with an eye on the methods of warfare pursued by hostile nations. In the auxiliary troops the peculiar virtues of each nation were encouraged and rendered effective. The army respected Hadrian for his thorough knowledge of the service, in war as well as in peace; and it is said he knew by name multitudes of soldiers in the ranks.

On the whole, Hadrian may be regarded as the most gifted in will and intellect of all the emperors between Augustus and Diocletian. Traces of his activity are everywhere to be met with. In Britain he constructed a rampart against the Caledonians. In Africa his orders to the army have been preserved in the camp of Lambæsis, engraved in stone as a record of his presence there; he even visited

Mauretania. In Judæa he founded on the ruins of Jerusalem the colony of Ælia Capitolina. It was this that caused the revolt of the Jews under Rabbi Eleazar and Barcochebas, the "son of a star," a revolt which entailed great financial sacrifices, and which was only put down after two years of bloodshed (132-134), by reinforcements summoned from Mœsia and elsewhere. Even after the victory the garrison remained double its original strength; the province received the name of Syria Palæstina, for the name Judæa was to be uttered no more. Greece owes much to Hadrian, who from youth was so fond of Greek literature that he was called a "Græculus." He was certainly the first of the emperors to wear a beard after the Greek fashion, all his predecessors having been shaven according to Roman custom. At Athens, before he became emperor, he held the Archonship; in return he adorned the city with buildings, and invested it with certain liberties and revenues. His extensive improvements in the Peloponnesus were commemorated a generation later by the traveller and antiquarian Pausanias in his "Tour of Greece." In the neighbourhood of Rome, at Tibur, Hadrian built a colossal villa surrounded by extensive gardens in which were represented the places of interest which the Emperor had visited in his travels. The cost must have been enormous.

Like Trajan, Hadrian had no children; the Empress Sabina would have none, as she was on bad terms with her husband, a fact which she very frankly admitted to those about her. This estrangement caused troubles at the court, in some of which the imperial secretary, Suetonius Tranquillus, author of the "Lives of the Emperors," was concerned. Hadrian's favourite was the beautiful boy Antinous, who accompanied the Emperor on all his travels, until he met with a mysterious death in the Nile on the occasion of the Emperor's visit to Egypt. While the Oriental peoples deified this boy, the art of the Greek masters exalted him into an ideal figure with the expression of sentimental melancholy characteristic of the portraiture of this epoch. To perpetuate the memory of his favourite, Hadrian founded the town of Antinoopolis. As he was constantly attended on his travels by a numerous retinue of architects and builders, such an undertaking presented no difficulties. On the whole, the character of Hadrian was imperious and restlessly energetic, egoistic and capricious. In literature his tastes were original, and he preferred among the Latins the ancient authors as Ennius and Cato to the more modern; in this, too, his influence on his own and the following age was considerable.

As his successor, Hadrian had selected L. Ceionius Commodus; after his adoption in the year 136 he received the name of L. Ælius Cæsar, and was at once despatched to Pannonia to take over the command of the four legions quartered there, while at the same time he assumed the consulship for the second time. We know that deputations came even from Asia to Pannonia to congratulate him. But he died before Hadrian on the first of January, 138, immediately after his return to Rome. In his place T. Aurelius Antoninus was adopted. He was the husband of a sister of Ælius Cæsar; having no sons he was obliged in order to secure the succession, to adopt M. Annius Verus (later the Emperor Marcus Aurelius) and L. Verus, son of Ælius Cæsar. So violent was the opposition which this step aroused among Hadrian's next of kin that he was obliged to procure the removal of the consular, L. Julius Ursus Servianus, now ninety years of age, and of his grandson, a youth of eighteen. Hadrian died of dropsy

on July 10, 138, at Baiæ the famous health resort on the Campanian coast. Antoninus caused the body to be burnt with due solemnities at Puteoli in the villa which had formerly belonged to Cicero, but he had great difficulty in prevailing upon the senate to grant the customary honours. The ashes of the deified Hadrian were deposited later in the magnificent mausoleum which he had built across the Tiber, now the Castle of S. Angelo.

While Hadrian had avoided war for political reasons, keeping at the same time a firm hand on soldiers and generals and insisting on full and accurate reports, his successor T. Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus "Pius," who at the time of his accession had reached his fifty-second year, was by his mild and equable temperament strongly inclined to peace. His family was sprung from Nemausus in the Provincia, but had for two generations enjoyed senatorial rank, and had consequently acquired large estates in Italy. He had held the consulship in the year 120, and had later been one of the four consulars to whom Hadrian entrusted the supervision and judicial control of the Italian *municipia*. After his proconsulship in Asia Antoninus returned to Italy. During the twenty-three years of his imperial rule he scarcely left Italy, although on the Danube and in the East troubles were brewing which caused his successors so much difficulty. The frontier feuds he left to his provincial governors to fight out. In Britain a second wall was built south of Hadrian's and named after Antoninus. On the advanced frontier of Upper Germany and Rhætia a similar boundary wall or "limes" was erected. In Africa the fighting which had broken out with the turbulent Moors along the whole frontier rendered it necessary to strengthen the forces in that quarter. In addition to reinforcements from Spain, for which employment was found in Tingitana, troops were also despatched to Cæsariensis from Germany, from Pannonia and even from Syria until in 150 B.C. after a struggle of several years' duration, peace seemed firmly established (see the accompanying map, "The Roman Empire in the middle of the Second Century A.D.")

In the provinces of the interior, proconsular Africa, Narbonensis, Southern Spain, this period of peace, which lasted for fifty years, witnessed a vigorous growth of municipal institutions and a rapid extension of Roman civilisation. This is attested by architectural remains (see fig. 2 of the plate at pp. 453, 454). Meanwhile the Emperor resided on his estates, his favourite one being that of Lorium near the twelfth milestone on the Via Aurelia, and enjoyed the delights of a country life. For this reason, and also because he observed with painful precision the ritual of the Roman state religion, he was by partial critics compared in wisdom to the old Sabine king, Numa Pompilius. But it is evident from the letters of the African orator and imperial tutor, Cornelius Fronto, that life at the court was parsimonious and not a little tedious. The intellectual activity of the time was no longer controlled and inspired by political circles, as under Julius Cæsar and Augustus, and even under Trajan and Hadrian; literature was becoming divorced from politics both in Athens and in Alexandria where the pulse of intellectual life beat strongest.

When in 161 Pius succumbed to an illness contracted by eating Alpine cheese, he was succeeded by his adopted sons, M. Aurelius "Antoninus" and L. Verus, the latter having been chosen to share the functions and title of emperor: the first instance of a dual sovereignty. M. Aurelius was forty years of age at the

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time of his accession; an earnest man, whose leisure was devoted to philosophical studies, of which his book "To Himself," written in the Greek language, is the fruit, and whose chief aim was the conscientious discharge of his duties as emperor. L. Verus took matters far less seriously. It was consistent with the stoic views of M. Aurelius, but it was none the less a sin against the state that he allowed first his worthless adopted brother and later his still more worthless son to succeed to the government. The internal administration was continued on the lines laid down by Hadrian; but externally a storm broke out in this reign which marked the beginning of a new epoch for Italy and a great part of the Empire.

In the East it was necessary to make war on the Parthians, as they had taken advantage of their ascendancy in Armenia to overrun Syria also. In the year 162 L. Verus was despatched to the East and the mobilisation of troops on a large scale was begun in that quarter. Forces from the lower Rhine and the Danube received orders for the Euphrates, and the Italian fleets had to convey the drafts to Seleucia Pieria, the harbour of Antioch. But the bulk of the work fell to the lieutenants of Verus while he preferred to hold his court at Antioch. After Armenia and the districts on the Mesopotamian border had been subjugated the Tigris was crossed and Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the free Greek towns of the Parthian kingdom were annexed. The booty taken was considerable. The district of Osroene with its capital Edessa was permanently occupied, and the Roman supremacy firmly established in Armenia. After four years the war came to an end, and both emperors enjoyed in 166 a splendid triumph at Rome.

War however had already broken out on the Danube, which owing to the fighting in the East had been left exposed. Along the whole course of the river the tribes, yielding no doubt to pressure from behind, were in motion, swarming into the Roman provinces and threatening Italy from the Alps. They laid siege to Aquileia and took Opitergium (now Oderzo). In all haste the generals who had distinguished themselves against the Parthians were despatched to raise new levies and restore the northern frontier. For the first time for many years Italy itself had to furnish recruits and two new legions were formed, to which at first the title of Concordia was given in honour of the two Emperors; later they were known as the "Italian" legions. Meanwhile Upper Italy and the cis-Alpine district were united under one government; this was important as determining their future organisation.

To make the situation worse the troops returning from the East had brought the plague with them; thousands succumbed to it and the effects were felt even in the next generation. Owing to the cost of transportation from provinces so remote as Africa and Egypt, a scarcity of money was beginning to be felt. The expedient was therefore adopted of enrolling on the spot, without regard to the consequences, all who were capable of military service. Whereas formerly the possession of the Roman franchise or at all events the first step towards it, the Latin *jus*, had been a necessary condition of service in the legion, the requisite qualifications were now conferred at the moment of enlistment by special dispensation of the Emperor. This measure recalls that of Marius, 270 years before. The result was that the army *corps* on the Danube were composed entirely of barbarians. As these legions constituted more than a third of the imperial army, the preponderating influence in politics belonged hence-

forth to the Illyrian districts. Of the thirty legions, later increased to thirty-three, twelve were quartered in the vicinity of the Danube, nine and later eleven, were in the provinces of the East, four on the Rhine, etc.

Both emperors went to the front. After the death of L. Verus in the year 169 at Altinum (near Venice), Marcus was left in sole command. He established his headquarters at the Pannonian fortresses of Vindobona, Carnuntum and Brigetio successively falling back in winter on the less exposed position of Sirmium. By the time the Alps had been cleared of the enemy and the line of the Danube recovered, the theatre of war extended from *Castra Regina* (Regensburg) as far as the modern Transylvania. The Roman armies suffered considerable loss, especially in officers of high rank. In the campaign against the Germani and Iazyges perished the governor of Dacia and Upper Mœsia, Claudius Fronto, who held Sarmizegethusa after the gold district had been lost; in the centre, where the fighting was for the most part against the Marcomanni and Quadi, fell the *Præfectus prætorio,* Macrinius Vindex. On one occasion a long continued season of hot weather proved almost fatal to the troops in this region; the rain god however relented in time. The triumphal pillar which stands in the "Piazza Colonna" at Rome, commemorates among other incidents of the war in bas-relief this miraculous fall of rain. By the year 172 the Germanic tribes had been reduced, but it was not till 175 that the Sarmatian tribes, which included the Iazyges, were finally subjugated. The Emperor now assigned settlements in the devastated provinces of the frontier to entire nations. This measure, which was repeated in Dacia and Pannonia more than once in the following ten years was useful as mitigating the antagonism existing between the various races under Roman sway. The attempt to check the depopulation of Italy by establishing barbarians there, notably at Ravenna, as a peasantry bound to the soil, failed utterly owing to the intractable nature of these people. It was necessary either to exterminate or expel them; the contrast between the home of an ancient civilisation and the frontier regions with their thin veneer of Roman culture was here strikingly displayed.

But other indications at the time of the great war with the Germans and Sarmatians had made it evident that the period of peaceful security, for Upper Italy at least, was over. It was found necessary to fortify the chief towns in this quarter, as Aquileia, Verona and Mediolanum; Ravenna was sufficiently protected by its position on the lagoons. In the Balkan districts also defensive measures had to be taken, and even Salonæ in Dalmatia and Philippopolis in Thrace were fortified, for the marauding expeditions of the Costobocs had penetrated from Northern Dacia as far south as Greece.

The war on the Danube came to a premature conclusion, owing to the fact that the governor of Syria, Avidius Cassius, had been deceived by a false report of the death of Marcus Aurelius, and had proclaimed himself emperor in the East; personal antagonism seems to have played some part in the affair, for the emperor, busied with his philosophy in his Pannonian winter quarters, was by no means universally popular. When Marcus took the field in person, Avidius Cassius was speedily abandoned by his adherents and slain (175).

Marcus returned to Rome and appointed his son Commodus to be co-regent. In the year 178, he returned to the Danube with his son, as disturbances had again broken out in that quarter. The emperor now purposed to cross the

Danube and to occupy the country on the further banks, though he had previously been content to maintain a neutral zone beyond the frontier. But before Marcus could carry out these plans, he was taken ill in Vindobona and died on the 17th March, 180.

Commodus assumed the imperial power. As he was not attracted by the prospect of further warfare in the cold climate of the barbarians, where the people had faces like planks, to quote the description of the physician Galen, he contented himself with a merely formal conquest and returned to Rome in the course of the year 180. The young man was fond of physical exercise, and sanctioned a public festival in honour of himself as the Roman Hercules: in other respects, he was idle and licentious, in fact, a second Nero. The government was at first in the hands of the prefects of the guard, Tarrutenius Paternus and Perennis. The former, who was a capable officer, fell a victim to the intrigues of his colleague in the year 183; Perennis was the victim of a mutiny two years later. From that time onwards, Cleander governed: he was a Phrygian slave who had been brought to Rome and had been freed by Marcus Aurelius: Commodus advanced him to the position of chief chamberlain, and gave him command of the guard with two others. But three years later, Rome was threatened with famine and Cleander was abandoned to the fury of the populace (189). The greatest influence was now exercised by an Egyptian, Eclectus, who was chamberlain, and by Marcia, a concubine of the emperor; these acted in close concert, for they were old friends, who had come into the possession of Commodus as part of the confiscated property of Ummidius Quadratus, a member of the royal family.

Reckless expenditure soon produced a considerable deficit, but this fact in no way checked the emperor's profligacy. He appeared in public as a gladiator, naturally with due precautions: Commodus gained the victor's prize no less than 735 times. His relations, and all officials of high rank were in constant peril of death by poison or the sword, either owing to the emperor's suspicions or because dissatisfaction with the government was continually becoming more prominent. However, Commodus continued to rule for thirteen years. His favourite residence was a magnificent villa on the Via Appia to the south of Rome: when he was not there, he was generally to be found among the gladiators, after his enthusiasm for that profession had reached its height. Commodus even proposed to assume the consulate in gladiatorial dress on January 1, 193, but he fell a victim to a conspiracy, plotted by Marcia, Eclectus, and the prefect of the guard, Q. Æmilius Lætus, whose personal safety he had threatened. Commodus was strangled on New Year's eve, 193, by a gladiator, who had been hired for the purpose.

E. The Senatorial and Military Emperors

The next morning P. Helvius Pertinax, prefect of the guard, and colleague of Commodus in the consulate, was saluted emperor. Pertinax was the son of a wood merchant of Alba Pompeia in Liguria; he had done such good military service under Marcus Aurelius, that he had been promoted to the consulate, and afterwards to the important posts of governor of Mœsia, Dacia, Syria and Britain. He was advanced in years and of unassuming character, and

in general he looked upon himself as an agent appointed by the senate to perform the duties of the highest office in the empire. He would allow no special honour to be shown his wife, and even desired to keep his private property distinct from the emperor's income. In the provinces, however, his own elevation was publicly celebrated, and to some degree that of his wife and his son. Pertinax attempted to abolish abuses, to relieve financial distress, and to restore discipline among the troops quartered in Rome. In consequence he lost the support of the Prætorian guards, to whom Commodus had shown special favour. Their commander, Æmilius Lætus also considered himself slighted. Consequently, the soldiers mutinied and Pertinax was slain after a reign of eighty-seven days (March 28, 193).

The Prætorian guard carried their audacity to the point of putting up the empire at auction. The consular M. Didius Severus Julianus offered 6200 drachmæ per soldier, and outbid the city prefect Sulpicianus. Julianus came from Mediolanum; like Pertinax, he had passed through the usual official career: he had been *legatus legionis* in Mogontiacum, imperial governor in Belgica, Dalmatia, and Lower Germany, and proconsul in Africa. He now became emperor by the will of the prætorians. We have an admirable account of these occurrences by the senator Cassius Dio: there is also the more rhetorical history of Herodianus, who had no access to official circles. Dio and Herodian both wrote in Greek.

But the expectations of either side proved false. Pertinax had been highly respected in the provinces, where he was regarded as a capable officer and governor. When the armies in the provinces heard of the scandalous proceedings at the capital, their indignation knew no bounds. The events which had followed on the death of Nero were repeated. The soldiers recognised that the government lay really in their hands: but as each of the great army *corps* had its own candidate for emperor, they proclaimed their respective generals elected — D. Clodius Albinus in Britain, L. Septimius Severus in Pannonia, and Pescennius Niger in Syria. Of these three, the last-named was an Italian by birth, from the town of Aquinum. The other two were Africans; Septimius Severus came from Leptis, Albinus from Hadrumetum. All three had risen through the military and civil service to the great offices they held. Albinus was the most distinguished of them, but distinction did not now imply pre-eminence. Septimius Severus commanded the most powerful army; he was also in the more immediate neighbourhood of Italy, and he at once began his march upon Rome.

The Prætorian troops professed themselves ready to defend their emperor; but they had become so effeminate as to be utterly unfit for real warfare. They marched out with a large band of camp-followers, to whom they left all the work of entrenchment; and practically the hardy Illyrian legions of Severus met with no serious resistance. An attempt at interference on the part of the senate came to nothing; their ambassador, Vespronius Candidus, the consular, had made himself very unpopular with the soldiers when governor of Dacia at an earlier period. The proscription issued by the senate against Septimius Severus was equally ineffectual. Rome was captured by the legions and Didius Julianus was slain after two months of power.

After Septimius Severus had thus secured himself in possession of the gov-

ernment, he came to an agreement with Clodius Albinus, granting him the title of Cæsar, and handing over the western provinces to his independent charge. An important precedent for the future was thus set up. Septimius Severus found that it was necessary, first of all, to subdue Pescennius Niger, who had already established himself in Byzantium. The siege of Byzantium lasted for three years, and continued even after the defeat of Niger's army in Asia Minor and the death of the pretender himself, who had finally made common cause with the Parthians (196). Byzantium was razed to the ground upon its capture, a step which was afterwards bitterly regretted, as the straits were thereby laid open to barbarian inroads. Severus was obliged to bring the Parthian war to an abrupt conclusion, as affairs in the West were urgently demanding his attention.

Clodius Albinus enjoyed the confidence and good will of the senate to a much greater extent than Severus, who shrank from no means by which he could attain his ends: a conspiracy against him was rigorously suppressed. Hitherto Severus had been posing as the avenger of Pertinax: he now proclaimed himself the official son of Marcus Aurelius and brother of Commodus. He gave the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to his son Bassianus, on whom he also conferred the dignity of Cæsar. He thus made himself the legal successor of the Antonines and of Commodus, who had been overthrown largely through the efforts of the senate. Leaving a number of legions to guard Italy, Severus marched with the Illyrian and Mœsian legions through Noricum and Rhœtia upon Gaul, where Albinus had collected his troops, the legions of Britain, the Spanish troops of occupation and the Gallic contingents: the army of the Rhine declared for Severus. A decisive battle was fought at Lugdunum, in which Albinus was defeated (197). The capital of Gaul was sacked, the provinces were subjugated and the adherents of Albinus were everywhere hunted down and slain.

Severus owed his elevation and his triumph to the Illyrian soldiery, which had been a deciding factor in military affairs since the wars under Marcus Aurelius. They were barbarians, in conscious antagonism to such centres of civilisation as Italy, Narbonensis, Noricum, and Spain, which had hitherto given tone to the empire and had furnished recruits for the Prætorian guard. This guard, as previously under Vitellius, was now disbanded, and a new corps was formed, in which the flower of the Illyrian legions was incorporated: at the same time, the "imperial horse" (*equites singulares*) selected individually from the mounted auxiliary troops became of great importance. These forces were thought insufficient: a legion was stationed in Italy on garrison duty, at Albanum, near Rome, where once Alba Longa had stood; where, later, the Roman grandees and finally, the emperor himself, had each their "Albanum." Italy was treated as though it were a conquered province, and the preponderating influence of the Illyrian districts became manifest.

L. Septimius Severus showed great energy as a ruler. After he had conquered the Parthians in a second war, Mesopotamia was reorganised as a province: later on, he went also to Britain, where the tribes to the North of the wall were in a state of continual turbulence. He reorganised the system of provincial administration in every part of the empire. His object was to diminish the size of individual districts, in Syria and Britain, for instance, where the commanding generals had been previously too powerful, as is shown by their recent edicts.

For the same reasons provincial governors were drawn from the equestrian, rather than from the senatorial class: succeeding emperors followed this example.

The African countrymen of Severus obtained great influence. He looked upon himself as a cosmopolitan Roman, and also as one of Hannibal's countrymen, and raised monuments to that general. It is related that the emperor's sister spoke nothing but Punic in the family, and that she never succeeded in mastering Latin, so that Severus sent her home to Africa. The emperor's brother, Septimius Geta, governed the province of Dacia for some time: and one of his successors, Mevius Surus, seems also to have been a relative. The all-powerful prefect of the guards, P. Fulvius Plautianus, became the father-in-law of the heir to the throne, but afterwards brought about his overthrow. Together with the Africans, the Syrians also took an important place at court, as Severus had married a Syrian for his second wife, Julia Domna from Emesa, who had great influence over him.

Septimius Severus died at Eboracum during the military operations in Britain (York) in the year 211: he bequeathed the empire to his two sons, who had been appointed Augusti during his lifetime, M. Aurelius Antoninus, who was nicknamed Caracalla, from a Gallic mantle, which he had made fashionable in Rome, and P. Septimius Geta. These two could not agree, and eleven months after the death of Septimius, Caracalla had Geta killed. The uproar caused by this deed was quelled by rich and timely presents to the troops. The jurist Papinian, who was at that time prefect of the prætorian guard was executed because he hesitated to declare the act of fratricide justifiable. Caracalla followed his father's methods, in the favour he showed to the soldiers; but he utterly demoralised them, as regarded discipline. He was a poor man of business and no general, as became apparent when he took the field to defend Rhætia against the new Germanic confederacy of the Alemanni (213 A.D.). He was also obliged to carry on a campaign on the frontier of the lower Danube and finally against the Parthians. The last war dragged on at great length, as neither the emperor nor his troops displayed any military capacity. This fact led to the murder of Caracalla at the instigation of his *præfectus prætorio* M. Opellius Macrinus on April the 8th, 217, between Edessa and Carrhæ. His stepmother, Julia Domna, who had come with him as far as Antioch, committed suicide.

One measure of Caracalla proved of the utmost importance in the internal development of the empire. Hitherto, the separate provinces of which the empire consisted, had been in possession of widely differing privileges. They held either the Roman, Latin or *peregrini* rights, according to which they stood in different relations to one another. Thus, for instance, Gauls and Spaniards could obtain the office of senator much more quickly than Africans and Asiatics or even Pannonians; the first Egyptian senator appears under Caracalla. The "Antonine decree," which now remodelled these conditions, was based upon the principle of conferring the same privileges upon each separate unit of the empire: reasons of finance were also taken in consideration, when Caracalla conferred Roman citizenship upon every community. It took, however, some decades before this measure was carried out. Even then many remained excluded, as for instance, the majority of the Egyptian peasantry, whereas the Greek-speaking towns, even in Egypt, obtained the Roman rights. Similarly, both European

and Asiatic Greeks were now proud to call themselves "Romans," while since the second century they had only had the title of "Roman citizens."

Caracalla's successor, M. Opellius Macrinus, was born in Cæsarea in Mauretania, and had been advanced in office by Plautianus on account of his legal abilities, until he had become one of the prefects of the guard under Caracalla. He concluded the operations against the Parthians which the murder of Caracalla had interrupted. The highest official of the empire was thus of equestrian, and not of senatorial rank, and obtained his position because no member of the royal house had shown any fitness for it. However, the dynastic principle had taken root, and the Syrian soldiery were particularly anxious to shake off the heavy yoke of discipline. The sister of Julia Domna, Mæsa, who had withdrawn to Emesa, had two daughters, Soaemias and Mamæa. The former had a son, now fourteen years old, by a high dignitary named Varius Marcellus; this son was a priest of the sun-god Elagabalus, and was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers stationed in the neighbourhood: Macrinus was defeated near Antioch, and slain with his son Diadumenianus (218) in their flight.

The new emperor, who called himself M. Aurelius Antoninus, son of Caracalla and grandson of Severus, came to Rome, bringing with him the Syrian sun-worship in its most licentious form, while his grandmother looked after the affairs of state with the title of Augusta. The son of Mamæa and Gessius Marcianus was advanced to the position of joint regent, and successor to the throne under the name of Marcus Aurelius Alexander. "Heliogabalus," as the emperor was soon called by a Roman confusion of names, carried his excesses too far, and was deposed (222).

Alexander was only thirteen and a half years of age: he reigned under the guidance of his grandmother and his mother, a state council of senators also taking an important share in the government. In the year 229, the historian Cassius Dio held the post of consul for the second time, as the emperor's colleague: after his retirement, he wrote at Capua a history of Rome up to his own times. This was also the time of the famous jurists, Ulpian, Paulus and Modestinus, who exercised a controlling influence upon the legislature and the executive. The more important magistracies at Rome were entirely in their hands, and the code of civil law received constant additions from their authoritative decisions or from their opinions delivered as *juris consulti*. So much deference was also shown to the special systems of the provinces, especially where Greek jurisprudence had taken root, that the provincial codes began to assume a very cosmopolitan appearance.

The women in power proved to be satisfactory rulers in time of peace and made their court a centre of intellectual life, but showed themselves of course incapable of meeting the exigencies of war. Alexander Severus, to give him his imperial title, was obliged to turn his attention to Roman interests on the Euphrates frontier, where the Parthian empire had been displaced by the later Persian kingdom, whose new grown power destroyed the ascendency of Rome (cf. Vol. III.). Before any decisive result could be attained, the emperor was forced to hasten to the Rhine, where the German races were pressing more and more closely upon the *limes*. Here the required display of energy was again wanting; a general of high repute, C. Julius Verus Maximinus revolted, and overthrew Alexander Severus and his mother in their camp at Mogontiacum (235).

The imperial system, which had hitherto prevailed, collapsed. A bitter struggle to the death now begins, with no ruling dynasty in existence: for a long period there was no emperor who reigned more than two years or who died a natural death.

Maximinus was of Thracian origin and had risen from the ranks: he was now made emperor, without having filled any one of the higher state offices. He was a capable soldier, brought the war on the Rhine to a prosperous issue, and then hastened to the Danube, where great danger was threatening the province of Dacia. How far the great migrations, which had first attracted attention under Marcus Aurelius, had advanced was shown in the case of the Goths who had reached the Black Sea, and had definitely established themselves on its northern coast. This district included the imperial provinces of lower Mœsia and Dacia. The latter province possessed regular communication, by the Ojtoz pass, with such commercial ports of the Black Sea, as Olbia and Tyras, corresponding in importance to the modern Odessa. When the Goths had seized this point, they threatened Dacia from the East, while other races, as the Asding Vandals, established themselves to the north of the province. Maximinus obtained several successes, enough to gain the victorious title of *Dacicus*. But he had not time to go to Rome, and therefore took up his winter quarters in Pannonia (as Marcus Aurelius had done before him), where the towns of Sirmium and Siscia (the modern Sissec) were then important centres. Sirmium is now known as Mitrovica, after the church of St. Demetrius, which belongs to late Roman history: the surrounding district is called Sirmium.

The senate, however, declared against Maximinus, as was reasonable enough, if their conception of the empire be taken into account. The aged proconsul of Africa, M. Antonius Gordianus, was proclaimed emperor by his province and was recognised by the senate. He, however, with his son and co-regent Gordian II., was defeated by the legion stationed in Numidia, which remained true to Maximinus (238). Thus there was an open breach between the senate and the army. The senate caused Italy to be put into a state of defence by a regency of twenty senators. The importance of Mediolanum and Aquileia to Upper Italy is seen in the fact that they became centres of enlistment and manufacturing arsenals. Aquileia prepared to oppose the entrance of Maximinus into Italy. The reserves were collected at Ravenna, and communications were kept open by the fleet. Maximinus marched forward from Emona, and besieged Aquileia. When it was seen, however, that the town would be hard to take, and want began to appear among the soldiers, the troops lost patience: the members of the second Parthian legion were especially anxious about their wives and children whom they had left behind in Albanum. The emperor and his son whom he had appointed co-regent were defeated (238). The history of Herodianus goes as far as these events. For the history of the succeeding period up to the time of Diocletian, we are referred to the *Scriptores historiæ Augustæ*, a collection of biographies of the emperors, some of which are merely rhetorical fabrications. Under these circumstances, inscriptions, coins and Egyptian *papyri* become of considerable importance as throwing light upon the history of the times.

The senate had already elected two *Imperatores* from among its members, M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus and D. Cœlius Calvinus Balbinus; at the demand

of the troops, the grandson of the elder Gordian, who was also the nephew of the younger, was appointed Imperator as Gordian III. The two senatorial emperors were regarded with but little sympathy by the troops, partly because the Numidian legion had been disbanded on account of its goodwill towards the two first Gordiani, the soldiers being sent to Rhætia and embodied in the legions there stationed. The war both against the Carpi and the Goths and also against the Persians was about to be renewed, when Pupienus and Balbinus were overthrown by the soldiery at Rome after their government had lasted about three months. Gordianus was only fourteen years of age, and the *præfectus prætorio,* C. Furius Timesitheus, acted as regent whose daughter the emperor married in the year 241. In the following year, the Goths and the Carpi were driven out of Dacia. The war against the Persians was then begun, and continued with unbroken success, until the death of the prefect Timesitheus (243).

The new *præfectus prætorio,* the Arab, M. Julius Philippus, could not agree with the young emperor. Gordianus was also anxious to get rid of him, but Philippus had him murdered before this desire could be accomplished (244). He then made peace with the Persians and betook himself to Rome, where he was recognised by the senate, his son becoming co-regent. In the year 248, the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of the city of Rome was celebrated amid great rejoicing.

Meanwhile, the other divisions of the army were by no means satisfied with the state of affairs. When war with the Goths broke out again, the troops in Mœsia proclaimed their general, Trajanus Decius, as emperor. He marched to Italy, defeated and killed the Arab emperor Philippus at Verona, and afterwards overthrew his son in Rome (249). After Decius had appointed his two sons to be co-regents, he hastened to finish the war against the Goths, who had already overrun the Balkan districts. Decius forced them to retreat, but fell in fighting against them at Abrittus, three miles south of Adamklisse in Mœsia, his elder son being slain with him (251). The governor of Mœsia, C. Bibius Trebonianus Gallus, a Perusian, now had himself proclaimed emperor, the younger Decius remaining co-regent, until the plague carried him off.

The war with the Goths continued. The governor of Mœsia, M. Æmilius Æmilianus, obtained a victory over them, and was proclaimed emperor: he defeated Gallus and his son Volusianus in Italy (253). But three months later, a friend of Decius, the consular P. Licinius Valerianus, was proclaimed emperor in Rhætia where a strong army *corps* was then stationed. In this affair, the Numidian soldiers, whose legion had been disbanded sixteen years previously, took a considerable share. This legion was now reconstituted. Valerianus appointed his son Gallienus as co-regent; the son of Gallienus was also made Cæsar and co-regent. But Valerianus was not fortunate in other respects. On every side, the nations beyond the frontier were pressing upon the provinces, on the Rhine and Danube, in Africa and in the East. In Germany, the imperial boundaries were broken down, and Dacia was seized by the Goths and their allies: Syria and Cappadocia were occupied by the Persians. While Gallienus went to Gaul, to hold the line of the Rhine, Valerianus undertook the war against the Persians. He suffered a defeat, was taken prisoner by the Persians and died in captivity (260).

Upon the receipt of this news in the West, a time of general confusion

ensued. On every side were incursions of the barbarians; a profusion of edicts increased the disorder; in Italy and Africa plague was raging. When Gallienus went to the Danube to crush the rebel leaders in that quarter, Gaul broke away from the empire, with the object of forming an independent empire in alliance with Spain and Britain. The Goths were in possession of Dacia and the Black Sea; they sent expeditions from Taurica over to the opposite coast of Cappadocia, or southwards to Greece and Asia Minor through the Hellespont, which had remained unprotected since the destruction of Byzantium. In the East, Palmyra had become the centre of an empire, which extended to further Asia and Egypt, under Odœnathus, who, however, recognised the supremacy of Gallus, and was appointed *dux orientis* by him (cf. Vol. III.). Gallienus who was a feeble, though not an utterly senseless ruler, finally took up his permanent headquarters in Upper Italy; from that point he checked the advance of the Alemanni or let things take their course. The Alemanni advanced as far as Ravenna, the Franks plundered Tarraco, and Antioch was taken by the Persians. The empire was in the throes of dissolution. During this time Gallienus made the rule which led to such important consequences, that senators, and even men of equestrian origin should be excluded from military commands. These posts were consequently filled by men who had risen from the ranks, and who exercised a material influence upon the future development of affairs.

Aureolus, one of the best generals of Gallienus, declared against the emperor, who besieged him in Milan: the result was a conspiracy among his officers, who determined to depose the emperor and to set up one of themselves, M. Aurelius Claudius. After both Gallienus and Aureolus had been killed, the new emperor was recognised throughout the empire, with the exception of Gaul and Britain. It was chiefly the generals of Illyrian origin who undertook the task of re-establishing the empire: they relied mainly on the forces of Illyricum and Upper Italy, the frontiers of which included Rhætia and Noricum up to the Danube. Central and Southern Italy with Africa formed a separate sphere of civilisation. In the West, Gaul, Spain and Britain stood aloof under their own emperors, while the East was entirely dissociated from the empire. Claudius first defeated the Alemanni, who had advanced from Rhætia into North Italy, on lake Garda, and drove them back, after the inhabitants had suffered severely from their marauding raids: even at the present day, in South Tyrol buried pots are found, containing coins of this period, which had been thus hidden on account of the Alemanni, the owners being afterwards unable to recover their property. The district round Lake Garda then became of importance, for the enemy did not hesitate to pass round Verona, and to push further westward into the district of Brixia. Claudius gained a second success against the Goths, who had advanced down the Balkan peninsula as far as Thessalonica. The emperor marched upon them from the West, so that the Goths were obliged to retreat: Claudius then defeated them at Naissus (the modern Nisch) and took numerous prisoners, whom he either enlisted or settled as colonists. When Claudius, the "conqueror of the Goths," died of the plague shortly afterwards in Sirmium, his brother Quintillus was appointed emperor and recognised as such by the senate (270).

Shortly afterwards, however, he abdicated in favour of L. Domitius Aurelianus, who was chosen by the majority in the army. Aurelian was first obliged to deal with a fresh incursion of the Alemanni. In view of these repeated attacks,

DESCRIPTION AND EXPLANATION OF THE BUILDINGS OVER THE PAGE

1. THE triumphal arch of Constantine the Great in Rome. The dedicatory inscription runs as follows: Imp[eratori] Caes[ari] Fl[avio] Constantino Maximo ‖ P[io] F[elici] Augusto S[enatus] P[opulus] Q[ue] R[omanus] ‖ Quod instinctu divinitatis, mentis ‖ magnitudine cum exercitu suo ‖ tam de tyranno quam de omni eius ‖ factione uno tempore iustis ‖ rempublicam ultus est armis ‖ arcum triumphis insignem dicavit. (The Senate and the Roman people dedicated this triumphal arch to the emperor Flavius Constantinus, the great, the pious, the fortunate, and the august, for that, under divine guidance and by his power of intellect, he avenged the state with his army in a just cause, both upon the tyrant (Maxentius) and also upon his whole party at one and the same time.)

2. The Pont du Gard, an ancient Roman aqueduct, which crossed the Gard, a river in the south of France, above Remoulins, and brought water from the spring Eure to a great basin (the Naumachie) in the town of Nîmes (Celtic-Roman; Nemausus). The three tiers of arches are about 161 feet high and 866 feet long.

3. The Porta Nigra in Treves (apparently built under the later empire, about the second half of the third century, A. D.) was first used for defensive purposes: about 116 feet long, 69 feet broad, and 75 feet high. In the eleventh century it was transformed into a church; in modern times, the mediæval annexes were removed, with the exception of the apse on the left.

4. Colosseum (Amphitheatrum Flavium: the modern Coliseo) at Rome; begun by Vespasian and completed by Titus in the year 80 A. D. The greatest length is about 607 feet, greatest breadth, about 512 feet, and height, about 159 feet; the original extent of the building has been diminished by the decay of different portions, but it embraced an ellipse of about 1,719 feet, and held 50,000–85,000 spectators. Under the emperors, it was the scene of gladiatorial combats, naval battles, and fights with animals; during the middle ages the Frangipani used it as a fortress, and at the beginning of the Renaissance it was used as a quarry to get stone for new buildings. Benedict XIV was the first to preserve the ruins; Pius VII repaired the east front; Leo XII the west front, and Pius IX the steps.

(1 and 4 are after Seemann's wall pictures; 1 also from a new design by O. Schulz; 2 and 3 are from photographs.)

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ROMAN BUILDINGS FROM THE TIME OF THE EMPERORS

Rome itself seemed insecure, though the passes of the Apennines formed a strategical protection, like the Balkans in the East. Aurelian surrounded Rome with a defensive wall of vast extent, which was later to be of great importance. The emperor then proceeded to pacify the Goths. Dacia, which had been occupied by Trajan and where they had been established securely for twenty years, was handed over to them. He did not again attack the Alemanni in the *agri decumates* and on the frontiers of Rhætia, but they were to receive a permanent settlement, and to live in peaceful intercourse with their neighbours. The plan would have been successful, but for the many roving bands, which, under leaders of their own choosing persistently raided into North Italy and Gaul. About the middle of the third century Aventicum of the Helvetii was destroyed by the Alemanni: since that time they looked upon the Eastern districts as a land open to colonisation, which they occupied and settled, after the manner of the "sacred spring" of the old Italici (p. 345).

Aurelian transported the Roman population from the districts beyond the Danube to the "new Dacia," which he had constituted south of the Danube; he came to an agreement with the Goths and Vandals on the question of the frontier, and turned his attention to the East. The problem before him was to restore the unity of the empire. The kingdom of Palmyra (cf. Vol. III.) was ruled by Zenobia (in the Palmyran tongue, Bathzebinah), the widow of Odænathus, and by her son Vaballath (Athenodor) both of whom usurped the title of Augusti, in face of Aurelian's preparations. Aurelian sent Probus, who was afterwards emperor, to attack Egypt; he himself subdued further Asia, then won a victory at Emesa and pressed on to Palmyra. Zenobia attempted flight and was taken prisoner; her counsellor, the philosopher Longinus, was executed, and she herself was sent to Italy: Palmyra rose in revolt and was destroyed in consequence (272 and 273 A.D.). From this catastrophe the city never recovered, though the Byzantines built a castle there: the splendid ruins have remained standing in the oasis, together with numerous inscriptions, written in Greek or in the Semitic dialect of the Palmyrans.

When Egypt had likewise been subdued, opposition was confined to the Gallic dominion, where several emperors had ruled within a short time: they had their residence at *Augusta Treverorum* (Treves), which then rose to be one of the chief towns of the empire (see Fig. 3 of the plate facing this page "Roman Buildings from the time of the Emperors"). But the Gallic power was already much shaken, on the one hand, by the insubordination of the generals and the army, and, on the other, by a revolt of the Gallic peasants, who had united into a regular society, and received some measure of support from the barbarians. The freedom enjoyed by the German peasants came as a revelation to the Roman colonists, who were crushed by their heavy burdens under the empire, for these municipal officials, whose business it was to apportion the payment of taxes among the citizens, were in the habit of throwing the weight of taxes on the lower ranks of society. The Gallic emperor, C. Esuvius Tetricus (268-273) felt his position growing insecure and made overtures to Aurelian; in consequence, Aurelian appeared in Gaul and took over the government (274). Tetricus followed Aurelianus to Italy, where he became a senator and spent the rest of his life in a position of dignity and respect.

Aurelian celebrated a splendid triumph in Rome; he took advantage of his

presence in the city to do away with the inveterate abuses that had grown up in connection with the Roman coinage; he had, in consequence, to repress a revolt of the workmen with much bloodshed: the mints were in part transferred to the provinces. Aurelian was inclined to regard force of arms as the means of settling even domestic difficulties; on the other hand, he assumed the title of "Lord and God," after the the Oriental fashion, and the introduction of that court ceremonial peculiar to an Eastern despotism, was chiefly due to him. Aurelian also built in Rome the great temple to the sun god: this deity was of considerable importance in the struggle to found a monotheism upon the old polytheism; even Diocletian was accustomed to swear by "the great god Sol." The widespread worship of the god Mithra was only an offshoot of the sun-worship. All cults of this kind were spread to all parts of the world owing to the constant increase of communication between the East and the West, on the part of soldiers, merchants, officials and their retinues. Religious societies sprang up in increasing numbers, for neither the emotions nor the intellect found satisfaction in the ancient liturgical rites that constituted the essence of the state religion. In one kingdom, where there were no opposed political parties, religious strife became so intense among the people, that the government was obliged to interfere.

The government allowed freedom of debate, but maintained the religion of Rome as the state worship, and therefore continued to support the worship of emperors. To this the Christians were entirely opposed: the sacral veneration of stone images was also discordant with the spirit of Christianity. Philosophical discussion of these difficulties went on at Alexandria, where Greeks, Egyptians and Jews met, and attempted to find some system which should be generally acceptable, as embodying their several religious conceptions. A decisive change in Alexandrine thought took place about the beginning of the second century A.D. That was the period of Clement of Alexandria and of Origen, who were in communication even with the imperial court. Alexander Severus and the women of his family lent a ready ear to the discussion of subjects, formerly unheard of in Roman society: the same remark applies to Philippus the Arab. Christian propaganda was highly successful in Africa, thanks to the efforts of Tertullian and Cyprian, the latter of whom was bishop of Carthage. As Tertullian informs us, Christians might then be found in every province of the empire and in every position of life (cf. above, p. 187). On the other hand, there were occasional periods of reaction, as under Maximinus the Thracian, who pursued a different policy on this question. Moreover, such thorough Romans as Decius and Valerianus persecuted the Christian belief, as conflicting with the state religion. Public opinion was already beginning to follow the emperors, according as their attitude towards Christianity was friendly or the reverse. Christianity was continually gaining followers among the masses, on account of its mysterious doctrine of immortality, its rules enjoining charity and love for neighbours, and for other reasons, which, to the public mind, were as little capable of rationalistic explanation, as were the doctrines of the Roman priests, augurs and soothsayers. Religious development proceeds by its own laws, which human forces are inadequate to resist. There was, indeed, no lack of causes to help the growth of the faith. When the worship of the sun god became the official religion of Rome, the Christians immediately substituted their own God as the "true sun": on the 25th of December, they celebrated, not the nativity of "the sun invincible"

or of Mithra, but the nativity of "the Lord," and in this sense, they were able to keep "Sunday" as a general festival.

In the year 275, as he was on the point of making an expedition against the Persians, Aurelian perished near Byzantium, the victim of a conspiracy, which had been organised by his secretary. The senate named as his successor a man who claimed descent from the historian Cornelius Tacitus, M. Claudius Tacitus of Interamna in Umbria. Tacitus took the field against the Goths, who were plundering the district of Pontus. He defeated the enemy, but was murdered shortly afterwards in Cappadocia by some officers who bore him a grudge (276). His brother, the *præfectus prætorio*, M. Annius Florianus was then proclaimed emperor.

But M. Aurelius Probus, the Illyrian, who had distinguished himself under Aurelian, was proclaimed emperor by the Syrian legions. Florian could make no stand against him: he was betrayed by his own soldiers and killed at Tarsus. Probus had the murderers both of Aurelianus and of Tacitus executed and restored discipline. He then drove the Alemanni and the Franks out of Gaul, conquered the Burgundians and the Vandals in Rhætia, and settled thousands of barbarians on the frontier. After he had pacified the Goths, he was acclaimed as the "Restorer of Illyricum." Probus then crossed over to Asia Minor, where he cut off the plundering Isaurians from the zone of civilisation by settling veterans in the districts to act as frontier guards: he also took measures against the Persians. On his return, Probus made some stay in the Danubian districts; to occupy his troops, he employed them in draining the marshes and planting vineyards, a procedure which made him very unpopular with the army.

After several abortive attempts in the East and the West, the troops in Rhætia proclaimed M. Aurelius Carus as emperor; Probus met his death in Sirmium (282). Following the custom of an earlier period, Carus appointed his sons Carinus and Numerianus to be Cæsars; to the first of these he entrusted the protection of the Gallic frontier, while he himself marched through Pannonia with Numerian against the Persians. He was so far victorious, that the possession of Armenia and Mesopotamia, for which a perpetual and obstinate contest had been fought seemed to be assured: but Carus was killed by a stroke of lightning as he was returning home.

A period of confusion followed. After the prefect of Egypt, Celerinus, had declined the position, Numerianus, who suffered from opthalmia was proclaimed Augustus; but a month later, he is said to have been murdered by his father-in-law, Aper, the prefect of the guard.

5. FROM DIOCLETIAN TO JUSTINIAN

A. Diocletian and His Co-regents

In Italy, Carinus, who had also assumed the title of Augustus, held his own against his rival. But on the 17th of November, 284, the army of the East declared, not for Aper, but for an officer of the guard, who had come into prominence since the reign of Aurelian, C. Valerius Diocletianus. He crushed Aper in person without much ado. On the river Margus in Mœsia, not far from the

junction of the Morava and the Danube, where there was a town called Margum, Carinus confronted Diocletian, who had marched upon that point from Gaul; Carinus won the battle, but was afterwards slain by his own officers, who bore a personal grudge against him (285). Diocletian then came to an understanding with the leaders of the other factions, and thus obtained universal recognition, an unheard of event at that period.

Diocletian was in the prime of life when he began his reign. His family came from Dalmatia, and occupied a low position in society; but at an early period he became a member of the new imperial guard, the "*protectores*," which was a nursery for the generals and statesmen of the age, and accompanied the reigning emperor into every part of the empire, the affairs of which were continually becoming more difficult for one man to control. It was then that Diocletian conceived his plan of dividing the administration of the empire. He appointed his comrade M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus as co-regent, first with the dignity of Cæsar (285), shortly afterwards with that of Augustus (287). In the year 293, he added two other Cæsars to help him and his fellow Augustus in their labours.

The empire was thus divided into four principalities, over which Diocletian merely held supreme control; his authority was so great, a contemporary observes, that the other rulers looked up to him as to a father or a supreme god. Maximianus was first obliged to quell the peasant rising in Gaul and to secure the frontiers. Diocletian, meanwhile, subdued the Persians and Saracens in the East, in order to restore security in that quarter. His residence, when he allowed himself a little ease, was Nicomedia in Bithynia, while Maximianus resided partly in Aquileia, partly in Milan, preference being finally given to the latter town. The Cæsar whom Diocletian had chosen, C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus, had his headquarters in Sirmium, whence the Danube and Balkan districts were controlled. The principal headquarters of the other Augustus, M. Flavius Valerius Constantius (Chlorus) was *Augusta Treverorum* (Treves) and also *Eboracum* (York) according as his presence was more especially needed on the Rhine or in Britain, which had long been under the government of two usurpers in succession, Carausius and Allectus. All these capitals and Rome were adorned with splendid buildings (see the plate at pp. 453, 454); marking the beginning of a new period of architecture.

All four rulers were sprung from the Illyrian provinces, which were then the kernel of the empire, and all four had risen through military service. Constantius, the only one who was not of low birth, had governed the province of Dalmatia under Carus; Galerius enjoyed the reputation of a bold and even reckless general. The two Augusti assumed additional titles from the gods, Diocletian taking the name "Jovius" and Maximianus, "Herculius"; two new legions that were formed on the lower Danube were known by these titles. Moreover, the Cæsars were united to the Augusti by family ties; Constantius married Maximian's stepdaughter, Theodora, and Galerius Diocletian's daughter Valeria. In other respects also, the connection between the emperors and the Cæsars was closely maintained: thus Constantine, the son of Constantius, was educated at Diocletian's court. Augusti and Cæsars were to give one another mutual support, when necessary: thus, Maximian aided Constantius in his war against Allectus, in the year 296. Maximian then turned to Africa, in order to check the unruly

frontier tribes. Meanwhile, Diocletian was obliged to crush an Egyptian usurper, Achilleus, or L. Domitius Domitianus, as he calls himself on his coins: he was only defeated after an obstinate resistance and much bloodshed. Diocletian then reorganised the affairs of Egypt, whose peculiar position in the empire was abolished, and secured the southern boundary so thoroughly against the Blemmyes, that it remained peaceful for a long period. From Egypt, he was obliged to march against the Persians, who had overrun Armenia and Mesopotamia. The Cæsar Galerius, who had the chief command, lost a battle, for which Diocletian reprimanded him before his troops; however, the disaster was redeemed by a decisive victory. Not only was Armenia increased in extent, but the Tigris and some territory beyond it was acquired as a frontier (see the map at pp. 458, 459) and the occupation was rendered permanent. Thus not only was Valerian's defeat revenged (p. 451), but a condition of affairs was established which endured for some time to come. We repeatedly meet with Galerius in Nicomedia, while Diocletian was directing the erection of his great buildings at Rome, Salonæ and elsewhere from his residence at Sirmium.

Diocletian proved himself to be an organiser of the first order. His division of the empire was made upon principles founded on experience gained during the period of threatening dissolution. During the last decade, the emperors had only paid passing visits to Rome, so that the guard there stationed was nothing more than a garrison. The senate ceased to exercise any influence on the conduct of affairs, from the time the emperors began to come from the ranks of the army. On the other hand, northern Italy was of great military importance, on account of the continual incursions of the barbarians: Milan was an excellent centre for operations on the Rhine or the Danube. Rome became, then, merely the theoretical capital of the empire that bore its name; the senate degenerated into a useless institution based on caste. A distinction was made between the city (*urbs*) and the district which it ruled, and those parts of the empire ruled by the authorities in Milan: the one was known as the "urban" district, the other as the "Italian": and thus the name Italy came to have a new political meaning. Rhætia on the North, Africa on the South and the Islands with "Italy" and the urban region, formed one administrative district, the control of which centred in Mediolanum (Milan). The country which had once been predominant sank to provincial position during the second half of the third century, and was rated as a province even for purposes of taxation. The following districts were constituted by Diocletian for administrative purposes: (1) *Rhætia*, (2) *Venetia Histria*, (3) *Æmilia Liguria*, (4) *Alpes Cottiæ*, (5) *Flaminia Picenum*, (6) *Tuscia Umbria*, (7) *Campania Samnium*, (8) *Apulia Calabria*, (9) *Lucania Bruttii*, (10) *Corsica*, (11) *Sardinia*, (12) *Sicilia*. In consequence of further division, the number of governmental departments or *provinciæ* amounted to 16 a hundred years later, and afterwards to 17 (see the subjoined map, "Italy in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries A.D.").

The financial administration of the empire became of increased importance after the most prosperous districts began to substitute money subsidies for their required contingents of troops. The result of this system was that the administration passed from these districts to those which supplied the best soldiers, the defenders of the boundaries of the empire: these were the Illyrian provinces. The military system introduced by Augustus had been found insufficient when the bar-

barians began to attack the empire on several sides simultaneously. A standing army was required, capable of reinforcing the troops on the borders in case of emergency. Moreover, those soldiers who had married and were in occupation of allotments of ground were not equal to severe fighting; but to keep a standing army in addition was found extremely expensive. So the want was supplied by auxiliary troops, drawn from the barbarian tribes upon the frontiers, and these became one of the most valuable arms of the service: in North Britain they were taken from the districts north of the Wall; many of them were Germans; in Africa, the Moors held this position, in Syria the Saracens; and all these were by no means to be despised. Diocletian increased the army to four times its previous size.

Such measures necessitated a corresponding increase in taxation. The revenue in the west of the empire began to be administered with that financial skill which had, up to this time, been displayed in Egypt alone. The currency was placed upon a firmer basis by the coining of the *solidus*, to serve as a standard value, an innovation corresponding to the reforms of Aurelian. The character of Diocletian's economic policy is shown in the edicts taxing usurers, fixing a maximum price for the necessities of life and a standard wage for labour. As a social reformer, Diocletian was in advance of his age: for instance, he made professions hereditary, and the relations of these to one another and to the state as a whole were subjected to strict and arbitrary regulations. The senators, the members of the council of state, the artisans, the peasant *coloni*, the quarrymen etc.— upon the relations of these to one another was the whole system of taxation founded, and the "sacred Fiscus" became the main feature of the state's activity.

In reorganising the administration Diocletian introduced the bureaucratic system. Under the emperor were the *præfecti prætorio*, under these, the *vicarii*, who were put over the so-called "Dioceses" (twelve in number for the whole empire). The lower grades of office holders were all subject to the *vicarii*. These officials, however, were only concerned with civil matters, military affairs being under a special officer (*dux*): then there was a division between the civil and military powers, contrary to the custom of earlier times, when both had been united. The number of the provincial districts which had been greatly reduced in extent, amounted to 101 under Diocletian: this number was increased at a later time, as a consequence of many alterations, which were, however, of no great importance as a whole. In other respects, Diocletian's system was no less permanent than that of Augustus.

Diocletian made shipwreck upon the religious question, which he took in hand in a spirit of absolute hostility to Christianity. On February 23, 303, he issued an edict, with the view of completely suppressing the practice of the Christian religion. Christians were dismissed from the army and from all other offices, their places of meeting were destroyed, the property of their congregations was confiscated. Their organisation under their bishops had been already so far developed as to run on parallel lines with the hierarchy of state officials. There were bishops at Rome, at Lugdunum (Lyons), Mediolanum (Milan), Aquileia, Ravenna, Verona, Brescia, Carthage, Sirmio, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus and Nicomedia; they exercised immense influence and their writings had a wide circulation. A considerable literature of Christianity was already in

ITALY IN THE IVTH AND VTH CENTURIES A.D.
Showing the political districts and the ecclesiastical organisation.
Scale 1:5000000
Stat. Miles
THE BISHOPRICS OF CENTRAL ITALY.
Scale 1:5000000
Stat. Miles
Mediolanum
Aquileia
Genua
Ravenna
Ancona
Corsica
Ilva
Rome
Capua
Tarentum
Panormus
Syracusae
Sardinia
Pretum Gallicum
MARE ADRIATICUM
MARE TYRRHENUM
MARE AFRICUM
MARE IONICUM
SICILIA
Names of the districts of administration (provincias) arranged by Diocletian and afterwards increased by later subdivision:
I Campania
II Tuscia and Umbria
III Aemilia
IV Valeria
V Flaminia and Picenum annonarium
VI Picenum suburbicarium
VII Liguria
VIII Venetia and Histria
IX Alpes Cottiae
X Samnium
XI Apulia and Calabria
XII Lucania and Brutiâ
XIII Raetia
XIV Sicilia
XV Sardinia
XVI Corsica
The diocesan boundaries (Rome, Ravenna, Mediolanum, Aquileia) are marked in red.
Long. East of Greenwich
London: Wm Hausmann.
Printed by the Bibliographisches Institut Leipzig.
New York: Dodd, Mead & Co

existence: there were the records of the life of Christ, of the Apostles, St. Paul in particular, and of the martyrdom of their most famous men: there were polemical writings against the Jews and the heathen, dogmatic explanations to prevent error, and much else of like character. Propaganda was rife and vigorous, its results varying with place and circumstances. Generally speaking, the town populations were more ready to accept the new ideas than the peasants, who were still satisfied with the religious conceptions inculcated from of old. Diocletian had previously persecuted only the Manichæans, whose activity in the Eastern Persian provinces showed prospects of success. It was only after 18 years of power that he found sufficient cause for interference in the spread of the Christian organisation throughout the empire and the encroachment of the different factions on the functions of the state. He met with resistance that was merely passive and therefore the more difficult to crush. Of his regents, Maximian and Galerius alone carried out the edict energetically: Constantius held back. Many bishops suffered death or were condemned to the mines. However, Christianity survived the persecution and came forth from it purified. In proof of this we have a document, *De mortibus persecutorum*, which was ascribed to Lactantius, though this authorship was denied by many. The author was a Christian, who represented all the misfortunes which fell upon the persecutors, and the manner of their death, as a judgment from God. A Pannonian legend of Christian stone masons in the district of Sirmium reveals Diocletian in more gracious light: here in the neighbourhood of his birthplace the king seems to have been less hedged in by his divinity.

Diocletian was much cast down by the poor result of his attempt and was also physically weakened by a severe illness. He had originally planned as a feature of his system of government that the two Augusti should abdicate after a certain time, and that then the two Cæsars should be advanced to the position of Augusti. Each Augustus was then to choose another Cæsar as his associate. This arrangement, which seems to have some connection with his superstitious ideas, Diocletian brought into effect after reigning for twenty years. He laid down his office on May 1, 305, at Nicomedia, and obliged Maximian to do the same at Mediolanum, although Maximian had ruled a year less. Both retired into private life as *seniores Augusti*, Diocletian to his home at Salonæ, Maximian to Lower Italy. Galerius took Diocletian's place as emperor: he appointed the two new Cæsars, Flavius Valerius Severus for Italy and its frontier together with Africa, and Galerius Valerius Maximinus Daia (or Daza) for the East: both were of humble origin. Constantius became Augustus, without having had any share in making appointments or fixing delimitations.

B. Constantine and His House

Diocletian's system depended for its permanence, upon the continued supremacy of the emperor: it was too delicate an arrangement not to be speedily broken down by personal ambition. In July, 306, Constantius, then Augustus, died at Eboracum, and his army proclaimed his son Constantine (by a concubine) who though young had proved his worth; though only a year previous no notice had been taken of him. Galerius was opposed to the step, but finally recognised

Constantine as Cæsar, while Severus was raised to the position of second Augustus. The Prætorians in Rome speedily followed the example set them; the ancient capital had long been dissatisfied with the political changes; and Maxentius, the son of Maximianus Herculius, was summoned to the position of emperor. The supreme emperor Galerius opposed this step also, and ordered Severus to crush the usurper. But meanwhile the old Herculius had determined to come forward again, and the troops would not fight against him: Severus had to fly to Ravenna, and there he surrendered. Maxentius slew him afterwards in the neighbourhood of Rome and had himself proclaimed Augustus. Galerius himself returned to Italy, but was unable to restore order. Maximian, who could not agree with his son, betook himself to Gaul. Constantine there married Maximian's daughter Fausta, and was advanced to the dignity of Augustus by the old emperor (307). Universal confusion resulted. A general conference of the emperors was called at Carnuntum, the headquarters of the Pannonian army, with the object of restoring order. Diocletian took part in this conference, and both Maximian and Galerius attempted in vain to induce him to resume control of the government. However, he persuaded Maximian, who had always bowed to his decisions, to retire to his former position.

In place of Severus, who had been killed, Galerius nominated as Augustus his old comrade in arms Valerius Licinianus Licinius. When Galerius had entrusted him with the government of the province of Illyria (308), Maximinus Daja resigned the title of Augustus. Galerius accepted his resignation in the following year, when he gave Maximin and Constantine, respectively the titles of Sons of the Augusti. Meanwhile the old emperor Maximian had made an attempt to win over the sympathy of the army at Arles. This proved a failure. Maximian was besieged in Massilia by Constantine, who had hurried to the spot and was driven to suicide (310). Shortly afterwards Galerius fell ill at Serdica and died in dreadful agony in the 19th year of his reign (the beginning of 311). Thereupon the Augusti, Constantine, Licinius and Maximinus came to a mutual understanding, recognising at the same time the seniority of Maximinus.

Maxentius, whose authority extended from Africa to Rhætia, was not a capable ruler: his excesses and oppression made him an object of hatred; but he was strongly supported by his *præfectus prætorio*. Constantine's army was not numerous, but well trained; he attacked Italy, drove back the troops of Maxentius to Turin and after a second encounter, blockaded Verona, thus cutting off all approach from the passes of the Alps. After the fall of Verona, Constantine marched upon Rome. Maxentius met him at Milan, but his army was scattered and he himself found his death in the Tiber (28 October, 312; see also Fig i of the plate at pp. 453, 454). The Prætorian troops were wholly disbanded, so that the only forces in Rome were the cohorts under the *prætor urbanus*.

Thereupon Constantine had a meeting with Licinius in Milan, and gave him his sister in marriage. Licinius and Maximinus could not, however, come to an agreement: when the latter crossed into Europe and advanced to an attack, he was beaten at Heraclea on the Propontis (1 May, 313) and obliged to flee to Asia. There Maximin ended his life. Licinius then put to death every one who might have become dangerous, such as the relations of Galerius, Maximin, Severus, not even sparing the women: Valeria, the widow of Galerius and her mother Prisca, the wife of Diocletian, who had taken refuge with Maximinus

Daja, and had been kept prisoners by him, because Valeria had refused his hand in marriage. These events greatly embittered Diocletian's last years in Salonæ.

But the agreement between Constantine and Licinius was not of long duration. Dissension appeared in the year 314, after Bassianus, who had married a second sister of Constantine's, had been raised to the position of Cæsar. He was to have governed a district between the dominions of Licinius and of Constantine, to keep the balance between these two forces. But when Bassianus showed himself more inclined to favour Licinius, Constantine immediately deposed him. War broke out in consequence. Constantine, who was by far the more capable general, defeated Licinius first at the Save near Cibalæ in Pannonia: a second indecisive battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Philippopolis. Licinius, who had appointed Valens, the commandant of the Thracian frontier, to be Cæsar, retreated on Berœa (near Stara-Zagora in Bulgaria) with the object of falling on Constantine's rear as he pressed on to Byzantium. However, both parties were so exhausted that they entered into negotiations, and Licinius had to resign Illyricum with Serdica and Thessalonica into the hands of Constantine. The latter thereby obtained a great military advantage, as experience had proved that the Illyrian soldiers were the best: the protection of the frontier on the lower Danube was reorganised by both emperors. Valens was sacrificed by this arrangement, and it was determined that both emperors should nominate only their own sons as Cæsars, and this not as co-regents, but as mere successors to the throne. This implied the victory of the dynastic theory over Diocletian's arrangements, and was an advantage to Constantine, in as much as his son was the elder of the Cæsars.

Religious questions had a bearing on all these events. Constantine had originally declared himself for the Christians, although he permitted the earlier religions and the worship of the emperor to continue. After Galerius had initiated a persecution a short time before his death, the Christians were permitted to practise their religion by the edict of April 30, 311. On June 13, 313, Constantine and Licinius issued a second edict, whereby the Christians were allowed the same religious freedom and civil rights as the followers of the old religions, and the confiscated Church property was restored. The defeat of the Emperors Maxentius and Maximinus Daja, who were hostile to the Christians, made possible the promulgation of this edict throughout the empire. But after relations became strained between Constantine and Licinius, the latter abandoned Christianity, hampered the Christians in the practice of their religion and would not tolerate them about him, whereas Constantine, apparently from conviction, consistently followed an opposite course of policy.

Constantine considered himself as supreme emperor, and therefore encroached on the jurisdiction of Licinius, as for instance, on the occasion of a marauding expedition which the Goths had made into Thrace. This led to a breach between the two rulers in the year 323. Their respective armies encountered one another in the neighbourhood of Adrianople; Licinius was beaten (July 3) and besieged in Byzantium, while the Cæsar, Crispus, conquered his fleet within the Dardanelles at Callipolis (the modern Gallipoli). Egypt fell away from its ruler: Byzantium became untenable. Finally Licinius and his new regent Martinianus were decisively defeated at Chrysopolis the modern Scutari (September 18th). These events led ultimately to the foundation of

the future capital of the empire. Hitherto, Serdica, the modern Sophia in Bulgaria had served as Constantine's Rome on the European side, while Nicomedia was honoured in like manner on the Asiatic side: now, however, men recognised, as though "by divine inspiration" the importance of the straits to the government of these two continents, for defence against the barbarians of the north. Licinius, who had fled to Nicomedia, surrendered to the conqueror, who gave him his life at the request of his wife Constantia. But in the next year, he created disturbances in Thessaly and was slain (325).

Constantine was now sole Augustus. His rise is portrayed in a writing usually known as the "anonymous Valesianus," from the name of its first editor Valesian: more recently it has also been called "*Origo Constantini imperatoris*" (the origin of the Emperor Constantine). Constantine's great work was the completion of Diocletian's system. As the centre of gravity was situated in the Græco-oriental east, the court ceremonial underwent a great change; the emperor became a superior and almost unapproachable being to his subjects. Constantine preserved the fourfold division of the empire, and placed a *præfectus prætorio* at the head of the civil administration in each division. In the department of finance, he carried out thorough reforms by withdrawing the debased currency from circulation. In the military organisation of the empire he made several alterations: he created a new commander for cavalry and for infantry, *the magister*, he lowered the strength of the frontier garrisons, while increasing the standing army: he also showed particular favour to German troops and commanders, who had acquitted themselves with the utmost credit in his wars.

As regards religion, his influence over the Christian hierarchy enables us to place Constantine among the founders of the new church, that was now supplanting the old faiths. He took the initiative in quelling dissensions on points of dogma: he presided in person over the great council (*concilium*) at Nicea (325). Eusebius, the bishop of Nicomedia was his confidential adviser: Athanasius, the bishop of Alexandria, opposed him with varying success. Another Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, wrote a history of Constantine as well as a history of the Christian church: this book was the first of a new genus of historical composition, written from an ecclesiastical point of view. Similar tendencies appeared in the members of Constantine's family. His mother Helena, who had been the concubine of Constantius Chlorus, and was cast off when Constantius married the daughter of Herculius Maximianus, was held in high honour. She was a zealous adherent of the Christian faith (see text and illustrations in Vol. III.) Constantine's eldest son Crispus (by a concubine) was taught by the learned scholar Lactantius, a passionate defender of Christianity. The younger sons of Constantius also took a personal interest in the theological disputes of the time.

Constantine broke with Diocletian's system, in the first place, by upholding the integrity of the administration against the rights of the Cæsars; and, in the second place, in not laying down his authority when his twenty years' rule expired in 326: this involved him in a quarrel with the Cæsar Crispus, which resulted in the banishment of the latter to Pola in Istria. The empress Fausta was also involved in this disturbance, and shortly afterwards Constantine had her strangled in her bath, and also had the son of Licinius who was nearly eleven years old, put to death; all this after the manner of Eastern sultans and without

any clearly apparent motive. As a result, we find that henceforward, the three stepbrothers of Constantine by Theodora became more prominent: with their descendants they had formerly been kept in the background, but they now came forward, perhaps because no one of the sons of Constantine, who had been raised in turn to the dignity of Cæsar, appeared to be of particular ability and their mutual relations were not in any way satisfactory. In the year 335 the emperor determined to divide the empire, so that his eldest son Constantine (II.) should have the West, the second son Constantius, should have the Asiatic provinces and Egypt, and Constans the third son, Italy, Illyricum and Africa. Constantine also appointed his nephew Dalmatius, who had been raised to the post of Cæsar and was a skilful soldier, to the province of Thrace, with which was connected the command of the line of the Danube against the Goths: while a second nephew who was also Constantine's son-in-law, Annibalianus, was made king of Armenia and the adjacent district of Pontus, with the town of Cæsarea (Kaisarî) in Cappadocia as his capital.

It is remarkable that in these arrangements no express mention is made of Constantinople. This town covered a more considerable expanse of ground than did the ancient Byzantium; the foundation-stone had been laid in the year 326 and on the 11th May, 330, the dedication ceremonies had taken place. As Constantine modelled his new Rome on the ancient city and gave it similar privileges, the division of the kingdom into the Eastern and Western halves was already prepared for. But Constantine's foresight in his choice of a capital has been attested by the course of history: his "Rome" has held a prominent place in the events of the last fifteen hundred years. Thrace and Bithynia at once gained new importance in the empire. The maritime traffic on the Propontis and Bosphorus increased, the more so, as "the town of Constantine" was fed, on the model of the Roman Annona, from Egyptian sources.

Constantine died at a vigorous old age on May 22, 337, at a villa near Nicomedia while preparing for a campaign against the Persians: he had reigned 31 years, longer than any emperor since Augustus. This was a fact of considerable importance as it gave time for the reforms which he introduced to take root.

After Constantine's death, Constantius hastened from Mesopotamia to Constantinople, to perform his father's obsequies and to execute the provisions of his will, the other sons being unable to arrive so early. We hear nothing of Dalmatius: apparently the stroke was already prepared. The soldiers demanded the removal of Ablavius, the *præfectus prætorio;* then they murdered Optatus, a brother-in-law of Constantius. Finally, the brothers of Constantine and no less than seven of his nephews fell victims to this anxiety of the sons to secure the power: with the exception of two youthful nephews, the emperor's sons alone remained. Each of these took the title of Augustus (September, 337) the official theory being that the three brothers ruled jointly.

Constantine II. was soon at war with Constans, as he had gained no advantage from the murder of his cousins. But when Constantine II. pressed forward into Italy, he was surprised and slain at Aquileia by the troops of Constans. Constans then seized the Western throne (340), the division of the empire being, however, maintained. Constans quarreled with Constantius, who was then fighting against the Persians, about the theological questions which then disturbed

the Christian world concerning the nature of Christ, whether he was only a man, as the rationalist Arius declared, or whether he was God, as Athanasius of Alexandria maintained. Constantius was an Arian, Constans an Athanasian, and it was the opposition of the latter which prevented the complete victory of Arius.

Constans was, besides, so hated for his excesses and his brutality that a revolution broke out: Magnentius, a brave commander, though of half barbarian origin, revolted in conjunction with one of the highest court officials: Constans lost his life while in flight (350). The whole Western empire came into the hands of Magnentius, including Rome, where a more distant relation of the house of Constantine had set himself up, while in Sirmium the soldiers hailed their old leader Vetranio as emperor. But Constantius, who had made peace with the Persians, took up arms for the legitimate cause. He first induced Vetranio to retire. At Mursa (the modern Esse) in the region between the Save and the Drave, where Constantine and Licinius had once met was fought what was considered the greatest battle of the century. The Saxons and Franks in the army of the Gallic emperor stood firm against the troops of Constantius. But the desertion of a commander, who felt bound by duty to Constantine's house, decided against Magnentius (autumn of 351). He was obliged to retreat to Italy and found himself attacked there by land and sea in the following spring. The troops of Constantius received a slight check at Ticinum, but Magnentius was obliged to retreat by the Cottian Alps to Gaul: there his opponents stirred up the Alemanni against him, and when Magnentius saw the collapse of his power, he committed suicide (353).

Constantius, who thus became sole monarch through the overthrow of his adversaries, was a narrow-minded bigot, full of theological and legitimist theories, who devoted himself rather to court etiquette than to state business. His palace swarmed with eunuchs and informers, and there was great lawlessness among the military and civil officials. As there had been no fruit of the emperor's marriage, two cousins Gallus and Julianus, who were the solitary survivors in the direct line, were brought up with a view to their succession; hitherto they had been kept in complete isolation in a villa at Cæsarea in Cappadocia. Gallus was sent as Cæsar to Antioch. The portion of the history of Ammianus Marcellinus which has been preserved begin with the description of the elevation of Gallus. Julian remained in Constantinople to complete his studies and afterwards proceeded for that purpose to Nicomedia and Athens. The emperor in the meantime resided at Milan, in order to continue his anti-Athanasian policy. Synods were held and refractory bishops were banished: when such measures were applied to the Roman bishop Liberius, great dissension arose in Rome. In the year 354 Gallus fell into disfavour with Constantius; he was recalled and finally executed. Trouble had been brewing in Gaul since the last popular rising, and the incursions of the Alemanni and the Franks were becoming more numerous. In the East, war with the Persians again broke out. The emperor determined to conduct the Persian war in person, and to send Julian as Cæsar to Gaul (355). Julian was only 24 years old, a man of letters and a philosopher, but he showed no less ability as administrator and general. He defeated the Alemanni at Strasburg and inflicted severe reverses upon the Franks. The Roman government offered, however, no objection to the barbarians

settling upon the frontiers which had been already depopulated by constant raids; the Alemanni settled in Alsace and the Salic Franks on the lower Rhine.

Meanwhile, Constantius had been so unsuccessful in the war with Persia, that he sent to Gaul for reinforcements. The troops in that country were anything but inclined to leave their usual quarters and their wives and children. In the winter of 360, Julian was residing in Paris, a little town built round an island, as he himself describes it. The soldiers mutinied, raised him on a shield, according to the Germanic custom, and saluted him as Augustus. Julian attempted to procure the recognition of his title from Constantius: when Constantius refused to grant it, Julian began war, advancing through Rhætia into Illyricum. But before another conflict could take place between the armies of the East and the West, the news arrived, that Constantius had died of an illness in Cilicia. Julian was now everywhere recognised (361). He immediately entered upon a policy of reform, especially with regard to the system of taxation, and considerably lightened the burdens laid upon his subjects.

Religious questions largely claimed his attention. As a philosopher, he acknowledged the old gods, whose worship he attempted to revive: his writings, which show considerable intellectual power, give us full information on this point. As the historian Ammianus Marcellinus and the rhetorician Libanius of Antioch were his friends, we have detailed information concerning Julian's personality and aims. Christianity was, however, still tolerated, and Julian allowed the bishops whom Constantius had banished to return to their sees. In the course of his administration, he certainly deprived them of many privileges which Constantine and his sons had bestowed upon them: thus, ecclesiastics were no longer released from the obligations binding upon ordinary citizens: they were also ordered to restore the possessions which they had wrested from the votaries of the old religion. Christians were also forbidden to teach the liberal arts, rhetoric, etc. Julian's attempt to repress Christianity lasted only two years, so that it is impossible to say what the results might have been, if his reign had been prolonged. Generally speaking, it appears that the old religion could reckon upon active adherents only among special classes of society, as among the Roman senators, the rhetoricians in Antioch, in Alexandria and Athens, or at particular centres of worship, as at Olympia, where the games were continued for the sake of maintaining trade, in Syene, where the shrine of Isis brought in a large income, and in other places.

In the year 362 Julian betook himself to Antioch, to resume the conduct of the war against the Persians. The next year, he triumphantly crossed the Tigris, a fleet being maintained upon the river to provide supplies and to protect his communications. Later developments, however, obliged him to retreat, and the emperor was mortally wounded in action. Julian expired while discussing the immortality of the soul (June 26, 363), and with him the House of Constantine became extinct.

C. From Jovian to the Division of the Empire

During the confusion that arose upon Julian's death, the military and civil officials, who were stationed at headquarters chose the captain of the household troops, Jovian, emperor. The Persians extorted a disgraceful treaty from him:

all the territory beyond the Tigris, which had been occupied since the time of Diocletian, in particular, the important emporium of Nisibis in Mesopotamia, had to be given up. Jovian succumbed to an illness before he reached Constantinople and an officer in Nicea was elected in a similar manner to the post of emperor, the Pannonian Valentinian, who had come into prominence during the last reign. He appointed his brother Valens joint-regent, and entrusted the East to him, while he himself undertook the pacification of the West, where disturbances had broken out upon the death of Julian. Valentinian, who was an admirable ruler for his time, succeeded in securing the frontier on the Rhine and the Danube by a chain of fortresses: but in the year 375, he died at Brigetio (near Komorn in Hungary) in a fit of anger at a raid which the Quadi had made across the Danube.

He was succeeded by his young son Gratian, who appointed as joint-regent his brother Valentinianus II., only four years old. In his religious beliefs Gratian was a zealous follower of Athanasius: he discontinued the policy of toleration that had been maintained towards the followers of the old religions and proceeded actively against them. On the other hand, Valens in the East was an Arian: under his influence, Arianism spread among the German races, especially the Goths, who were in close connection with Constantinople, though the tie that bound them to the empire was only one of duty to the person of the emperor. They had at first supported a relation of Julian's against Valens, one Procopius, who had appeared as a pretender. After he had been overthrown, the war had continued for two years (367-369). The frontiers on the lower Danube, especially on the Delta, were re-constituted by Valens. Beyond these, in the modern Transylvania, and afterwards, further to the East dwelt the Gothic tribes occupying extensive tracts of land with their flocks: among them and near them, were the remnants of the earlier populations. Communication with the banks of the Danube was closely maintained, especially by way of the river Alt or Aluta. From the emperor the Gothic princes received regular presents, consisting of ornamental objects and medals and buckles of gold.

An event occurred at this time which disturbed the balance of power that had subsisted during a century on the line of the Danube. The Huns, an old Tatar nation, attacked the Eastern Goths and subdued them. The impulse travelled in a westerly direction, so that the Goths who were settled in Transylvania began to feel themselves insecure: for the Huns were already pressing forward towards the eastern passes of the country. As allies of the empire, the Western Goths demanded permission to settle in the district south of the Danube, and finally extorted permission by threats; but the Roman officials put difficulties in their way, and treated them shamefully. The emperor Valens, who hurried up from the East to drive them back, suffered a defeat near Adrianople, which cost him his life (378). At this point the history of Ammianus Marcellinus concludes. The short histories of the emperors written by Sex. Aurelius Victor and Eutropius also end with the reign of the emperor Valens.

In these circumstances, Gratian, who was a weak ruler, found himself obliged to appoint the valiant Spaniard Theodosius as joint-regent, and later on, to accept him as a brother-in-law, although it was but two years before that the father of Theodosius, a celebrated general, had been executed. While Theodosius was occupied with the pacification of the Goths, which he effected

by the plan of turning their presence within the limits of the empire to some useful account, the emperor Gratian was slain in Gaul by a usurper Maximus, who had arisen in Britain (383). Maximus, who took up his residence in Treves, was recognised by Theodosius and Valentinian II. as Augustus for Gaul, Spain and Britain. Maximus showed himself strongly orthodox in the religious disputes on points of dogma, and persecuted the Priscillanists, a growing sect originating in Spain. Theodosius, too, was an Athanasian, and his policy was therefore diametrically opposed to that of the emperor Valens. Valentinian II. with the support of German auxiliary troops, made his capital Milan, a centre of Arianism, in strong opposition to the wishes of the native population and their famous bishop Ambrose. These dissensions gave Maximus the opportunity of attacking Italy. Valentinian fled to Theodosius, who demanded his restoration: Maximus would not consent, and war broke out. Theodosius was victorious at Siscia, Poetovio, and Emona, where his Gothic auxiliaries afforded valuable assistance (388). Valentinian's rule was restored, but shortly afterwards he quarrelled with the Frank Arbogast, the commander of the troops in Gaul, who murdered Valentinian (392) and raised the famous Roman Eugenius to the position of emperor. Eugenius once again gathered round himself the adherents of heathendom. But Theodosius refused to recognise him, and conquered him in a bloody battle on the river Frigidus, the modern Wippach, east of Aquileia. Eugenius was slain and Arbogast committed suicide (394).

D. The West Roman Empire

Theodosius united the whole empire under his rule, but subdivided the government between his two sons Arcadius and Honorius: the former having the East, the latter the West (395). From this time the history of the East definitely diverges from that of the West. For the events which follow, our guide is the historian Zosimus who wrote in the fifth century. We have besides the extensive poetical works of the court poet Claudian, and finally the historical notices in the calendars of Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople. Notwithstanding this division, it was intended that the empire should continue a unity: but when Theodosius died in the year 395 at Milan, there was a strong divergence of opinion concerning the best mode of maintaining this unity. The commander-in-chief Stilicho, who was descended from the Pannonian Vandals and had hitherto been supreme, desired to maintain the unity of command over the army, and proposed also on military as well as upon political grounds the retention of one governing authority for Illyricum, that is, the western portion of the Balkan peninsula as far as the southernmost point of Greece. The fall of Eugenius had not disturbed the unity of the army in the West, and here Stilicho at once assumed the guardianship of the emperor Honorius during his minority: he also attempted to become guardian to the emperor Arcadius, but this project was opposed by the court officials of Arcadius, who won over the Gothic leader Alaric to their side.

Theodosius had settled the western Goths on the Balkan peninsula, and employed them in the imperial army, though they retained their own leaders and their national organisation. Of these leaders, the most important was Alaric.

The struggle between himself and Stilicho was continually breaking out into war, the theatre of which was the Peloponnesus; the constant machinations of the court at Constantinople, at whose disposal Stilicho had been forced to put the oriental troops, added fuel to the flames. Alaric was favoured as against Stilicho, and was made commandant of Illyricum (397). At the same time, the *comes* Gildo was also stirred up by Byzantium to revolt in Africa against Stilicho but he was eventually overthrown by force of arms. So sharp was the division between the two portions of the empire, that, contrary to all previous usage, the consul appointed in the East was never publicly mentioned in the West, where the date was marked with the name of one consul only. In addition to this, the tribes on the Danube were again in a state of restlessness.

A few years later, while Stilicho was holding the Rhætian frontier, Alaric made an attack upon Italy. He overran the whole of Upper Italy, so that Honorius fled for refuge from Milan to the fortress of Ravenna. However, Stilicho defeated Alaric in the battle of Polentia and drove him out of Italy past Verona by a series of strategic movements (402). In the year 405, large bands of heathen Goths, with an admixture of other peoples, came into Italy under the leadership of Radagaisus and crossed the Apennines: but they met their fate when Stilicho marched upon them from the Po with reinforcements of Goths and Huns. They were beaten and destroyed at Fæsulæ (405).

Rhætia and the Rhine frontier were now denuded of troops, and hordes of different nationality crossed the Rhine, Vandals, Alans, and Suevi, and pressed into Gaul and even into Spain; nor was Stilicho able to offer effective resistance, as his presence in Italy was required by the general affairs of the empire. In the year 408, Arcadius had died at Constantinople, leaving behind him a son still in his minority, Theodosius II. Stilicho again attempted to avail himself of this opportunity, to gain the whole of Illyricum for the western empire and so to obstruct the *vagina gentium* on the central Danube. He tried to secure Alaric's help for this purpose: Alaric and his people had demanded better lands for settlement than those they were occupying, but in other respects were ready to place themselves at the disposal of the government. The court intriguers took this opportunity of slandering Stilicho to Honorius, to the effect that he was working to overthrow the dynasty. Honorius was a very incapable ruler; he was Stilicho's son-in-law, but as is usual with weak rulers, he was imbued with absolutist ideas. Moreover, a new pretender, Constantinus, had arisen in the west, who was first recognised by Britain, and afterwards by the provinces of Gaul and Spain, which had abandoned the Italian government to its fate. Honorius made no effort to save Stilicho: the foreign troops belonging to him were attacked and overpowered by the Roman forces, and Stilicho himself was executed in Ravenna (408). His wife Serena suffered the same fate in Rome, as the people feared her, and his son Eucherius was killed, after vainly attempting to save himself by flight.

The court declined to recognise the compact that Stilicho had made with Alaric, and relied for help against the usurpers and barbarians upon the alliance with the court of Constantinople to which eastern Illyricum with Sirmium was formally ceded: and the empire was to be saved by edicts against Arianism, paganism, and the wearing of trousers. Alaric then crossed the Italian frontier unopposed. Such barbarian troops as there were deserted to Alaric, as did

thousands of slaves of barbaric extraction. The government was abandoned by all its political opponents. They fled into the marshes of Ravenna, and declared every measure that was taken to be unconstitutional. Alaric arrived before Rome and was only prevented from sacking the city by the payment of a large sum; he also demanded of Honorius that he be recognised commanding general (*magister utriusque militiæ*) of the empire, so as to lend him authority over Roman subjects. Though he had expected to settle his West Goths in Venetia, Norica and Dalmatia, he was satisfied with the two provinces of Noricum. When the negotiations led to nothing, Alaric marched a second time upon the city, where Galla Placidia the stepsister of Honorius was ruling with the senate. After a short siege, Alaric obtained possession of Rome by treachery (24 Aug., 410). This event caused great excitement in the Roman world: the greatest authors of the time — Augustine, Orosius, Salvianus, Rutilius Namatianus mention the fact with horror, or give it a theological interpretation, in accordance with the widespread ideas of the time, looking upon it as a punishment from God. Salvianus of Massilia remarks that the Goths did but little damage in Rome, and in particular that they respected the churches, although they were Arians.

Alaric had set up the town prefect of Rome, Attalus, as a rival-emperor; but as he gained nothing by this measure, he let him fall again. Ravenna was too well provided with provisions and troops to be attacked with any great chance of success: Alaric therefore contemplated the conquest of Sicily and Africa, the granaries of "urbican" Italy, the possession of which would give him command of Italy itself. As he was setting out upon this expedition, Alaric died suddenly in Lower Italy, and was buried by his Goths at Consentia (the modern Cosenza) in the bed of the river Busentus.

Athaulf, Alaric's brother-in-law and successor, began negotiations with Honorius: the government at length agreed to his terms. Athaulf was recognised as commander-in-chief, and marched into Gaul with his people, where the usurper Constantine had just been defeated by the *comes* Constantius near Arles (411). Athaulf and Constantius found themselves rivals. Galla Placidia, the stepsister of Honorius, who had been carried about by the Goths as a hostage since the capture of Rome, married Athaulf; but he fell at Barcino (the modern Barcelona) in the year 414, a victim to a blood-feud. Three years later, Placidia was married against her will to Constantius, whom Honorius made his joint-regent. He was an Illyrian and a friend of Stilicho, for whom he took vengeance on the court-party, but he, too, died in the year 421. Honorius followed him in 423, after he had quarrelled with Placidia and forced her to depart to Constantinople. The Eastern court, which jealously guarded the interests of the dynasty, sent her with her son by Constantius, Placidus Valentinianus III., who had been advanced to be Cæsar and Augustus, to Ravenna, where one of the superior court officials had, in the meantime, usurped the power. The legitimate succession was restored, Placidia became Augusta and undertook the regency, as her son was but seven years of age.

In decaying dynasties, women as a rule are better sovereigns than men, but in the court at Ravenna party intrigue dominated everything. Among others who struggled for influence was Boniface, the governor of Africa, who in the crisis after the death of Honorius had vigorously supported the dynastic policy,

and Aëtius, who had been opposed to that policy, but had afterwards gone over to Placidia. Aëtius, who was a native of the Danubian territory, and kept up relations with the Huns and Goths, whom he cleverly played off against one another: after he had recovered Rhætia and Noricum he took Pannonia from the Huns and drove the Goths out of Dalmatia. Boniface thought himself threatened by court intrigues and called the barbarians settled in the south of Spain to his assistance.

These were the Vandals and Alans under their king Geiserich; not a very powerful band, but one that proved sufficiently strong, as soon as it got a footing in Africa, to conquer the whole province torn apart as it was by religious dissensions. Boniface, after making his peace with the court, found himself unable to drive them out again. Geiserich even seized Carthage and there founded a state, which was essentially a pirate state, and henceforward became no less a terror to the Italian coast than the Carthaginians had once been. To complete the analogy between Vandals and Carthaginians, Sardinia and the west of Sicily were speedily conquered by Geiserich. He divided the great estates of the wealthy Africans among the Vandal and Alan chiefs, favoured the schismatics against the orthodox, won over the small proprietors to himself, and also entered into relations with the Moorish race. Thus was founded a kingdom, which existed for a century (cf. above, pp. 241-245). This was a heavy blow for Italy which lost both its granary and the security of its seas. In Hispania and Lusitania, the West Goths and the Suevi had established themselves: the West Goths, the Burgundians and the Franks had also settled in Gaul, so that the empire ruled from Ravenna was confined to Italy and its frontiers.

The rivalry between Aëtius and Boniface led to a battle, in which the latter was victorious, but was mortally wounded by Aëtius. Aëtius fled to the Huns, and with their help (432) recovered the high position at the court, which he had held for two decades. Aëtius was able to make use of the dissensions that arose among the barbarians, so as to gain some influence over the provinces that had been lost, such as Gaul. He was, however, obliged to give up Britain; fugitive Britons crossed to the continent of Gaul, and settled in the district of Armorica (the so-called "Brittany", while the Angles and Saxons came to Britain, at first, to protect the Britons and afterwards to rule them.

Meanwhile, the Huns had found an energetic leader in Attila, who united in addition numerous Germanic races under his rule. He established his seat of government in the plains between the Theiss and the Danube. From this point, he made war upon the provinces of the Eastern empire while keeping up his friendship with Aëtius. Complications were caused later by the dissolute Honoria, the emperor's sister, who offered Attila her hand in marriage, an act equivalent to high treason, in order to escape from her imprisonment. But Aëtius organised a great confederacy in Gaul, to which the West Goths and Franks adhered, to oppose Attila. A great battle was fought in the plain of the Moors (near Troyes); Attila was defeated (451), and obliged to evacuate Gaul. In the next year, he overran Upper Italy, after conquering and destroying Aquileia, but retreated, when the Eastern empire made common cause with the Western. Attila died suddenly in the year 453. His empire immediately fell to pieces; the races that had been kept together by his personal ascendancy, the Gepidæ and Goths, drove the Huns out of Pannonia. The territories on the

THE MAUSOLEUM OF PLACIDIA GALLA (SS. NAZARIO e CELSO) AT RANENNA

(After a photograph by Luigi Ricci, Ravenna.)

Above: view of the interior. In the centre, behind the alabaster altar, is the sarcophagus of Placidia Galla; on the left that of Constantius III., second husband of the Empress. Below: the cenotaph (without the covering) of the Emperor Honorius, the brother of Placidia Galla.

Danube were insufficient to support them and the younger part of the male population, and sometimes an entire clan, emigrated in search of foreign service, or to found new kingdoms; so that the decade following Attila's death is marked by constant unrest and continual shifting of population.

Theodosius II. ruled over the Eastern empire from 408 to 450, but only nominally; for he was never declared of age. His sister Pulcheria was a personage of great influence during his reign. The empire gradually contracted round its firm nucleus, the city of Constantinople, which was protected on every side by its walls and by the sea. Ministerial crises occurred which cost much bloodshed, and saved the Eastern empire from the puppet-emperor form of government, which had now become established in the west; with this exception, the main interest of the period attaches to ecclesiastical events. Orthodoxy was now the rage in Byzantium, and all surviving remnants of paganism were rooted out: even local names were being constantly changed for those of the Saviour or the saints. The Christian population in Armenia, whose literature was then in its most flourishing period, were granted protection against the Persians (cf. Vol. III.): on the other hand, Attila, who had made a terrible visitation upon the Northern Balkan provinces, was bought off with titles and money. The præfecture of Illyricum was transferred at that time from Sirmium to Thessalonica. Theodosius II. had the constitutions of the earlier emperors codified; the codification was accepted in the West and also made its way to the Romans in the German states. After the death of Theodosius II., "the little," Pulcheria gave her hand and the throne to the Illyrian Marcianus, who had won a good reputation as a commander.

In the same year (450), Placidia died in Ravenna: her sarcophagus is still to be seen in the mausoleum, where her husband Constantius and her brother Honorius also rest (see the plate facing this page, "the mausoleum of Placidia Galla at Ravenna"). Her son Valentinian III. finally quarrelled with Aëtius; urged on by the jealousy of the eunuch Heraclius, he attacked him and slew him with his own hands in the palace (454); a year later, two friends of Aëtius murdered Theodosius in a villa near Rome (March, 455). One of the conspirators was the Roman senator Petronius Maximus, whose wife Valentinian had dishonoured. Petronius tried to secure the power for himself by marrying Eudoxia, Valentinian's widow, while his son received a daughter of Valentinian as his wife. The story goes that Eudoxia then called in the Vandal king Geiserich, who appeared with a fleet at the mouth of the Tiber and took Rome. The senators fled, Petronius Maximus was killed, and the imperial palace sacked. After Geiserich had ravaged the coast of Campania, he returned in triumph to Carthage, taking Eudoxia and her daughter with him. Thus the dynasty of Theodosius came to an end in the Western empire; but the hostility between Italy and the Vandals continued for decades.

A man capable of dealing with the situation now came forward in the person of Ricimer, the leader of the Italian federal troops, who defeated the Vandals at sea near Corsica. Ricimer was of Germanic origin and an Arian: for these reasons, the prejudices of the time forbade his becoming emperor; but after he had held the consulship in the year 459, he ruled, under the titles of *patricius* and *magister utriusque militæ*, as Stilicho and Aëtius had done before him, setting up and deposing emperors at pleasure. In the year 456, he obliged

Avitus to abdicate: Avitus was a Gallo-Roman and a comrade in arms of Aëtius and had been made ruler by the Western Goths dwelling in the Arelate region (the modern Arles). His successor, Majorianus, was executed by Ricimer, because an extensive campaign which he had undertaken against Geiserich proved a failure (461). After him Libius Severus was nominal emperor for some years (461-465). After a long interval, Anthemius, a son-in-law of Marcian, succeeded (467). In his time, a general but unsuccessful attack upon the Vandals was made by the Eastern and Western empires. Anthemius resided in Rome, and Ricimer in Mediolanum (Milan); Anthemius ventured to thwart the wishes of the emperor-maker, who besieged and overthrew him (472). Shortly afterwards Ricimer died of the plague, and six months later the same fate overtook Olybrius, whom he had set up, and who had married the emperor's daughter, Placidia.

During this period, Dalmatia and that part of Gaul which had remained under Roman rule, were governed by their own native rulers, whether civil or ecclesiastical. In Dalmatia, Marcellinus, a friend of Aëtius held the power. He attacked the Vandals on his own initiative, and as an imperial ally; he was finally killed in Sicily. In Gaul, the brave Ægidius made a name for himself among the Frankish barbarians, as also did his son Syagrius, who preserved his independence until 486. Among the Arverni, the family of the emperor Avitus were predominant; as the West Goths had extended their power over that district, Sidonius Apollinaris, who was a son-in-law of Avitus, and afterwards bishop of the town of the Arverni, shows the transition from open resistance to submission to the rule of the "barbarians," who prided themselves on the title of "barbarian," as opposed to that of "Roman." "Barbarus" was then an honourable designation: it is the origin of our "bravo!"

From the year 472, Italy was in a state of anarchy. The Burgundian Gundobad, a nephew of Ricimer, was called to the regal power in his native Gaul, and therefore considered the position of *patricius* as no longer to his advantage. From Gaul, he afterwards made an attempt to conquer Italy. Glycerius had been made emperor at Ravenna by Gundobad; he retired to the bishopric of Salonæ, when Julius Nepos, a Dalmatian, who was supported by Byzantium and was a nephew of Marcellinus, made his way into Rome and gained recognition there. The Pannonian Orestes, who had been Attila's secretary, rose in opposition to Nepos. Nepos fled to his native land, where he retained the title of emperor until his death (480), and Orestes appointed his little son Romulus to be Augustus (475). However, the Germanic troops rose against Orestes. Since the dissolution of Attila's kingdom, they had been quartered in Ravenna to support the court; they demanded that their position in Italy should be in no way inferior to that of the Germanic races in the western provinces; they desired land for permanent settlement, and declined to remain permanently under arms. When Orestes made objections, Odovacar, of the race of the Turcilingi, who had already become of importance under Ricimer, was elected king: Orestes was defeated in Ticinum, his brother Paulus, at Ravenna; and both were slain. Odovacar took pity on the pretty Augustulus,* to whom he granted a pension and the *Lucullanum* at Naples as a residence. There was no further occupant of the imperial throne, and Odovacar ruled as Stilicho, Aëtius, Ricimer and Orestes had done, but resting on his own title: after a few years, his position

* Romulus.

was formally recognised by the emperor of the Eastern empire (479). As regards these events, we gain a considerable amount of information from the municipal chronicles of Ravenna, which become more comprehensive about this time: but many conclusions are based upon the evidence of coins and titles.

The progress of affairs in the East was widely different from that which we find in the West. In Byzantium there was an uninterrupted succession of native emperors, that is to say, emperors coming from Thrace and Illyria and Asia Minor: these stood in the close connection with their predecessors by marriage, and were formally crowned by the Patriarch. The list of rulers runs as follows: Marcian, an Illyrian 450-459; Leo, a Thracian, to 474; Zeno, an Isaurian, to 491; Anastasius, an Illyrian, to 518; Justinus, a Thracian, to 527, followed by his nephew Justinianus, to 565. The Eastern emperors were generally able to visit upon their disobedient generals and ministers the fate of Stilicho. In the West, on the contrary, the tendency was entirely in the opposite direction. At the bidding of Odovacar, the senate of old Rome declared that it no longer required an emperor and that a governor for the Western empire, whose position was sanctioned by the Eastern court, would be sufficient. Under these conditions, Odovacar governed Italy and the neighbouring territory for thirteen years, coming to an agreement with the aged Geiserich on the question of Sicily.

E. The Eastern Goths and the Langobards

After the death of Julius Nepos, Odovacar occupied Dalmatia (481), and advanced into Noricum against the Rugi (487): for him this was the beginning of entanglements with Byzantium and with the Goths settled in Mœsia who were in alliance with the Rugi. Theoderic, the Gothic king and *patricius*, was authorised by the emperor Zeno to march against Italy, overthrow Odovacar's rule, and set up himself in his place. Theoderic defeated Odovacar on the Isonzo and at Verona, took Milan, and established his headquarters at the important strategical point of Ticinum. He again defeated Odovacar and his allies on the Adda; after a three years' siege, he got possession of the capital of Ravenna, and there destroyed Odovacar and his troops, in spite of the capitulation that had been agreed upon (493). Thus Theodoric gained the power; he stepped into Odovacar's position, in the first place, as king of the Goths and Rugi, and secondly, as appointee of the Eastern emperor to the administration of the realm. The senate of old Rome, which still retained its ancient prestige, carried on negotiations with Byzantium concerning Theoderic's appointment. Theoderic reigned thirty-three years, a period of peace and prosperity for Italy. The Goths were distributed over the country, as the barbarian troops had been after Stilicho's time, while in other respects, the Roman official organisation and the municipal arrangements remained intact. Italy and the neighbouring territory were now thrown upon their own economic resources, and the national prosperity greatly increased in consequence: the Pomptine marshes were drained, and agriculture was again introduced into Italy. Sicily, which again became prominent as the granary of Rome, was spared the infliction of Gothic settlers. From Dalmatia, sheep, cattle and corn were introduced into Italy.

After Theoderic's death (526), Byzantine policy, under the conduct of the emperor Justinian, was directed to bring about the subjection of Africa and Italy. The attempt was successful, owing to the internal dissensions existing between the Vandals and the Goths. In the year 540, Belisarius, who had a short time previously captured Carthage, obtained possession of Ravenna, by allowing the Goths to cherish the hope, that he would undertake the government of the West in person, and that there would be no interference with their possessions. The court, however, became suspicious of his designs. Belisarius was recalled, though Ravenna was not given up, and a part of the Goths proceeded to organised resistance, concentrating round Verona and Ticinum, which had received special privileges from their great king. They would have been content with the district north of the Po, but when Justinian declined to agree to this, they conquered almost the whole of Italy, under their Badvila (Totila), with the exception of the impregnable fortress of Ravenna. It was only when Narses pressed forward with a newly raised Germanic army, composed of Gepidæ, Herulians, and Langobardi, that the Goths were defeated in the battle of Tadina in Umbria (552) and at the "milk mountain" (*mons Lactarius*) in Campania (553). A Franco-Alemannian army arrived too late to help them, but marched through Italy ravaging the country under Leutharis and Butilin (554).

But it was not through its own strength that Byzantine policy had been successful. For that reason the advantages that had been attained were lost shortly after the death of Justinian (565), and the more rapidly, as the previous policy of not allowing one race to gain a decisive preponderance over the others was abandoned. As a result the Gepidæ were annihilated by the Langobards with the help of the Avari, and then came the advance of the Langobards into Italy from Pannonia and Noricum. In Italy, Narses had just subdued the disobedient Herulians, but was at variance with the court for the moment (568). The Langobards, therefore, met with a very ineffectual resistance. They succeeded in taking Verona, and afterwards Ticinum, after a siege of three years. It was from Ticinum that Theoderic had carried on his three years' blockade of Ravenna. Theoderic's palace in Ticinum became the residence of the Langobard kings.

They were checked at Ravenna and Rome, which remained in the hands of the Byzantines, as also did the line of communication between the two towns, the Via Flaminia; communication by way of Iguvium (the modern Gubbio) and Perusia was only broken owing to the conquest of Spoleto by the Langobards. Naples and the maritime towns on the East coast of Lower Italy also remained Byzantine: Beneventum and the inland country fell to the Langobards. Sicily, with the district of Bruttium came to constitute a single province; hence the later phrase "the two Sicilies." Africa with Sardinia belonged to the Byzantines, until the Saracens established themselves there in the seventh century. The coasts of Italy and Sicily again lay open to the attacks of hostile pirates. The land that had once ruled the world was torn by internal faction and made the plaything of its neighbours. There were now three capitals: there was the purely ecclesiastical metropolis of Rome, there was Ravenna, the seat of the Byzantine exarch, and Ticinum, the residence of the Langobards. It was at this time that the lagoons of Venice, the coasts of Liguria, even the little islands of the Etruscan and Campanian seas, which had once served as penal settlements,

became peopled with fugitives. It was at this time that an important commercial centre arose in the secure ravines of Amalfia (Amalfi).

F. The Condition of Italy in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries

On the other hand, all those places which had flourished under the empire were now desolate heaps of ruins. Rome had been taken five times during the Gothic wars, had been lost and reconquered. Hadrian's villa had been destroyed; the imperial statues in the mausoleum at Rome had been thrown down by the raging Goths, during the siege. The Goths had ruined the splendid aqueducts, so that the water ran to waste and helped to convert the Campagna into marsh land. All the well-known country-seats of the emperor and the senators in the Roman "Campagna," in the Sabine country, at Tusculum and southern Etruria, on the gulfs of Naples and Misenum were in ruins. On the other hand, these extensive wastes served the neighbouring population as places of refuge: new settlements were founded, as was Frascata (the modern Frascati) on the site of the imperial villa near Tusculum. In Rome itself, the ornamental buildings of imperial times were employed as fortresses, as the town walls built by Aurelian were so extensive as to demand an enormous army for their defence. Thus Hadrian's mausoleum became the citadel of Rome during the Middle Ages, while the great families established themselves in the Colosseum and elsewhere.

The once prosperous district of Etruria had become as desolate as the Roman "Campagna," even from the outset of the fifth century, when Rutilius Namatianus passed along the coast after the capture of Rome by Alaric. This desolation was largely brought by the system of *latifundia*, which continued even in Gothic times. Theodahat, the Gothic king, was originally a Tuscan landed proprietor, and his attempts to buy up the estates of his neighbours or to expel them from their land, had made him very unpopular. It is noteworthy, that many ancient towns, such as Volsci and Tarquinii, became more and more deserted at this period, while others began to be densely populated. Places that had once been of importance deteriorated, while others, such as Castrum Viterbum (the modern Viterbo) now rose into prominence. Sometimes, moreover, the most ancient places of settlement in a district again became famous, because of their natural strength; thus the inhabitants of Falerii, who had descended into the plains and settled there during the peaceful period of Roman supremacy, now reoccupied the old fortress: hence the name Castellum (the modern Civita Castellana). Inhabitants of the Roman town of Volsinii, which was rendered insalubrious by the marshy exhalations of its lake, reoccupied in force the old Etruscan town of Urbiventum (the modern Orvieto), because its lofty situation and natural strength promised security against attack. Upon an island in the lake of Volsinii (the modern Lago di Bolsena), the Goths had founded a strong fortress, where a portion of the royal treasure was kept. It was here that Amalasuntha, the daughter of the great Theoderic was imprisoned and put to death by her cousin and co-regent, Theodahat.

Other districts in central Italy continued to enjoy prosperity until the period of the struggle between the Goths and the Byzantines. The harm wrought by the invasions of Alaric, Radagaisus and Attila, had been only temporary, with the

exception of the destruction of Aquileia; and the struggle between Odovacar and Theoderic had been confined to Northern Italy. On reading the episcopal registers of Italy for this period, we are astonished to see how many places that have now disappeared, were in existence about the year 500 A.D., as for instance, in Umbria (see the small map "Italian Bishopries," appended to the map at pp. 457, 458). Plestia, the spot where Hannibal in the year 217 B.C., that is, 700 years before this time had effected the passage from Umbria to Picenum (cf. above, p. 360), now had its bishop; so had such places as Tadina, Ostra, Vettona, Forum Flamini, etc. Generally speaking, the "urban" portion of the Apennine peninsula was no less blessed with bishopries than the province of Africa. Not only all towns, but also many of the *latifundia,* such as the *fundus Carminianus* (the modern Carmignano) in Southern Italy, had their bishops. This organisation had become perfected since the second half of the fourth century.

Near Rome, there were bishops, not only at Ostia, but also at Portus, the harbour on the right-hand mouth of the Tiber, which had been founded by Claudius and further extended by Trajan. The same was the case with Lorium, where a town had grown up round the villa of Antoninus Pius, which was also known as *Silva candida,* and with Gabii, Albanum, Labicum and Nomentum. From this we learn that these places in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome were important cities; their bishops were under the immediate control of the Roman pope (from the Greek *pappas;* Latin, *papa,* i.e. father, at first the honorary title of every bishop), just as the Patriarch of Antioch controlled the bishops of the provincial diocese of *Syria prima.* In general, the episcopal organisation was analogous in detail to the imperial; the highest dignitaries of the empire often exchanged their temporal for a corresponding position in the Church. On such circumstances was based the theory of Augustine, the learned bishop of Hippo, who declared that the Roman state was but transitory, while the Church was permanent, as its development was uninterrupted and vigorous.

In *annonaric* Italy (those provinces, that is, that paid tribute to Rome in the form of products of the soil) the bishops of Milan and Aquileia acted as metropolitans; the bishop of Ravenna also performed that function, when his residence became the capital. The bishop of Rome was regarded as the first prelate of Italy, of the West, and of the whole church, though his authority was occasionally disputed in individual districts. This was the case in the East, the West and even in Italy. The bishops of Ravenna turned their connection with the emperors and regents to good account. Occasionally, a general congress of the Italian bishops was held at Rome; this happened repeatedly during the years 499-502, when the merits of two rival candidates for the Papacy were under discussion. On such points, we gain much information from the biographies of the popes in the *liber pontificialis,* which took the place of the biographies of the emperors, as an historical record: similar records were possessed by the churches of Ravenna, Milan and other towns.

The age is especially notable for ecclesiastical controversies. The struggle between the Arians and the Athanasians continued for three hundred years and important church councils were repeatedly summoned to settle the matter, at Milan (355), at Ariminum (359) and at Aquileia (381). Christian dogma, however, was developed exclusively by the churches of the eastern half of the empire, especially those of Alexandria; next in importance were the imperial

capitals, Nicomedia, Antioch, and Byzantium. A great event was the alliance between old and new Rome at the council of Chalcedon (451) which broke down the supremacy of the "Pope" of Alexandria. From this time on, new Rome went its way in close connection with the church policy of the government, whereas old Rome after Italy had fallen under Arian rulers, such as Ricimer, Odovacar and Theoderic, did not fall in with every decision emanating from the East upon points of dogma. Ecclesiastical events exercised a considerable influence upon the general policy of the empire; Justinian found an opportunity for interfering in the affairs of the West, in the closing of the schism between the churches of old and new Rome, which had continued for nearly forty years (484-519). Sometimes even separate parts of Italy itself might be divided upon ecclesiastical questions: thus about the middle of the sixth century (553) Northern Italy broke away from the church of Rome, because its opposition to the emperor's opportunist policy on dogmatic questions had not been sufficiently marked. Years passed before the church of Aquileia could unite with the subordinate bishoprics of Venetia, Noricum, Rhætia Secunda and Istria. It was at this period that the Langobards founded their supremacy.

Side by side with dissension among Christians there grew the opposition to Jewish communities, which gave rise to uproar and tumult, not only in great cities, like Rome, Milan, Ravenna and Naples, but also in many of the smaller towns, as in Venusia or those on the Etruscan coast. The Gothic government was reputed to have kept stricter order in this respect than the Byzantine rulers, and to have exercised a strict supervision over incapable local authorities. The Jews derived many advantages from the economic decay of Italy, but this made them objects of hatred: and we find Rutilius Namatianus deploring the fact that the destruction of Jerusalem should have brought Jews to every corner of the earth.

A point of more than mere economic importance in the development of the country was the number of gifts and bequests to the clergy which gradually increased until the landed property of the church became of great value. Thus the Roman Church had possessions in the province of the Alpes Cottiæ; it had an extensive forest at the source of the Tiber, large districts in Tuscany, Sabina, Campania (the "campagna"), Southern Italy and Sicily. Similarly, the churches of Milan, Aquileia and Ravenna acquired great possessions, partly in the neighbourhood of their capital towns, but also at a distance. All these lands were carefully surveyed and registered; they were either worked by bond-slaves ("coloni") or let out to farmers.

In the sixth century began the foundation of monasteries, modelled on the cloisters of the East; and as in the East, their heads sought to increase their interests by skilfully adapting themselves to the spirit of the times. As the "world" deteriorated, the finer spirits sought solitude where they might realise the ideal of living out their lives in the city of God. Time began to be reckoned from the birth of Christ, a chronology which was first employed by the monk Dionysius Exiguus, who drew up a table for the determining of the recurrence of Easter, at Rome, in 525. Benedict, a man of good family, from Nursia in the Sabine country, was the first superior of a monastery at Sublaqueum (Subiaco) at the sources of the Anio, where Nero formerly had a villa. He soon founded a similar institution on the rocky summit which overhung

the town of Casinum, on which the old Osean town of that name had once stood, and in later years a shrine to Apollo; this was the monastery of Monte Casino (529 A.D.). Casinum was subsequently renamed San Germano after its patron saint. Benedict's example was followed by Cassiodorus, who had previously been private secretary to Theoderic and *præfectus prætorio* to his successor; his birthplace was Squillacium (the modern Squillace) in Bruttium. Cassiodorus wrote a history to extol the Gothic government, extracts from which have come down to us in the Gothic history of Jordanes; when the Gothic empire fell, Cassiodorus withdrew to the monastery of Vivarium, which he founded in his own home upon his own land.

Benedict had expressly enjoined the pursuit of literature upon the monks who followed his rule; Cassiodorus composed or had written hand-books, which served as a guide for the scientific efforts of the following centuries. By this means, the inheritance of "classical" antiquity was preserved, even after the senatorial families in Rome, who had collected old manuscripts under Odovacar and Theoderic had succumbed in the storms of that period. The philosopher Bœthius and his father-in-law Symmachus had been suspected of treason by Theoderic towards the end of his rule, and put to death by him: twenty years later, when Badvila (Totila) reconquered Rome, their relatives were reduced to beggary. Cicero was honoured by Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine as a father of the church, and in consequence his works were preserved in their entirety to future generations. Christian interpretations were put upon many poems, as for instance, upon the works of Virgil.

As few barbarian languages had been reduced to writing, the literary influence of the Latins continued and their language remained the medium of international communication. In every civilised district of the empire, the barbarians, after establishing their supremacy, adopted the language of the conquered race, as did the Langobards in Italy and the Western Goths in Spain. Only in districts where Roman civilisation had not fully penetrated, and where the ties between the invaders and their German fatherland remained strong, was the Romance population absorbed by the Teutons.

Language was rather a secondary matter compared with the reconstruction of political institutions which occurred in Italy through western Europe generally. The new institutions were based chiefly upon the tribal laws of the German races, to which even the members of the conquering class eventually became subject. Five centuries after the Langobard immigration, at a time when their posterity had long been speaking a Romance language, the Roman civil law, in the form of Justinian's code, began to spread from Ravenna to Bologna and over the rest of "Italy."

The natural course of development had been interrupted in Italy; nevertheless certain forces of the national life persisted and in part determined the subsequent history of the peninsula (cf. Vol. VI.).

VIII

THE PYRENÆAN PENINSULA

BY DR. HENRY SCHURTZ

1. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PYRENÆAN PENINSULA AND THEIR INFLUENCE UPON ITS INHABITANTS.

UNLIKE its neighbour the Apennine peninsula, the vast mass projecting from southwestern Europe, gets its name, Pyrenæan, not from the mountains that traverse its interior, but from the mighty snow capped barrier that separates it from the continent. The name may be purely accidental: and yet it is an accident not wholly devoid of interest and significance. The rampart of the Pyrenees cannot rival the vast Alpine ranges in height or extent: but it divides Spain from its neighbour France more sharply than the Alps divide the plains of Upper Italy from the latter country: it is the best and the most definite natural boundary in the whole of Europe. Moreover, the Pyrenæan peninsula is more isolated than Italy for another reason: only the smallest portion of its seaboard looks upon that highway of communication, the Mediterranean Sea. The other and the larger portion is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, so solitary in early times and over whose foaming waves the Spanish ships at last found their way to the wonderland of America. Hence, a number of Spanish characteristics are due to the position of the country lying, as it does, upon the outskirts of European civilisation. It turns its back, as it were, upon other nations, and thereby obliged its inhabitants to go their own way and to be sufficient to themselves, while other European nations stimulated by the interchange of the arts of civilisation, were reduced to greater uniformity of thought and action. It is only at rare intervals that a migrating horde can pass the barriers on the north, and bring fresh life into the fixed seclusion of this country and its people.

Not only the geographical position of the country determines its isolation, but also its physical configuration which is not inviting to strangers. Almost rectangular in form, it rises stern and massive from the waves, offering only small harbours, and stretching forth no sheltering peninsulas to welcome the mariner. The rivers of the country run low in summer, and are flooded in the winter months; they offer no facilities for communication with the interior, and empty themselves for the most part into the Atlantic Ocean. A spirit of African rigidity and retirement broods over the land.

In fact, the country resembles Africa in more than this. Spain, like the huge

continent to the south of it, is, broadly speaking, a high table-land, surrounded by mountains and separated here and there from the sea by fruitful strips of coast. With good reason may this table-land be compared both to the burning Sahara desert and to the colder regions of Europe. Rain falls but rarely on the thirsty soil; in summer the rivers become rivulets, and scorching heat quivers on the wide plains, and in winter roaring storms from the north burst over the highlands and the mountain ranges grow white with snow. Where the land falls away to the sea level, and the streams pouring down from the mountains provide sufficient moisture, tropical vegetation flourishes, as in the enchanting *Huerta* of Valencia or in blessed Andalusia. And just as Spain resembles the neighbouring coast of North Africa both in climate and configuration, so it appears to turn a friendly face towards this region in particular. Only a narrow strait (see the map facing this page, "Spain and Portugal") divides the Pillars of Hercules from one another, and the rich lands of Andalusia offer their treasures as reward to the adventurer who should pass this boundary. That allurement has not been presented in vain: there have been times when Spain seemed to be no longer a part of Europe, when its inhabitants stood side by side with the peoples of North Africa against the Aryan race and the Christian faith, and it is a significant fact that that was the period when Spain played such a part in the development of human civilisation as it never equalled before or since.

The interior of the Pyrenæan peninsula displays the same unfriendly character. The mountain ranges which traverse the plateau and divide it into regions of considerable strategic importance, notable in history, form no cheerful upland country with green pastures, shady woods and smiling valleys; they rise sheer above the plain; gorge and cleft impede the traveller's progress; and if ever the forests crowned the mountain tops, the woodman's axe throughout the centuries has laid them low. Above these ranges brood the memories of a wild and bloody past, and in their valleys were enacted the splendid deeds of the Spanish chivalry. Whoever was at enmity with the rulers of the fruitful lowland plains, but felt too weak to cope with them in open fight, fled to the mountains and turned bandit or guerilla, became champion of Christendom or of Islam, patriot defender against the French invader or Carlist, according to the circumstances and the time. Many a riddle of the Spanish character can be solved by taking into account this strange school of stubborn independence, of peculiar freedom and self-dependence, which was always open as a last refuge to the unfettered son of the soil. The greatest conqueror of modern times made trial, to his sorrow, of the spirit thus evolved by the natural configuration of the country.

Stubborn independence is manifested not only in the individual, but also in the various nationalities inhabiting the peninsula. Their efforts were directed not towards union but towards division, and only the peculiar development of the country since the Middle Ages has brought about a unity which is rather apparent than real. Portugal stands gloomily aloof and jealously guards the complete independence of its political life: the Catalonians keep their own language and look upon the Spaniards proper as their worst enemies, while the Basques have opposed the complete incorporation of their territory and the destruction of their ancient rights in many a bloody battle. It was only because the old Castilians were the first to take up the struggle with the Moors, to drive

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.
Scale 1: 4 500 000
The departments in Portugal & the provinces in Spain are owned after their capital towns which are underlined with the exception of the three Basque provinces Navarre & the Balearic Islands
Depth of Soundings:
less than 25 fathoms
25-50
50-100
above 100 fathoms
Gulf of Lions
Gulf of Valencia
Balearic Is.
Minorca
Majorca
Pitrusen Is.
Formentera
Ivica
Cabrera I.
Gibraltar
Strait of Gibraltar
MADRID
LISBON
SEVILLE
MALAGA
MONOCCO
VALENCIA
BARCELONA
Cartagena
Murcia
Oporto
Cádiz
Algiers
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
FRANCE
SPAIN
Longitude West 0° Longitude East
0° Meridian of Greenwich
London: Wm. Heinemann
New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

them out and to colonise their territory, that their speech has gained preponderance and that they have been able to impress their peculiar characteristics upon Spanish civilisation. The reserved and punctilious Spaniard, with his exaggerated idea of honour and his unbounded devotion to his prince, as foreigners are wont to imagine him, is in reality only to be found in the Castilian, the sun-burnt, storm-buffeted inhabitant of the table-lands, whose character has little in common with the light-hearted Valencian, or the bluff and faithful inhabitant of Galicia. The Castilian is at once harder and prouder than these, but he it is who gained the ascendency and created the Spaniard of modern times.

Many of the national characteristics of the Spaniard are thus to be traced to the physical peculiarities of the country: if these characteristics appear both in the earliest and the latest inhabitants of Spain, we must not on that account suppose a close blood relationship between these inhabitants. These natural influences could not but have made themselves felt upon immigrants from foreign countries. But the similarity is sufficiently remarkable. The Spaniard of Strabo is essentially the brother of the Spaniard of to-day: and in fact we may assume that the main stock of the people has remained the same to the present time, though it has experienced many additions and admixtures.

2. PREHISTORIC TIMES

The Earliest Period of Spanish Colonisation

(*a*) *The Iberians.*—In its earliest antiquity we find Spain in the possession of a people of uniform character and language, the Iberians. In this fact, however, we have merely the result of a long period of development, carried on in isolation, but we do not go back to the original condition of the country. Unfortunately, inquiry into early Spanish history has advanced far too slowly to be able to contribute any solution even of the most important problems. We may, however, conclude that, as everywhere in North Africa, Southern Europe, and Western Asia, so also in the Pyrenæan peninsula representatives existed of that short-skulled, dark-haired, and light-skinned race, generally denoted by the name of Armenoid, or for philological reasons, of Alarod (cf. above, p. 224). The people finally known as Iberians were, however, in all probability a mixture of this old population with the long-skulled, light-haired, Cro-Magnon race, which came down from the north and appears in France and North Africa, and whose entrance into the intermediate country of Spain we may therefore assume even though no remnants of their civilisation are at hand to certify our assumption (cf. p. 223). The large proportion of light-haired people, which, contrary to the general opinion, is found in Spain and Portugal, may be traced back, perhaps, to those earliest migrations from the north, which were followed by two others in course of time. Possibly, the new races imposed their language upon the original inhabitants, and it may be that those Iberian traditions, which speak of immigrations of ancestors from Gaul, allude to the invasion of this light-haired population. Related to the Iberians were the Sicani and Siculi (cf. p. 304) of South Italy who also inhabited districts in the neighbourhood of North Africa.

(*b*) *The Celts.*—The second immigration from the north, that of the Celts, falls within the very earliest period of historical times, so that we know but little of the circumstances that preceded the event or of the event itself and can only specify the results. It is impossible to decide definitely, whether the entrance of the Celts into Spain coincides chronologically with the great movements of the Celtic races towards Upper Italy and South Germany, movements which, in the case of smaller bands, went as far as Asia Minor and Greece. It is at any rate probable that these migrations were coincident. The Celts brought a new civilisation into the country lying south of the Pyrenees, since they represent that more advanced Iron Age which succeeded the Age of Bronze. Agriculture was in its infancy before their arrival. The native Iberians even in later times, continued to cling to the rude manners of the earlier epoch. They lived upon the produce of their flocks of goats, upon edible acorns from the mountain forests and to some small extent upon grain grown in cultivated soil. Like most conquerors, the Celts despised agriculture as being unworthy of a free man, but they forced their subjects to till the soil regularly and to deliver to their masters a share of the produce.

The wave of Celtic invasion flowed over only one part of the peninsula. A race, known later as Celtic, settled in the district in central Guadiana, of which the modern Badajoz is the central point. The Artebrians inhabited the northwest coast, and mingled very little with the natives. A numerous mixed race, known later as Celtiberians, existed in old Castile and subdued the neighbouring Iberian races, both the agricultural and unwarlike, as well as the highlanders. It is not true that the Celts ever had the whole peninsula under their power: nor was there any permanent bond between the different Celtic races themselves. The highlanders properly so-called, such as the Lusitanians on the west, the Asturians, the Cantabrians and Basques on the north, maintained their complete independence.

Southern Spain, where a milder climate had in early times developed a more advanced civilisation, remained undisturbed by Celtic attacks; but other and more welcome strangers came to its coasts, namely, the Phœnicians, who found there the fullest scope for their commercial activity. Even before their arrival, the inhabitants may have fashioned admirable ornaments of dress from the precious metals in which their land was so rich: but upon these treasures they placed no great value, and troubled themselves but little about their acquisition. But as soon as the admiration of foreigners for these things came to their notice, they turned their attention to the hidden riches of their country. At any rate, the Phœnicians had been preceded in their visits to those coasts by other pirates and merchants: the fact that races of Iberian origin made their way into Southern Italy, enables us to assume the existence of communication between the countries by sea. Etruscan commerce must have reached Spain. To what an extent piracy was prevalent in the Mediterranean in prehistoric times, is evidenced by dumb but intelligible tokens, the Nurhags, those strange fortified towers, which appear especially numerous upon the coasts of Sardinia, and must at one time have served as places of refuge for the people when threatened by a descent upon their coast. The only country which then possessed historical records, the Nile valley in Egypt, often saw these piratical bands upon its coasts. More than this we do not know of those early times and circumstances.

3. THE BEGINNINGS OF SPANISH HISTORY

A. The Phœnicians and the Greeks

It was comparatively late in their history that the Phœnicians began to turn to the western portion of the Mediterranean; their activity in this direction increased, as the growth of the Greek maritime empire restricted their commerce in the East. Spain, with its mineral wealth, held out great hopes of profit: and when the pillars of Hercules were passed, the way was found to the British tin deposits and to the country of amber. Thus the settlements on the Spanish coast became starting points for further expeditions, and flourishing cities arose, to which the wealth of regions near and far streamed in. The Phœnician colonists were far-sighted enough to buy from Turdetans on the lower Bætis (Guadalquivir) two small islands on the coast, and here they founded the city which was afterwards the queen of the Spanish settlements, Gadir, the modern Cadiz. The history of succeeding centuries has taught us how wisely those experienced merchants chose sites for their colonies: like Cadiz, Malaka, which was founded shortly afterwards, retains both its Phœnician name and its importance as a commercial centre.

Not long after the Phœnicians the Greeks appear on the Spanish coast, at first only as passing visitors, until political events at home drove whole colonies to emigrate to the Iberian peninsula. The Greeks colonised the eastern coast alone: here was situated Saguntum, founded by Zacynthians and Italian emigrants from Ardea in common; here were Emporium and Rhode, which were colonised by the Phocæans at the same time as Massilia, and were defended by that great town at the mouth of the Rhone. Neither Phœnicians nor Greeks desired influence in the interior: mining was carried on by native races, in whose possession later conquerors found large quantities of precious metal.

As the Carthaginian power developed, the Phœnician possessions in Spain fell into Carthaginian hands and proved a rich acquisition. Gadir was involved in wars against the Turdetans concerning its inland possessions, and appealed to Carthage for assistance: but it was soon subjugated by the allies it had called in, whose commercial methods continued on the same line as those of the ancient Phœnicians. It was from Spain that the Carthaginians for a long time drew their supplies of the precious metals, in exchange for which they bartered articles of luxury with the natives, at considerable profit to themselves: Spain was also a recruiting ground for the soldiers which they required in their continual wars. The Carthaginians began to develop the country with greater energy, after they had lost Sicily in their wars with Rome; for the loss of wealth and territory in that quarter naturally suggested an extension of their authority in the rich Iberian peninsula. The short-sighted merchants were chiefly attracted by the gold and silver mines, and the military element considered the Iberian auxiliaries an important arm of the service: but the ablest general Carthage then had, Hamilcar Barca, recognised that the flank of the hostile Roman empire might be seriously threatened from Spain, and that thence a blow might be delivered which should strike the republic on the banks of the Tiber to the heart (cf. p. 237). He was the man to carry out his plans.

When in the year 237 B.C. Hamilcar Barca landed at Gadir with his fleet, the idyllic peace and retirement of the peninsula came to an end. Spain became involved in the struggle between the rival civilisations of the Mediterranean and was destined to be the booty of the ultimate victor. Neither then nor later was there a possibility of any sort of union among the Spanish races. Temporary alliances were made in face of the danger, individual races fought a war of extermination, but national unity or coherence there was none. The people of the peninsula displayed wonderful resolution in the defence of the mountain ranges and of those well planned strongholds, the walled towns which were remarkably numerous even in ancient Spain. The inhabitants of the Andalusian plains were at that time the most cultivated, but also the most effeminate people of all Spain, and the real strength of the country lay in the highland races. Hamilcar Barca was the first to learn the difficulties of mountain warfare in Spain: after nine years' fighting, he himself fell in battle with the Iberian race of the Contestans, after having firmly established the Carthaginian power in Spain and in North Africa.

His successor Hasdrubal adopted other methods, founded upon a particular trait in the Spanish character, which can be observed at the present day. Nowhere is so little to be obtained by roughness and severity as in Spain, nowhere can so much be gained by geniality and kindness. Hasdrubal treated the inhabitants of the country as allies, not as subjects; he gave them his confidence and brought all the charms of a refined nature to bear upon these barbarians. By peaceful methods, he assured the influence of Carthage while retaining the necessary power for enforcing that influence, if force were necessary. Moreover, he succeeded in getting numerous silver mines into the undisputed possession of Carthage, and to protect the most important of these, he founded the strong fortress of New Carthage, the modern Carthagena, which was situated at the point nearest to the mother city Carthage and admitted of the most rapid communication between the two (cf. p. 357). The foundation of the town was the more opportune, as Rome was beginning to suspect the danger which threatened her, and was attempting to gain a footing on Spanish soil, by taking under her protection the Greek colonies on the East coast.

After the murder of Hasdrubal in 221 B.C., Hannibal became head of the Carthaginian possessions in Spain: he had always regarded war with Rome as inevitable. As a well trained army could only be formed by war, Hasdrubal's peaceful methods were given up; the greater part of the country was subjected through continual fighting, though the mountain ranges, as before, offered many insuperable obstacles. The fact that Hannibal succeeded in obtaining a share of a rich silver mine by marrying an Iberian princess shows that even then most of the mines were in native hands and were steadily worked side by side with the Carthaginian state mines at Illipa, Sisapon and New Carthage. When Hannibal thought the time had come, he took Saguntum which was under Roman protection, and thereby gave the signal for the outbreak of the most tremendous of all the wars Rome waged for the empire of the world (cf. p. 358). The extraordinary influence of Spain on the outcome of the contest was speedily recognised at Rome. While Hannibal marched into Italy and pushed onwards almost to the gates of Rome itself, a bitter struggle was going on in the Iberian peninsula, which finally terminated in favour of the Romans.

They quickly succeeded in getting possession of the eastern seaboard, and found valuable allies in the Celtiberians. After the defeat and death of the two Roman generals who carried on the war in Spain, the young P. Cornelius Scipio, in 212, took up the conduct of the campaign, stormed New Carthage in the year 210, and by his generous treatment of the native races won their universal adherence. The Carthaginian power collapsed.

4-8

B. The Romans 485-7

Soon after the Carthaginian domination had disappeared, the Romans found themselves opposed by a new and more dangerous enemy. Continual wars and the anxiety for their aid showed by the powerful strangers from Rome had awakened the native races from their peaceful condition and had inspired them with new ideas and a proud self-sufficiency. A revolt of the Ilergetes on the North of the Ebro upon a false rumour of the death of Scipio, showed that the inhabitants of Spain were not disposed to accept the Roman instead of the Carthaginian supremacy without a struggle. There seemed to be a sense of Iberian nationality coming into existence, though this did not lead to any general uprising. But the greed of Roman office-seekers was awakened by the wealth of Spain: and the corrupt aristocracy of Rome sent many birds of prey to hover round the rich spoil. The natives were, in consequence, driven to despair and continually revolted. The Lusitanians under Viriathus (148-40) in particular, made a brilliant struggle, and the Romans were freed from this formidable opponent only by a cowardly assassin: about the same time, the Celtiberian town Numantia surrendered after a heroic resistance, but not before multitudes of Roman soldiers had perished before its walls (cf. p. 370).

Nevertheless, slowly and often drowned in the roar of battle, the Romanising of the country must have proceeded steadily, at first in the districts which were made more accessible to higher influences by the possession of some degree of civilisation, that is to say the Southern and Eastern seaboard, and later the highlands in the interior. The only permanent conquest is that which is made by civilisation, and this must have brought peace to Spain. It is sufficiently remarkable, that the last war against Rome which the Spanish races waged, was a war which gave Roman civilisation a complete victory. This war was directed not so much against the Romans as such, as against the corrupt Roman aristocracy. Sertorius was a man of the old Roman type, a man of energy and lofty ideals; he fled to Spain from Sulla's proscriptions and determined, with the help of those Iberians who were as yet unspoiled, to restore the worth of ancient times, to put an end to party struggles and to save Rome from a corruption that had become intolerable. This attempt would have been impossible, if Roman civilisation had not already struck its roots deep into Spain. This struggle, which ended in the year 71 with the murder of Sertorius (cf. p. 378) really brought the country still further under Roman influences.

After the death of Sertorius, Spain may be considered a pacified Roman province, with the exception of the mountains on the Northern boundary. This district was first attacked, though not completely subdued, by Augustus. In later times, three legions were required to maintain authority in the North of

Spain, while hardly a single garrison was needed in the rest of the peninsula. Thus the Latin language became predominant throughout the country, with the exception of the small portion of mountain land upon the innermost corner of the Bay of Biscay, which was held by the Basques, where the Iberian tongue may still be heard. The new acquisition was divided into three large provinces, namely, Bætica, to the Southeast of the Guadiana, which thus embraced the modern Andalusia; farther Lusitania on the West coast between Duero and Guadiana with the interior country; and Tarraconia, which included all that remained, the main portion of the peninsula. Bætica was governed for the senate by a prætor with the rank of proconsul, who had his seat in Cordova; Lusitania and Tarraconia were imperial provinces after the fall of the republic (cf. above, p. 403).

The Roman administration was marked in Spain, as elsewhere, by a wise system of laws, which exercised an immediate and beneficial influence upon the economic condition of the country. Rome's object was, in particular, to destroy the ancient tribal entities and to substitute for racial divergencies a system of social gradations based on Roman supremacy. An important share of this task fell upon the Roman superior courts of law, which disintegrated the tribes: for the larger nations were never referred as a whole to one of these courts, but were obliged to seek justice in different places: thus the Celtiberians went partly to New Carthage, partly to Cesaræa Augusta. These courts were situated exclusively in Roman cities, and were courts only of the last resort. Smaller cases came before a tribunal of native judges; for it was one of the great principles of Roman administration not to destroy ruthlessly established institutions, but to spare the national peculiarities of the conquered.

In spite of this, the original national character gradually failed and disappeared, owing to the colonies of Roman citizens which sprang up in every part of the country. Their higher civilisation aroused the desire for equality in the native inhabitants, and the superior rights they enjoyed were a spur to native emulation. Colonies of this kind were numerous even at the beginning of the empire: there were thirty in Tarraconia, eight in Bætica, and the same number in Lusitania. By their side flourished also the ancient Spanish townships, enjoying their own rights. These entered into peaceful rivalry with the Roman colonists, quickly attained a position of equality, and by the time of Hadrian were, in many cases, on a common basis with the Roman colony. At the time when the elder Pliny wrote, the number of towns in the Pyrenæan peninsula amounted to 339. To these must be added some towns which were not considered as included in the Roman empire, but whose inhabitants had retained from the times of the conquest the right of being called allies of Rome. Malaka belonged to this class. The emperors themselves acknowledged the special privileges of these towns; and when they passed within their walls, were not, as in all other cases, preceded by lictors.

A wise policy had thus brought over the towns entirely to Rome, and had made of them so many centres of Roman civilisation. Among the country population, racial ties were growing looser, and there was nothing more to be feared from them. In the mountain ranges of Cantabria and Biscay wild clans may have continued to prefer their mast and goats' milk in freedom to all the luxuries of Roman refinement; but in other parts of the country the natives

applied themselves assiduously to the cultivation of the soil, and tried by the work of their hands to gain a share of the splendid gifts of civilisation. For all the inhabitants of this country the horizon was immeasurably widened. To the best of the Iberian races even the imperial crown soon appeared not wholly unattainable. (Cf. pp. 436 and 439.)

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPANISH NATION

A. The Roman Civilisation

Seeing, then, this young Spanish nation grasp eagerly at the civilisation that came to it in such rich fulness, we may expectantly ask, whether the Spanish people showed itself grateful for the impulse thus received by producing some great and independent national work; whether the virtues and the faults of the Iberian race determined only its own development, or were of decisive importance in the progress of Mediterranean civilisation. If the answer to this question does not turn out as favourable as might be expected, if other newly conquered peoples — the Celts of Britain and Gaul, for instance — did not in the beginning advance civilisation as it seems they might have advanced it, considering the services they have rendered in later years, there is an universal reason for the failure, and it is not to be deemed a fault of one people or another. The time at which the Spaniards began to grow acquainted with the Græco-Roman civilisation — that is to say, the two centuries which saw the fall of the republic and the rise of the empire — was a period of wonderful brilliancy and of the highest achievement. Such a height had been attained that the spirit of the ancient world, with all the means at its command, could go no further. Only stagnation or retrogression were now possible. Thus the nations who were coming into prominence did not find themselves invited to share the pleasant task of perfecting an incomplete structure; they were limited to the mechanical imitation of classic models, and were condemned from the outset to undergo a course of education as dreary as it was profitless.

This fact is especially true with reference to the art of poetry, in which respect the Iberian race was very highly gifted. Numerous representatives of a poetical school which had been formed in Corduba came to Rome, after the fall of Sertorius, in the train of Roman patrons, to show what deep roots Roman culture had already struck in Spanish soil. Such a literary critic as Cicero, however, thought their verses tasteless and bombastic, and probably with reason. For a long time Spanish poetry struggled under the burden of classical models; and, like all imitators, the poets descended into empty pathos or soared to bombastic exaggeration in the attempt to outdo their models. The only escape from this evil was through epigram and lively satire, and it is noteworthy that in this field a native of the peninsula, Martial, obtained the highest renown, as did afterwards Cervantes at the close of the Middle Ages. This remarkable man showed himself a true Spaniard, in that he returned to his native town, Bilbilis, towards the close of his life, after years of fame in Rome, and makes honourable mention of many of his countrymen who practised the art of poetry in his time.

As regards economic welfare, union with the Roman empire was at first an indisputable advantage to Spain: agriculture and cattle-breeding were im-

proved; excellent roads and bridges were made; aqueducts were built for the towns; harbours were constructed and improved. But the ruinous economic policy of the emperors, which had already reduced Italy to an uninhabited wilderness, began to make its fatal results gradually apparent in Spain. In the Iberian peninsula those enormous *latifundia* (estates) sprang up, the owners of which led a luxurious and useless life in the towns, while gangs of slaves drove the plough where free men had once gained their daily bread in zealous toil. The country folk were cheated out of their ancestral acres in all kinds of ways, and went to swell the parasitic proletariat of the towns. Civic pride died out, and the municipalities became copies in miniature of Rome; like Rome, corrupt, and inhabited by a population to whom work was as hateful as vice was familiar. The nation lost its vitality and its personality, its warlike spirit and its love of progress. Those who still retained some degree of vigour expressed their hostility towards the excesses of a hypertrophied civilisation, after the fashion of the half-subdued Highlanders on the north, by joining the banditti of the mountains, whose numbers increased to a dangerous extent, and who became a factor of very serious import in the daily life of the nation. Jewish immigration, which had been especially extensive under Domitian, at last assumed such proportions that at the time of the Goths we find the Jews forming an important and dangerous element of the population. The general advantage to the country was very small, as the productive powers of the nation were not appreciably increased by the mercantile Semites.

B. Christianity

When Christianity gained a footing on the peninsula, it might have fulfilled the task that lay before it, namely, to end the growing sterility of the spiritual life, and to lay the foundations of a development upon different lines; but it could not, and would not, breathe fresh life into the civilisation of the ancient world, to which it was essentially indifferent or hostile; and it was equally powerless to shatter its dull, stereotyped formalism without that external aid which was afterwards provided by the upheaval of the great migrations. Heathen philosophy and poetry were replaced by theological disputation, which was equally fruitless, and was carried on with great animosity. It entailed the useless expenditure of the nation's entire intellectual powers at a time when the barbarians were thundering at the very gates. One great problem, however, Christianity solved: it replaced the political ties of the Roman empire, which was then upon the point of dissolution, by a spiritual bond, which united the nations of Europe, and enabled them to take up the old civilisation, to preserve it, and to improve it for themselves.

Christianity made but a late entry into Spain. For a long time the growing Christian communities remained unnoticed and undisturbed. They developed an organisation of their own, and kept peace among themselves, while in other districts of the Roman empire theological differences of opinion had begun to excite enmity. The first persecutions took place in the year 287, and are especially remarkable for the fact that when the Spanish Christians had deposed certain apostate bishops, and elected others in their stead, they addressed themselves to the bishops of Carthage for confirmation of their action, and did not

obey the ordinances of the Roman pontiff, who had already begun to exercise his supremacy over the Church. In the year 297 the first Spanish martyrs suffered death; the bishop Fructuosus of Tarraconia, with two of his priests; and in 303 the number of martyrs rose considerably during the persecutions of Galerius Maximianus. Here, as everywhere, repressive measures only resulted in the wider extension of Christianity. When the new faith emerged victorious under Constantine, there were already nineteen bishopries in Spain, the incumbents of which met in solemn council at Illiberis, not far from the modern Granada, to regulate the affairs of the Spanish Church. Their resolutions indicate a stern determination to preserve the purity of the Church and the morals of its members. During the subsequent struggles between the Arians and Athanasians, the Spaniards, under their most famous bishop, Hosius, remained firm adherents of the Athanasian teaching.

However, even in Spain degeneration appeared only too rapidly. The Church certainly provided an intellectual and spiritual means of escape from the intolerable conditions of social life; but those conditions were in no way altered, and a great impulse was given to the unhealthy growth of monasticism. In the cloister alone could that equality which was an essential element in early Christianity be realised, and retirement from the social life was inculcated as a duty. The result was that the bishops were obliged to make stringent regulations against the excessive growth of monasticism.

That element of fanaticism in the Iberian races which in later times was to work such dreadful effects showed itself even thus early. In opposition to the orthodox churches of the country, which were founded upon dogma, communities of mystics had been formed in Spain, just as under a variety of titles Christians in faith divided themselves from Christians in name, seeking blessedness after their own fashion. The best characteristic of this kind of sectarianism is generally its harmlessness; and the Gnostic communities in Spain, at the head of which, at the beginning of the fifth century, was Priscillianus, were no exception to this rule. Certain orthodox bishops considered it of the highest importance to break up these harmless and right-living dissenting communities; they denounced them to the emperors and the bishop of Rome; and when Maximus, a Spaniard, was elected emperor, they persuaded him to order the execution of the heads of this party, and of Priscillianus in particular. They even urged the creation of a formal court of inquisition, a project that was only with difficulty frustrated.

These Gnostic societies arose not only because the stereotyped orthodoxy failed to satisfy their members, but also as a protest against the prevalent immorality and corruption, which resulted from the unhappy conditions of social life, and with which the Church was powerless to cope. The Gnostics themselves had no other remedy for this evil except that of renunciation and retirement; they could not invigorate decaying society. Thus when the northern barbarians passed the threshold of the Pyrenees, they found the country sunk in spiritless resignation. No one seemed to think it worth while to strike a blow in defence of the old institutions, now hollow and corrupt; the landed proprietors attempted to taste the pleasures of life in wild orgies before the pageant reached its close, and the mass of the people seemed entirely indifferent to their fate. Thus the Roman period of Spanish history came to an end in an inglorious torpor.

C. The Germanic Invasion

(*a*) *The Period of Migration and Conquest.*—Thanks to its position, the Pyrenæan peninsula was long spared the attacks of the German migratory tribes. As a matter of fact, the country was almost impregnable as long as the passes on the north were protected by a small force. When, in the year 407, the British legions chose Constantine as emperor in opposition to Honorius (cf. p. 468), some distinguished Spaniards raised an armed force from the slaves and labourers on their estate, and successfully held the passes of the Pyrenees until Spain recognised the usurper in the following year. This last effort of the Spaniards had important consequences for them. Constans, the son of Constantine, deprived them of the right of guarding the passes, and entrusted this duty to the Honorians, a body of untrustworthy troops, picked up from several nationalities. The leaders of the Vandals, the Suevi and the Alani, who were then roving about in southern Gaul, had no difficulty in coming to an understanding with those redoubtable defenders. In the year 409 the dreaded barbarians broke into the unhappy country, and the inhabitants submitted to fate almost without a struggle.

The result was an extraordinary decrease in the population. As there was little or no serious fighting, the number of the slain could not have been great; but the utter devastation of the country produced a withering famine, and the plague broke out with great violence among the starved population. When the conquerors themselves began to suffer, they were obliged, whether willingly or not, to restore some form of order which should, at least, permit the cultivation of the soil. They divided the peninsula among themselves by lot: the Suevi and part of the Vandals took the Northwest, the remaining Vandals took Bætica — that is, the South; the Alans took Lusitania and the southern portion of Tarraconia, while the rest of this province was left to the Roman viceroy, Gerontius, who had assisted the German invaders out of hatred for Constantine. As before, the races in the mountains on the north seem to have preserved their independence. Gerontius was killed soon after in the struggle with the Gauls, and the Alans took possession of the territory assigned to him.

Meanwhile, the Roman capital had been pressed to the uttermost extreme by the Western Goths, and had sought to save itself by inviting the Goths to undertake the reconquest of Gaul and Spain, in the hope that the barbarians would either destroy or keep one another in check. In the year 414 the first bands of Goths, under Athaulf, appeared in the modern Catalonia (Gotalonia). A year later, under Wallia, they had overrun the entire peninsula, and were only prevented by chance from carrying the war into Africa itself. The German races already settled in Spain were driven into the wild Northwest, and Roman governors were reinstated in the provinces, while the Goths themselves retained the possessions in Aquitania and Catalonia which had been assigned to them by the emperor. And it is a strange and significant fact that when the hated barbarians were driven into the Galician mountains, numbers of the natives joined their ranks, preferring to share danger and freedom with the wild sons of the North than to bow their necks again under the yoke of the Roman military bureaucracy. Here we have the clearest possible proof that the world-wide empire of Rome was on the point of collapse.

The Germans in Galicia, who, for want of better occupation, had been carrying on incessant war among themselves, now made a second irruption into the country. The Roman governor, Castinus, was abandoned by his German auxiliaries at the moment of greatest need, and overthrown in Bætica by the Vandals (422): the richest province of Spain, which then, apparently, gained its name, Andalusia (Vandalitia), fell into the hands of the conquerors. Shortly afterwards a Vandal fleet made a descent upon the Balearic Islands, whither the riches of the Spaniards had been conveyed, and carried off these carefully guarded treasures. Some remnants of the love of freedom were manifested in the Spanish towns: Carthagena and Seville attempted to shake off the barbarian yoke, but paid very dearly for the effort. Carthagena was destroyed entirely, and Seville was sacked. The Vandals then crossed into Africa, and Andalusia again fell into Roman hands. But after a few years the Suevi replaced the departed Vandals, and left nothing to the Roman governors, save the province of Tarraconia. At last the western Goths took the field, and, under their king, Theodoric II., finally reduced the whole of Spain. The Suevi were restricted to a portion of Galicia, were obliged to submit to the Goths, and continued for some time, like the native mountain tribes in the North, half independent and ever ready to create disturbance among the valleys of their mountain district. The king of the western Goths, Eurich (466-484), was recognised by the court at Rome as the lawful possessor of Spain and southern Gaul.

(*b*) *The Rule of the Western Goths.*—The period of West Gothic supremacy falls naturally into two unequal portions, the dividing point being marked by the conversion of Reccared from Arianism to the orthodox belief. It was an unfortunate circumstance that most of the German migratory races had adopted the Arian form of Christianity, and clung firmly to that belief while the subjugated peoples of the Roman empire, in particular, the Spaniards, were fanatic adherents of the orthodox teaching. We may assert that Arianism was the ruin of the Vandals in Africa (cf. pp. 244, 245). During the centuries of Roman rule national differences had disappeared, and, consequently, the fair-haired barbarians began to adopt the civilisation which they had conquered, and found their origin no bar to their progress. But these national divergencies had been replaced by the sharper line of demarcation of religious belief; the more insignificant the points of difference were, the more passionately did men cling to their own creeds. The Goths were too keen not to recognise that the maintenance of their power depended, in the long run, upon the closeness of their union with the native inhabitants. The eastern Goth, Theudes, the guardian of Amalarich, broke through the prevailing customs about 560, married a noble Spanish lady, and formed a body-guard of Spanish troops. There are many instances of similar attempts to promote mutual friendship between the races. The far-seeing among the Goths must have been all the more pained by the religious opposition between the conquerors and the natives, because the spirit of hostility, which with time grew less marked, was continually reanimated by the narrow bigotry of the Gothic princes. Thus King Agila (549-554) instituted and organised the persecution of the orthodox Christians. A considerable amount of trouble abroad was also brought about by the Arianism of the Goths. There was much friction with the Franks, for Frankish princesses

who had married Goths found themselves beset by proselytising Arians. The emperor Justinian, the conqueror of the heretical Vandals, made serious preparations, in conjunction with the orthodox in Spain, for reconquering the lost province. He actually succeeded in getting possession of some towns on the southeast coast in the year 552. From that time war with the Byzantines was one of the permanent duties of the Gothic rulers; but even the warlike Leovigild, who everywhere firmly established the Gothic power, could not entirely drive the Byzantines from the country.

Under the government of Leovigild (569-586), however, who was a vigorous supporter of Arianism, a revolution had already begun. The eldest son of the king, Hermenegild, who was afterwards canonised, was converted to the Athanasian belief, chiefly through the efforts of his Frankish wife, Ingund: the mere fact of this conversion was enough to excite the inhabitants of some towns of Andalusia, where the prince had made some stay, to a revolt against the king, with the object of putting Hermenegild in his place. The revolt was suppressed, and a second, which was supported by the Byzantines and Suevi, met with no success: Hermenegild was taken prisoner and put to death by the king's orders.

However, this unsuccessful rising was only the prelude to a general change in Gothic belief, a change which political expediency demanded. Reccared, the successor of Leovigild (586-600), adopted the Athanasian belief in the tenth month of his reign, and was supported by his people with but little dissent. The Arian writings were collected and burned on a certain day by the king's orders. The strained relations which had existed between conquerors and conquered were removed: the clergy, who had clung most closely to the Roman civilisation, and had most zealously stimulated opposition to the barbarians, saw that the time of its triumph had come, and prepared to enjoy the splendour of the Church, triumphant after the days of sacrifice and persecution. In a short time the proud Gothic princes had learned to scan anxiously the faces of the prelates of their realm, when important decisions were hanging in the balance, and exchanged profound communications with learned bishops upon doubtful points of Christian dogma.

Social conditions in Spain had in no way deteriorated under Gothic rule. The victors, indeed, claimed two-thirds of the country for themselves; but the serfs who had to till the land for them found their masters just and kind at heart, if rough in manners, and their rule greatly preferable to the scourge of the corrupt Roman landowners. Moreover, a third of the arable land was left to the Spaniards, who were thus far in free and undisputed possession, and were by degrees admitted to share the privileges and responsibilities of the Goths. After the schism in the Church had been healed, property began steadily to pass into the hands of the clergy, to the ultimate benefit of the vastly preponderating native population. In some exceptional cases, taxation seems to have been excessively high; but, as a general rule, the kings were satisfied with the gifts of their free subjects and with the income accruing from the royal domains.

It is reasonable to suppose that this improvement in social conditions brought about an improvement in the morals of the rising Spanish generations. The example of the Gothic peoples also exercised a great influence. The testimony even of their opponents ascribes to them from the outset all the virtues of the

Germanic national character — faithfulness, uprightness, and social purity: the strong contrast which they formed to the Roman corruption may be deduced from the fact that in the mouth of the Goths the word "Roman," by which they denoted all native Spaniards, was a synonym for liar and cheat. The simple morality of the Goths was also manifested in their legal code, the *lex visigotorum*, issued to Goths and Spaniards under Chindasvinth (641-649) and Reccesvinth (649-672): this was founded upon the Roman civil law, but was free from hair-splitting and quibbles.

Only a small fraction of the Spanish population resisted the Gothic rule, those highlanders, namely, in the North who had not been properly subjugated even under the Romans, and who continued to make occasional incursions from the Asturian and Biscayan mountains. The Goths never subdued them completely, though Christianity gradually took root among them. In the struggle between Christianity and Islam they still had an important part to play in history (cf. below, p. 512 ff).

D. The Jews in Spain

Though the native population gradually adjusted itself to existing conditions, there was another people which refused to be assimilated, and remained as a foreign and deleterious body in the organism of Gothic Spain. As we have already observed, the Jews who were expelled from Italy under Domitian came, for the most part, to Spain, and there, as elsewhere, speedily enriched themselves through financial affairs. The Goths found them settled in every town, and ready, even under the new government, to continue a business that contributed but little to the social prosperity. It seems that the Arian Goths, who were at first looked upon with suspicion by the Christian Spaniards, made friendly advances to the Jews, who were in a position similar to their own. Many Gothic princes were not ashamed, when they were pressed for money, to turn to Jewish usurers: the Arian kings also raised no obstacles to the suspicious operations of the chosen people, and contented themselves with the imposition of a tax on Jews, which formed a considerable part of the royal revenue.

As usual in such cases, the Jews, from a financial, became a political, power. As long as Jews were only allowed to accumulate hoards of coin, there was a natural limit to the activities even of the most grinding usurer; but when they were allowed to possess real property, and to make slaves of free men, then the unprofitable and ruinous methods of Jewish capitalism gained unbounded scope. Especially disgraceful was the trade in slaves and castrated children which Jewish speculators carried on with the Arab settlements. Under King Egiza (687-701) the situation had become unbearable, and led to a catastrophe. The king attempted to bring over the Jewish capitalists to the Christian Church by the promise of nobility and immunity from taxation, while the refractory were expelled from the country. But it was discovered that the new converts were plotting a revolt with those who had emigrated to Mauretania, a movement which the numbers and wealth of the Jews made extremely dangerous: recourse was then had to measures of the greatest severity. There is no possible doubt that the Jews, as a result of these events, had an important share in the conquest of Spain by the Arabs.

5. THE AGE OF ISLAM.

A. The Beginnings of Islam in Spain

It is, perhaps, idle to inquire how a country and a nation would have developed if an irruption from without had not given a different direction to all its striving after progress; but we may, at least, conclude that, had it escaped the Saracen invasion, Spain, like the rest of western Europe, would have fallen under the feudal system. Signs already betokened an unavoidable breach between the royal house and the nobility. The nobles attempted to limit the ancient right of the people freely to elect their king, so as to increase the influence of the upper classes. The clergy strengthened their temporal power, and the stronger among the kings endeavoured to make their position hereditary. Under the corrupting influence of the Roman element in the population even the high morality of the Gothic people gradually degenerated. Before our gaze is unfolded a long series of wars unscrupulously waged, treaties disgracefully concluded. In France absolute monarchy had finally won the day, while in Germany and Italy total disruption and confusion were the result. Spain, too, it seems, would here have had a worthy task to accomplish in the re-creation of European civilisation. But fate willed that it should exert an influence, extraordinary, though transitory, of quite another nature on the history of human civilisation. The fact that the greater part of Spain was conquered by the followers of Islam, and that the old population was not thereby destroyed, produced a brilliant complex of Roman and Oriental civilisation at the period when feudal chivalry was at the height of its development in the rest of Europe.

The Gothic kingdom was torn by internal dissensions when the first Arab bands cast longing glances across the strait towards smiling Andalusia, which promised a prize far surpassing any that the wild mountains of Mauretania had to offer. The Arabic general, Musa ben Noseir, had begun the subjection of the district of Mauretania in the year 697, and had, in the main, completed his task after several years of warfare. But his greatest success consisted in the fact that he had inspired a portion of the warlike Berber tribe with enthusiasm for Islam, and had enlisted them under his standard. He had thus created a reserve force, which was to be of the greatest importance in every further undertaking, for upon it Spanish Islam depended for a century, the position of Islam in Spain being wholly untenable without Mauretania. The rulers of the Gothic kingdom, who possessed some settlements on the African side of the strait, do not seem to have recognised the danger which threatened them, although Musa had pushed forward a strong force under his lieutenant, Tarik, as far as Tangier, and had wrested this town from their grasp. It is clear that certain Gothic nobles first aroused in Musa the idea of an invasion of Spain. It would, however, have been quite possible for the Goths, if they had forgotten their internal differences, to have prevented the landing of the Arabs. The town of Ceuta, perhaps the last remnant of the Byzantine possessions in Africa, repelled all Musa's attacks, and an Arab fleet was utterly defeated by the Gothic navy under Theodomir (709).

Unfortunately, the approach of danger found the Gothic empire in confusion. The king, Witiza, who had reigned since the year 701 was by no means equal to his responsibilities, and in his efforts to restrain the threatening advance of

feudalism, had rushed into the extremes of cruelty to which weak rulers are prone. Among other crimes, he caused the duke Theodefred of Cordova to be blinded, and thereby created an implacable enemy in his son Roderich, who apparently took refuge with the mountaineers in the North. Roderich succeeded in collecting a body of Spanish and Gothic adherents and in overthrowing Witiza (710). But a breach in the Gothic nation was thus brought about which could never be repaired. The downfall of Witiza was not merely the removal of a man unworthy of rule; a number of important families who had been his supporters lost their power at the same time. Many ambitious nobles considered the new occupant of the throne a usurper, and thought they had an equal right to the crown. In their blind rage they grasped at the first hand which offered help. Emissaries of the defeated faction, among them Witiza's brother, Oppas, the archbishop of Seville, betook themselves to Musa's camp, and invited him to fight against Roderich. The Arab chroniclers narrate romantic occurrences, such as are born of the popular imagination, which is ever ready to surround the fall of a mighty kingdom with the glamour of legend and fable: the fact is, that the feudal system, with its insatiable lust for power and dominion, a spirit that was destined to flourish so long in the rest of Europe, was in this country the ultimate cause of these events.

Musa at once sent a small force under Tarik across the strait by way of trial. Tarik found the representations of the Gothic conspirators true, the country rich, and but weakly defended. After his return Musa placed under his command an army of twelve thousand men, which was afterwards increased to seventeen thousand. He took no part in the campaign himself, and apparently desired Tarik to do nothing more than gain a firm footing in Andalusia, whereupon he proposed to follow with the main army and to conclude the struggle. In pursuance of this plan, most of the Arabs remained in Africa, and the Berbers formed the majority of Tarik's troops. When he landed, in the year 711, at that rock fortress which since then has borne the name of Tarik's rock (Gibraltar), he met with only slight resistance, as King Roderich had made practically no preparations for defence. With the help of his Gothic allies, Tarik was able to lay waste southern Andalusia at his leisure. At length, the Gothic levies and their Spanish subjects were assembled. In numbers Roderich's army was considerably superior to that of Tarik; and when the armies met in a bloody battle at Xeres de la Frontera, the mailed cavalry of the Goths might have won the victory, had not the treachery of Witiza's adherents thrown their ranks into confusion. Thus the fate of the kingdom was decided in one great battle (July 19-26, 711). The Goths fled in utter rout: their king disappeared in the confusion, and was never seen again. The victorious Arabs had no intention of handing over the crown to Witiza's faction, but took possession of Spain in the kalif's name. Musa, whose jealousy was excited by Tarik's brilliant victory, came over immediately, and completed the subjugation of the country.

The history of Islam in Spain appears to be one wild confusion when considered in detail: but when regarded from a sufficiently comprehensive point of view, it resolves itself without difficulty into certain periods and stages, which follow naturally upon one another. After the conquest of the country and the failure of the invaders' attempts to push northward into France, Spain became a member of the Saracen empire, but its most remote member, and one destined

by its position and geographical characteristics to be independent. In fact, the country speedily severed its connection with the central power, and became an independent and miniature kalifate, its organisation being based on the lines of the kalif's empire. The second period coincides with the greatest prosperity of this Spanish kalifate. The feudal tendencies peculiar to kingdoms founded on conquest soon manifested themselves, the component parts of the Spanish kingdom kept struggling for greater independence, and, at length, the kalifate became but the shadow of its earlier greatness, while on the north Christian provinces increased in strength, and threatened the small and helpless provinces of Islam with total destruction. Then we see how closely Islam bound southern Spain to Africa. Twice was the Mohammedan power saved from destruction by the rulers of Morocco, who, seemingly at least, restored the unity of the Saracen possessions. When this help was at last withdrawn, a Moorish kingdom held out for centuries in the mountains of Granada, and succumbed to the united attacks of the Christian rulers. The last and saddest period begins with the fall of Granada; it comprises the vain attempts to convert the Moors to Christianity and the despairing revolt of the Moriscos, and it ends with the complete expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

Parallel with the progress thus outwardly manifested there runs a course of development below the surface. From the original mixture of populations there is formed the Moorish people, which finally appears as an ethnological unity, although, in the course of history, it is continually receiving accessions of fresh blood. As we rarely have an opportunity in historical times for observing so closely the formation of a new people, the rise of the Moors demands our closest attention. Especially do we see how a common spiritual belief — in this case Islam — can serve as a temporary bond of union until separate groups have coalesced, and differences of language and physique have been modified or have disappeared. The work of unification was finally accomplished by the Arab language.

The native Spaniards who remained in the country formed the main stock of the population; they themselves were a product of the blending of Iberians, Celts, and Romans. Many Goths also remained, and if converted to Islam, continued to enjoy a portion of their property and influence; for example, the feudal lords of Murcia sprang from an ancient Gothic family; and upon the fall of the kalifate, an independent Moorish state arose in Aragon, with Saragossa as its capital, the rulers of which could also boast of Gothic descent. Elsewhere the Arabs simply took the place of the Gothic lords, and were careful not to disturb the tributary native population. Similarly, in the towns, the Spanish inhabitants were, for the most part, allowed to remain.

The Arabs formed the new Spanish nobility: they were the real exponents of the beliefs of Islam and of the policy of conquest connected therewith; but they were not, in any sense, a united body, fighting on behalf of one faith. No matter how far they pushed their brilliant campaigns, to their new homes they brought their racial feuds and family quarrels, and they drew swords upon their own brethren almost more cheerfully than upon the enemies of their faith, being ever ready to avenge old blood-feuds or recent insults. Especially noticeable is the hostility which appears under many names between the pure-blooded Bedouins of Upper Arabia, who generally appear as the Kaisite, or Mahadit, party, and the

party of the Jemenites, or Kelbites, which comprehended the peasants and town population. Spain saw many a murderous battle of this kind, such as the famous struggle at Secunda (741), when the Kelbites were defeated. It was chiefly owing to these battles that the Arab element, which had at first preponderated, gradually began to lose ground, not altogether to the advantage of civilisation in Moorish Spain.

The Arabs had no means of replacing the men they lost; but exactly the opposite was the case with the other race, whose rude power had really brought about the conquest of Spain, and who settled side by side with the Arabs in the newly won territory; we mean the Berbers. Repeatedly, Spanish Islam became indebted to this people for its salvation, and such assistance invariably coincided with the immigration of a large body of Berbers into Spain. The higher civilisation derived no advantage from them. Intellectual development suffered, in fact, irremediably through the growing influence of the bigoted, fanatical Berbers.

The close connection with Africa, whence came this strong infusion of Berber blood, with its unfavourable results, also occasioned the immigration of a considerable number of negroes, who entered the country as the slaves or body-guards of the princes, and were gradually absorbed into the new population as it was being formed. They certainly enter into the composition of that motley and brilliant picture of the Moorish period in Spain which imagination so easily depicts; but their influence upon the morals of the nation cannot be described as favourable. The main body of the Moorish population lived in the south of Spain, a region where the overflowing abundance of nature's gifts tends to enervate even the most vigorous race. In Carthaginian and Roman times the inhabitants of Andalusia were the most unwarlike and the most easily conquered of all the peoples in the peninsula; during the period of Islam they retained this unenviable reputation. The rulers of the country could not rely upon the inhabitants, and were, therefore, obliged to organise their armies round a strong nucleus of foreign troops; similarly, at an earlier period the Turdetani had enlisted Celtiberian warriors in their service. These soldiers, who were of most diverse origin, contributed an additional element to the mixture of nationalities. During the period of the kalifate we find numerous "Slavs" in the service of the monarchs. Although all troops enlisted from the north of Europe were known generally by this name, yet we are apparently here concerned with those Slavonic prisoners of war who were taken in large numbers during the conquest and colonisation of eastern Germany, and were transferred south by the Jews in course of trade. The Jewish traffic in slaves is mentioned by Germanic authorities of the period. Many of these northern soldiers made their permanent homes in Spain under the Moors, and intermingled with the rest of the population.

Finally, the Jews, whose lucrative activity has been mentioned above (cf. p. 493), intermarried but little or not at all, with the Moors of Islam; but their numbers and character made them important in another way. They had come in a body into Spain from Morocco in the wake of the Arabs. Those native Jews who had survived the earlier persecutions welcomed the conquerors with open arms. They had every reason for doing so: the era of the Moors in Spain was destined to be for the Jew a period of prosperity, both in the good and bad sense of the word.

In the first period of Islam rule the different streams of population flowed in parallel or transverse directions almost without intermingling. The conquest of the country was quickly accomplished after Musa reinforced Tarik's Berber force with the main strength of the Arab army. Generally speaking, the victors behaved with great moderation, thanks to the commands of the kalif and also to the presence of Gothic deserters in their ranks. Musa and Tarik were guilty of acts of aggression, and were speedily recalled. Subsequently, the governors, who set up their residence in Cordova, were changed constantly. Most of them made attempts to subdue the Gothic possessions beyond the Pyrenees, whose inhabitants, naturally, turned to the Franks for help. The Arabic generals succeeded by degrees in obtaining a footing in Septimania. But the main object of the kalif's rulers in Spain was to establish his dominion upon a firm basis, and to divide the conquered territory among the victorious troops.

The Arabs, who had had the least share in the fighting, succeeded in gaining for themselves the lion's share of the booty. They divided the rich province of Andalusia among themselves, and established themselves as the dominant landed class. Very few of them settled in the towns, where Christian and Mohammedan Spaniards lived side by side with the Jews in peace. The Berbers, who had borne the main brunt of the war, received the barren portions of the country, the high tablelands of the interior, the northern frontier (whence they were speedily obliged to beat a partial retreat), and the bare mountains in the south. The Arabs were, for the moment, fairly well satisfied: Musa's army had been largely composed of Jemenites and the old "Defenders," the ancient companions in arms of Mohammed, who had fallen into disrepute at the kalif's court (cf. Vol. III.), and now found a refuge in Spain. But this was altered when a fresh wave of Arab immigrants swept into the Pyrenæan peninsula.

A terrible revolt of the Berber population in Africa (cf. Vol. III.), in the year 741 obliged the kalif Hischam to despatch Arabian troops, under the general Kolthum, against the rebels; he also sent Kaisite Arabs from Syria, whose racial hatred of Jemenites and Defenders had often been displayed with portentous result, and after the bloody Battle of the Meadow had risen to fiercer heat. The African Arabs, who were also Jemenites, for the most part, received the army of relief with deep mistrust; many towns closed their gates against the force, and the contingents of indigenous Arabs joined the army much against their will. Kolthum then attacked the Berber army, and was defeated and slain.

His nephew, Baldsch, flung himself into Ceuta with seven thousand Syrian cavalry in the hope of escaping to Spain. He had failed to take into account the racial hatred of the Spanish Arabs. Abdalmelik, who was then governor of Spain, was a fanatical "Defender," and coolly allowed the Arabs to be reduced to the extremities of starvation by the Berbers who besieged them. An unexpected occurrence gave the hard-pressed men breathing space. The news of the revolt of the African Berbers had gone abroad in Spain, and the Berbers of that country, who were disregarded or despised by the Arabs, were stirred to a state of restlessness, which was further encouraged by sectarian fanatics. At length the outbreak came. The entire north of Spain took up arms, with the exception of the district of Saragossa, where the Arabs were in the majority; Toledo was besieged and strong armies marched southward, openly expressing their intention of driving the Arabs out of Andalusia and joining forces with the

African rebels. At this terrible crisis Abdalmelik resolved to call in the help of Baldsch and his Syrians. A promise was extorted from that half-starved army that they would leave Spain when they had conquered the enemy: they were brought across, fed, and clothed, and after several bloody battles the Berbers were completely crushed. Then, however, the inevitable dissensions among the Arabs broke out. A quarrel took place on the subject of the return to Africa. Baldsch seized Abdalmelik, and had him put to death in a shameful manner. Thereupon the Spanish Arabs took up arms, and made common cause with the Berbers. Baldsch gained a victory over them, but died of his wounds (742). The war continued until the arrival of a new governor put an end to hostilities. The new immigrants obtained lands in Murcia, Granada, Malaga, Seville, and Jaen.

Henceforward, the old animosity between Syrians and Jemenites constantly broke out. Bloody battles were fought, and for a long period these internal dissensions were the predominant feature in the internal history of Mohammedan Spain. By degrees, however, the spirit of party died away under the influence of a new environment, and nothing remained to fight for. The work of reconciliation was completed by the closer fusion of the races. Thus the first period of the history of the Arabs in Spain is merely a continuation of the Bedouin mode of life, with its racial feuds and lack of political unity. This condition of things prevailed at a time when the kalifate in the East was approaching the form of an absolute monarchy, a more vigorous form of rule which was also to be brought into Spain. External events would, in the course of time, have brought about this result. As it happened, however, a series of chance occurrences established the foundation of an independent Spanish kalifate by the Ommiads, acting under pressure of the Abbassides.

B. The Period of the Kalifate

(*a*) *Foreign Affairs.*—In the middle of the eighth century Spain was but very loosely connected with the Saracen empire. Rival races set up rulers by force of arms, so that it happened on occasion that Kelbitic tribes helped a Kaisite, or *vice versâ;* the Berbers either formed alliances with the Arab races, or acted for themselves, under the guidance of some fanatical "saint," without attaining any lasting result. In 750 the most powerful man in Spain was the Kaisite Somail: after the Kelbites had been defeated in the battle of Secunda, he found a docile instrument in the governor Yusuf (Jusof), though his cruel behaviour towards the vanquished enemy made him an object of inextinguishable hatred to all the Kelbitic tribes.

Meanwhile, the reigning house of the Ommiads in Bagdad had been overthrown and almost exterminated by the Abbassides: only a few members of the family made their escape; among others, the youthful and ambitious Abd ur Rahman. After various adventures, he took refuge in Africa; but there, as everywhere, his attempts to gain power made him an object of suspicion. He was obliged to flee from place to place, and at length his thoughts turned to Spain. The unsettled condition of the country, which seemed to be on the point of falling apart into separate feudal states, no doubt attracted him. A large number of Arab families in the peninsula had been under the special protection

of the Ommiad house, and from them he might expect unlimited support. But it was essential for any pretender who would step forward to oppose the hated Somail and Yusuf, to win the favour of the Kelbitic race; and the more so if he belonged, as Abd ur Rahman did, to a Kaisite family. Abd ur Rahman succeeded in entering into relations with the friends of the Ommiad house, and in September of the year 755 he landed on the Spanish coast. Yusuf's first attempts at resistance failed; negotiations were commenced, but came to nothing. Most of the Kaisite tribes gathered at Yusuf's camp, while the Kelbites flocked to Abd ur Rahman. Auxiliary Berber troops joined both sides. In the following year Abd ur Rahman won a brilliant victory over his adversaries and seized Cordova; Yusuf and Somail then made a voluntary surrender, and recognised the Ommiad prince as the Emir of Spain.

Abd ur Rahman devoted all the untiring energy of his ambitious nature to the desperate task of forming Spain into an independent and united nation. Unscrupulous as to the means he employed, crafty and determined, and peculiarly favoured by fortune, he accomplished his task; but he was only enabled to hold his ground by the fact that the Arab tribes, though ever ready to revolt, could never unite for one common purpose. As he had no definite following in the country, he was obliged to make use of the means princes have invariably employed in their struggle against the feudal power: he was obliged to create a standing army, whose unconditional obedience was secured by the punctual payment of their wages. Slavs and African Berbers constituted the main body of this force, which was eventually increased to forty thousand men. With their help, Abd ur Rahman was enabled to check an attempt of the Abbassid kalif to reconquer Spain. He also crushed numerous Arab and Berber revolts. His soldiers had to protect him even against his own relations, whom he had invited to his court in an outburst of kindliness unusual in him, and who were ungrateful enough to conspire against him. The utter failure of Charlemagne's attempt to conquer the north of Spain with the help of Arab rebels was brought about rather by a series of mischances than by the kalif's military superiority.

The age of the kalifate is the most brilliant period of Arab rule in Spain, both as regards the economic and intellectual progress of the country. To understand the development of Spanish-Arabian civilisation, as well as its gradual decline, it is essential to gain a clear conception of that part of Spain which was not under the rule of Islam, which now began to rise from unimportant beginnings, and eventually came forward as the most dangerous enemy of the kalifate. At first it seemed not only that Spain was submerged in the flood of Islam conquest, but also that southern France would fall before the Arab onset. It was only Charles Martel's brilliant victory at Poitiers in the year 732 that drove the army of Islam back across the Pyrenees. But even in Spain the inhabitants of the mountains in the north were never really subjugated. Their submission to the Romans and the Goths had been only temporary, and they had, to some extent, retained their original Iberian language. The Arabs deemed those barren heights comparatively unimportant; the inhabitants were constantly making incursions into the cultivated territory in their neighbourhood, but never ventured upon any important undertaking, so the Arabs were content to keep them under the surveillance of certain troops on the frontier.

The situation became more critical when that portion of the Gothic people

which was capable of offering resistance began to gather in the northern mountains, and to project the recovery of their land by force of arms. Under the leadership of Pelayo (Pelagius) the people of the Asturian mountains shook off the yoke of their enemies not long after the conquest (cf. below, p. 510). Then the Berbers, who had largely settled in the north of Spain, were weakened by the collapse of their rising against the Arabs; moreover, a terrible famine obliged them to migrate southward, and the Christian inhabitants of Galicia seized the opportunity to revolt. Alfonso, the duke of Cantabria, which had also declared its freedom, was now recognised as overlord by all the inhabitants of the north coast of Spain. He made at once a determined attack, wrested Leon and Old Castile from the Berbers, and pushed on to Coimbra, on the west coast, and to Toledo, in the interior of the country, although he was unable to secure these conquests. Thus there rose within a short time a dangerously powerful Christian state, which was really nothing more than a continuation of the West Gothic kingdom. The Spanish kalifate had now to reckon with these opponents.

As the kalifs had established an absolute monarchy, the foreign history of Spanish Islam is, for some centuries, bound up with the personality of these monarchs, or of those who held the reins of power in their stead. Abd ur Rahman I. was succeeded by his son, Hischam I., who was immediately obliged to take measures against two of his brothers, who had revolted and attempted to found independent states in the north of the kingdom. After several bloody conflicts, he succeeded in subduing both of them. Hischam also fought successfully against the Christians of the North, but his character inclined him rather to peace and to the furthering of his subjects' welfare. After his death in the year 796, his son Chakam ascended the throne. He was at once attacked by the two brothers of Hischam, who had already thrown the kingdom into confusion. At the same time the northern frontier was disturbed by incursions of the Frankish troops. Chakam succeeded in getting the better of his relatives, but against the Franks he was not so successful. Barcelona fell into the hands of the Christians, and the nucleus of the kingdom of Catalon was thus formed. Chakam's army was almost perpetually under arms against the kings of Leon. The fleet, which had been of little importance before the period of the kalifate, undertook punitive expeditions against the Balearic Islands and Sardinia. A revolt of the renegades (cf. below, p. 503) in Cordova was crushed with terrible severity; some of the inhabitants were forced to emigrate, and, after many adventures, finally found a home, either in Crete or in Fez.

The reign of Chakam's son, Abd ur Rahman II., was even more brilliant. The ideal of this monarch was the luxurious court life of the kalifs at Bagdad. Marvels of architectural skill were created during his life. Poetry and music were ever honoured and encouraged at the court of this weak, but artistic, prince, while the arts of war were neglected. In stern contrast to Abd ur Rahman was his successor, Mohammed, a cold, fanatical devotee, whose stern rule drove the Christians of Toledo and the southeastern mountain ranges to revolt. Of special importance was the terrible rebellion of the Christians of Granada, which sapped the strength of the kingdom; neither Mohammed nor his successor, Mondhir (886-888), was able to subdue this uprising. As the central authority began to decline, feudalism among the Arab, Berber, and Spanish nobles again appeared. The next kalif, Abdallah (888-912), had to cope with both of these dangers;

and the result of his efforts was most unsatisfactory. Every important noble lived as an independent prince behind his castle walls. The Christians and the renegades of the Granada Mountains pressed forward to the very gates of Cordova, under their leader, Omar ibn Chassun; and the kalif's feeble policy of reconciliation was wholly fruitless. In the extremity of despair, Abdallah ventured to attack the Christian army which was threatening his capital, and won a victory as brilliant as it was unexpected (890). He thereby gained momentary relief; but in the year 902 the attempts of the aristocracy to win their independence, and the restlessness of his Spanish subjects, brought him into pressing difficulty. It was only when Abdallah succeeded in winning over his most dangerous opponents, the Arabs of the district of Seville, that the power of the kalifate began to revive.

Abdallah's grandson and successor, Abd ur Rahman III., took vigorous measures to strengthen the tottering monarchy. The dreaded rebel, Omar ibn Chassun, had died in the year 917, and the Christian revolt gradually subsided. War was also successfully waged against the northern Christian states. By adroitly turning to his own advantage the racial wars in Africa, the kalif got possession of several of the coast towns, and a portion of Morocco became a Spanish protectorate. After a warlike reign of twenty-seven years, Abd ur Rahman III. could say that the kalifate had been restored to its former splendour. The boundaries had been extended and secured; the feudal nobles had been humbled, and deposed from all influential positions. But, in his fear of the Arab nobles and their encroachments, Abd ur Rahman had adopted a dangerous policy. He drew his officials from among freemen and foreigners, and especially the "Slavs" who came to Spain as adventurers or prisoners of war, and who included in their number representatives of every Christian state in Europe. A moderate estimate informs us that Abd ur Rahman had six thousand "Slavs" about his person. The preference given to these classes, who were utterly despised by the pure Arabs, aroused the greatest discontent among the nobles, and on certain occasions cost the kalif dear, for several battles were lost, owing to the misbehaviour of the native contingents. However, Abd ur Rahman was incontestably the greatest ruler of the Ommiad dynasty. He was marvellously successful in overcoming all opposition, in repairing disasters, and, notwithstanding his continual wars, in furthering the progress of the country in every direction. An army such as Arabian Spain had never before seen was under his command, and the most powerful princes, East and West, courted his friendship.

(*b*) *The Ommiad Civilisation.*—It is now time to pause for a moment and to take a clear view of the splendid civilisation of the Ommiad period. What was the economic basis upon which this civilisation rested? What were the sources from which it sprang? What was its importance for mankind at large?

In Spain, as elsewhere, the victory of the Arab power implied an advance in economic progress, which rested, perhaps, not so much upon premeditated principles as upon the coincidence of different and largely fortuitous circumstances. The Arabs were essentially inclined to settle down as landed proprietors, and in many cases they left the feudal organisation of the West Gothic kingdom intact at the outset of their rule, intending, themselves, to step into the shoes

of the Gothic proprietors. Those Goths who embraced the beliefs of Islam in due time, remained generally in possession of their property; but renegades of this kind were not numerous. The Arabs were incapable of carrying out the principles of feudalism on a large scale. Moreover, a part of the native serfs went over to Islam, and there was created in this manner a class of free peasantry, for the converts divided among themselves the large estates. Even the Christians who remained true to their religion were not without some share in the general benefit. Through the Arabian conquest Spain at once became subjected to the civilisation of Islam, and received that most welcome gift that the East had to bestow, the sciences of agriculture and irrigation, which had changed the barren districts of North Africa and Syria into a smiling countryside, and which was to gain its greatest triumphs in the plains of Andalusia. Plants of the eastern world, hitherto unknown in Spain, found their way to the Pyrenæan peninsula. In the towns, where, for a long time, the Christians were in the majority, a flourishing trade was rapidly built up on the remains of the Roman civilisation. The products of Andalusia not only sold in Spain, but also were exported to the markets of Africa, Irak, and Persia. Spain felt that it had again become part of an empire, and the mighty pulse of the great organism drove fresh blood through the choked-up arteries of the Iberian land.

In other European countries feudalism steadily gained ground; in Spain it continued to decline, and left room for the increase of general prosperity. The free peasants were able to increase their acquisitions at the expense of the Arab nobility, who were continually at war over private feuds. In the towns the wealth and independence of the citizens increased. Thus in Seville the original inhabitants, who were partly Christians and partly recently converted Mohammedans, had accommodated themselves to circumstances, and had displayed, in the ninth century, so haughty a spirit of independence that dreadful punishment was visited on this flourishing commercial town (889), which came again into the power of the Arab nobility. The numerous inhabitants of the capital of Cordova also evinced a spirit of obstinate independence on many occasions. At a later period of the kalifate, the growing wealth of individuals and the overbearing demeanour of the soldiery disturbed the old balance of parties, and the social question in this capital threatened danger and difficulty.

As is shown by the case of the people of Seville, the native element in Roman Spain had been neither crushed nor driven out: in fact, in certain cases, the natives successfully defended their independence against the Arabs, as appears in the war waged by the mountaineers of Granada against the Arabian nobility and the kalifate. Renegades in increasing numbers went to swell the new Moorish nation, and the Christians who clung to their faith were either expelled or annihilated. In the northern towns, and especially in Toledo, Christianity held its ground to the time of the reconquest. But conqueror and conquered had to live side by side, and hence it came about that those remnants of Roman civilisation which had survived the Germanic epoch came under the protection of Islam, and the Spanish towns became splendid architectural monuments, which could successfully compare with the brilliant Eastern centres of Arab civilisation. Nor was it only the treasures of the past which Spain contributed to Moorish nationality; it imparted also a breath of the Western spirit, an infusion of new and invigorating blood.

Generally speaking, the Moorish people continued to be a part of Saracen civilisation, even when the sharp opposition between the Ommiad and the Abbassid kalifates had utterly destroyed all political cohesion. The remotest districts of the new faith were united by a common language and by common customs. The routes of trading caravans and of pilgrim bands were followed by learned men and poets from the borders of Upper Asia or from the outlying districts of Arabia and Persia to the royal courts of Bagdad and Cordova. Occasionally Spanish philosophers or theologians would visit Egypt to complete their studies and receive their final polish at the famous schools of Samarcand and Bokhara.

However, the University of Cordova itself had excellent teachers, who drew their audiences from among the graduates of numerous public schools, and whose fame attracted numbers of eager students from Asia and Africa. Thousands of pupils filled the halls of the mosques in which the favourite professors lectured. As in modern Europe, by far the greater portion of the students worked for advancement, and pursued courses on theology or jurisprudence with the object of entering the higher grades of the civil service. There were, however, many who pursued knowledge for its own sake, and provided a supply of teachers for the high schools.

The princes and nobles of the land were ever ready to foster and promote the cause of learning; reading and writing were universal accomplishments among the common people. The kalif Chakam was one of the most liberal supporters of education. After he had concluded certain necessary wars, and had succeeded in making peace with his Christian neighbours, he devoted himself to making Cordova the most brilliant centre of the intellectual life of Islam. He was especially indefatigable in the formation of his library. He had his agents in all the more important towns of the Mohammedan world with orders to buy books or copies of them at any price. His library ultimately contained four hundred thousand volumes, an enormous number for a collection consisting of manuscripts only. The kalif examined, numbered, and catalogued all these works. That he did not, in his desire for books, forget the authors of them, is indicated by the number of learned men whom he maintained in Cordova at his own expense: he also attached great importance to popular education, as is shown by his foundation of twenty-seven new public schools in the capital.

All this intellectual activity was not the artificial creation of an autocratic monarch; it was the healthy and brilliant bloom of well-nurtured material prosperity. In truth, the northern inhabitants of Europe, living as they did in gloomy city alleys or miserable village hovels, clustered around the castles of a rude, uncultured nobility, would have thought themselves in fairy-land, could they have been transported to this joyous, brilliant world! But that which would have especially surprised them, which would have brought a flush of shame to the cheeks of any one with a spark of Christian feeling in his heart, was the noble spirit of toleration and of intellectual freedom which breathed over the happy plains of Andalusia. They would have been forced to admit that the religion of love might receive from the followers of the hated Mohammed instruction in that generous toleration of creeds with which the Founder of their faith had sought to inspire them by word and example. Herein lies the fascination which to-day impels us to look back with yearning and regret upon the too

rapid flight of that happy period, when Cordova and Toledo guarded the sacred fire of civilisation upon European ground, a fascination which still throws its glamour around the halls of the Alcazar of Seville or the pinnacles of the Alhambra. (See the plate facing p. 506.) Here are the very sites where, after long and grievous tribulation, mankind breathed freely once again, where a breath of pure air scattered in a moment all brooding gloom and fanaticism. It is a breath of the spirit which animated classical antiquity, the memory of which the peoples of Europe preserve as the most precious life-sustaining elixir on the steep ascent of progress, and which they hand down as a sacred trust from generation to generation.

Our picture of the dreamy beauty of Andalusian civilisation would be incomplete if we omitted the glorious development of the art of poetry, which drew its sustenance from the Western imagination and opened to a richer life even than it did upon the banks of the twin rivers of Mesopotamia (cf. Vol. III.) Perhaps the greatest achievement of the Arab people was that they brought to all parts of the world their love of poetry: their language was an admirable means of expression, and in their ancient poets were to be found models of the art. It is true that Arabian influences were not of long duration. The classical period of their poetry of the desert was long since past, at the time when the art followed the conquering standards of the Saracen armies, to spread among the vanquished peoples. Later generations could only produce imitations of old models and variations upon the few and simple themes of desert life. Strange contradictions resulted; poets who lived in the blooming fields of Irak or in the plains of the Guadalquivir sang of life under the desert tent, depicted elaborately the danger of caravan life, or revived in their songs the long-forgotten animosities of racial feuds. Moreover, in the conquered districts the Arab tongue soon began to take a dialectic form; the purest Arabic could be found and learnt only from the Bedouins and in the songs of olden times. Only by degrees did some of the nations conquered by Islam, in particular, the Persians, succeed in freeing themselves from these bonds (cf. Vol. III.). If the Spanish poets did not attain to the independence of the Persians, we must remember that the Moors were, above all, a mixed people, and that they had no basis of legend or myth. An epos, like the Book of Heroes of Firdusi (Vol. III.), could never have been created by them; and though they attained greater freedom in the domain of lyric poetry, it was only through local influences and the infusion of Romano-Iberian blood. Moreover, the flowering period of the Moorish people was extremely short. Hemmed in upon the north by the encroachments of Christian adversaries, disintegrated and deteriorated by the immigration of the rude North African tribes, their economic prosperity shattered by war and civil dissension, the Moors of Spain soon had to renounce those dreams of poetic excellence to which they had been incited by a happier climate and the brilliant example of their Arab forefathers.

We have every reason to lament the change. After all, the Moors were eminently suited to be the mediators between East and West; though they were restricted within the narrow limits of the Arabian intellectual life, many a sympathetic trait reveals the influence of the Western spirit among them. Woman, above all, was, both in actual life and in poetry, an object of greater veneration to the Moorish Spaniards than to their coreligionists in Africa and

Arabia; in their songs there appear but few traces of those unnatural passions, the glorification of which in the Eastern poetry is to us so incomprehensible and so repulsive. The woman-worship of the Andalusians reminds us at times of the later poems of the troubadours and minnesingers, exactly as their delight in chivalry recalls to our minds the customs of mediæval Europe. Hence there is no doubt that the numerous Oriental ideals, which reanimated the dull and stagnant life of mediæval times, were due only in part to the Crusades, which brought them to Europe; a large number of such influences passed over Spain and southern Italy to the countries further north. It is no mere coincidence that the south of France brought forth the earliest and richest poetical bloom, or that the south of France was the scene where the martyrs of free thought, the Albigenses, fought out their famous conflict with the power of Rome.

It was not only in the domain of poetry that the Andalusians exercised the splendid intellectual power which often compelled admiration from their coreligionists. Philosophy also found a home and a refuge from persecution at the courts of the kalif and his governors and feudal princes, who had long since learned that the most audacious opinions must be heard openly among men, and that otherwise they would grow to strange and dangerous proportion in secrecy and persecution. Theologians with their arguments might attack the sceptics when these demanded the mathematical proof of the truth of their religion; they might attempt to brand these unbelievers forever as drunkards and voluptuaries; they did not burn them at the stake in Moorish Spain.

In general, the civilisation of the Moors continued to be a part of the Arabian civilisation with its virtues and failings. Thus their architecture, of which the splendid remains (see the plate opposite, "The Alhambra at Granada before the Restoration") are now far more attractive than the ostentatious churches of their Christian conquerors in southern Spain, was only one form of the general architectural style prevailing throughout the Islam world, the main features of which remained unchanged in the course of development. Of simple exterior, graceful and delicate within, compensating for a lack of vigour by an infinite complexity of detail, the Alhambra buildings closely resemble the palaces of the rulers of Egypt or Mesopotamia of the time. Symbolical, however, of the Moors, a nation formed of the ruins of older races, is the great mosque of Cordova with its forest of pillars, copied generally from ancient buildings, and its rich Oriental decoration, now chiefly hidden by the stucco plaster with which pious Christians concealed the heathen abominations. The Moorish civilisation of Spain reached the most brilliant point of its development under Abd ur Rahman III. and his immediate successors. But many branches of this culture bore their richest fruit at a still later period; and, finally, when the Moorish people was confined to the mountains of Granada, their industry and high civilisation still indicated their innate superiority to their Christian conquerors.

(*c*) *The Downfall of the Spanish Kalifate.*—Abd ur Rahman was, on the whole, successful in checking the growth of the Christian kingdom on the north, and in securing his frontiers; but the hopes of conquering Africa, which the revolt of the Abu-Jazird against the Fatimites had aroused, were only of short duration. It the year 947 the rebels, who recognised the spiritual supremacy of the Kalif of Cordova, were beaten and slain. Spain, in its most flourishing

THE ALHAMBRA AT GRANADA BEFORE THE RESTORATION; VIEW FROM GENERALIFE

(From Daudet's etching of the design by Dutailly in Alex. de Laborde's "Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne.")

period, was never equal to the task of subjugating Morocco; and before long it came to owe its very existence to the help of African Islam. During the reign of the peaceful successor of Abd ur Rahman II., the patron of the arts, Chakam II. (Hakem II.), the Christian states renewed their attacks with redoubled vigour; but the continual quarrels of his opponents, and the magnificent army which his predecessor had left to him, gave Chakam so great an advantage that in the year 970 the Castilians were glad to make peace, and the kalif obtained leisure to concentrate his attention upon the furthering of civilisation in his country and upon the advancement of learning.

But that wonderful prosperity of Spanish Islam which permitted the rise of a large number of wealthy and brilliant cities, and allowed individual provinces to gain in strength and independence, became dangerous, at length, to the ascendency of the Ommiad dynasty, and prepared the way for the disruption of the kingdom into a number of petty states. Prosperity and progress might gain rather than lose by such a separation, but it could be foreseen that the military power of Spanish Islam would be fatally weakened thereby. Upon the death of Chakam II. (976) signs of the coming disruption were apparent. The successor to the throne, Hischam II., was then only eleven years old, and various personages of importance began to quarrel about the regency (976). Fortunately for the empire, the most capable of these aspirants, the chamberlain Ibn abî Amir, or Al Mansur (Almansor), as he afterwards was called, succeeded in seizing the chief power by cunning and force, and retained it to the end of his life against his various opponents. Hischam had been brought up by his mother, Aurora, a native of Navarre, who was allied to Al Mansur, in accordance with his ideas, and remained a tool in the regent's hand throughout his life. Abroad the period of Al Mansur's rule was, undoubtedly, the most brilliant in the history of the Ommiad dynasty. Never since the conquest had the Moslem sword won such brilliant victories over the Christians, never had the armies of Andalusia penetrated so far into the lands of their hereditary enemies. In the year 981 Zamora was captured. Barcelona was taken in 985, and the fortress of Leon in 987: a tremendous impression was created in 994-997, when Al Mansur pushed on into the barren land of Galicia and captured the national shrine of Spanish Christendom, that of St. James of Compostela and razed it to the ground.

Such successes were made possible only by the sweeping reforms which Al Mansur had introduced, for his own ends, in the military organisation of Andalusia, and by his final breach with the remnants of the old Arab racial organisation. The levy by tribes was wholly abolished, and the inhabitants called upon to serve were arbitrarily drafted into the different regiments. The flower of the army, upon which Al Mansur relied, was formed partly of Berbers from Morocco and partly of Christian soldiers from North Spain, who had no scruples whatever in fighting against their compatriots. The Christian states were continually at variance with one another, and did not reject the help of the Moors when occasion offered. Al Mansur's most dangerous rival was Ghalib, the commander of the troops on the northern frontier, and a successful general. After he had been defeated and slain, the regent could place implicit reliance upon the fidelity of his troops, and could successfully meet all attempts to overthrow his power. But a military supremacy, naturally, did not benefit Spain in the long run.

The fact that Al Mansur attempted to strengthen his perilous position by lending a close adherence to the orthodox theology was disadvantageous to the progress of learning or of philosophy in particular. The unfavourable consequences of Al Mansur's reign surpassed its benefits. It is true, however, that the material prosperity of the country, which he was practical enough to encourage, reached its highest point under his guidance. The construction of a system of roads is due to him; and, in fact, the government of a great general is usually productive of good in this direction. Mohammedan Spain might congratulate itself that in Al Mansur a man of genius, endowed with unscrupulous boldness, was to be found at the head of the kingdom. But good fortune is transitory. The rule of powerful ministers founded by Al Mansur collapsed upon his death (1002) even more quickly than did the Ommiad dynasty.

Towards the close of Al Mansur's reign dissatisfaction had begun to ferment among almost all classes of the people. It was no longer the old desires and claims which excited them to movement: racial feuds had been forgotten, the Arab landed nobility had lost their wealth and influence, and the different elements of the race had been fused more or less completely. In the place of the ancient grievances there appeared those new difficulties which invariably become prominent when advancing civilisation and the lucrative exercise of commerce bring great wealth to individuals, while the mass of the population sees itself condemned to hard labour in factories and workshops for a scanty living. In the great capital of Cordova the social problem became critical before its essential nature was properly understood. As usual, individuals were attacked as being responsible for the burden that oppressed the people; in particular, Al Mansur himself and his most faithful dependents, the Berber chiefs and the Christian soldiery. Upon Al Mansur's death an uproar arose in Cordova, the inhabitants furiously demanding that henceforward Hischam II. should reign as an independent monarch: Mozaffar Abd al Melik Modhaffer, the son of Al Mansur, had much trouble in subduing the rebels. When Mozaffar died, in the year 1008, the general discontent broke into open riot: the brother of the deceased, who took his place, was driven out and killed.

It soon became evident, however, that nothing had been gained by the overthrow of ministerial government. Individual governors and generals made themselves more and more independent in the provinces and towns, while in Cordova itself there ran a rapid succession of monarchs and regents, the real governing power being a military despotism of Berber or Slav soldiery, unless the monied classes and the patricians of the town gained some decisive advantage for themselves, or the all-powerful mob proceeded to govern the city in its own fashion. The unfortunate Hischam II. disappeared, and could never be discovered, nor has his fate ever been explained. A supply of pseudo-Hischams was, naturally, at once forthcoming, pretending to be the real kalif returned to resume his feeble authority. The confusion, naturally, increased. At length, the aristocracy gained the upper hand in the desolate and ruined city. They abolished the kalifate, and thereby hastened the disruption of a kingdom that had once been so powerful, into a number of feudal states and city republics (1031). The last kalif of the Ommiad house, Hischam III., died a few years later, forgotten and despised, in Lerida, where he had found a refuge in his need.

The interests of the great towns, Cordova and Seville in particular, had long

since ceased to coincide with the interests of the rest of the country. It was inevitable that these great centres of commerce and manufactures should eventually drift apart from the provinces, the prosperity of which was based upon agriculture and domestic industries. The fall of the Ommiad dynasty was, perhaps, accelerated by the fact that they had united their interests too closely with those of the people of Cordova, for the development of Cordova was bound to result in republicanism; and, when they were abandoned by the fickle citizens of the capital, they could get no support from the country at large. The kingdom, naturally, fell into the hands of the military leaders, except where the remnants of the Arab landed nobility recovered strength enough to found independent principalities. In the south, the Berbers were the chief power, retaining, for the most part, the rude characteristics of their Mauretanian homes — rough, uncultivated warriors, fiercely hated by the polished Arabs, and unable to cope with their cunning. The centre of the Berber power was Malaga: there the family of the Chammudites, who traced their descent from Mohammed's son-in-law, Ali, laid claim to the dignity of the kalifate, though they were unable to enforce their demands. Badis, the ruler of Granada, afterwards came to the head of the Berber party, and brought Malaga under his rule in the year 1055. Badis was thoroughly typical of the North African soldier-prince; a rough, passionate man of very moderate intellectual power. Fortunately for him, he found a vizier of unexampled astuteness in the Jew Samuel, and with his help gradually subdued a district nearly coincident in extent with the later kingdom of Granada.

Further northward, in Mohammedan Spain, the Berbers, who had immigrated at an earlier period, and were practically Arabs, gained the power; as, for instance, in Toledo and Badajoz. The "Slav" generals had settled in the East, and Almeria, Denia, Valencia, were in their hands; the latter town, however, only for a short period, as one Amiride, a descendant of the great Al Mansur, speedily seized the government of that town. In the district of Saragossa the Arab element had always been strongly represented, and the noble Arab family of Beni Hud was in power.

In the southwest, Mohammed, the Cadi of Seville, who carried on the government in the name of a pseudo-Hischam II., became the head of the Arab party. Owing to his efforts, Cordova was outstripped by its sister town, and the Arab population in the regions under Berber rule came over to him. After the death of Mohammed, his son, the refined, but utterly unscrupulous, Motadhid, utilised the opportunities of his position. He aggrandised the town of Seville to such an extent that even Badis of Granada trembled before his dangerous rival, and planned, upon one occasion, the massacre of all the Arabs of Granada, in view of their natural leanings towards his enemy. The strong contrast between the rough, unpolished Berber state and the brilliant culture of the kingdom of Seville became still more prominent after Motadhid's death (1069), when the poetic and pleasure-loving, but energetic, Motamid came to the head of the state. The intellectual centre of Spanish Islam was then, undoubtedly, to be found in Seville. Abroad, the city triumphed over its failing rival, Cordova, the old capital of the kalifate. After once capturing Cordova, Motamid took definite possession of the town in the year 1078, and put an end to the rule of the aristocracy. He also occupied Murcia for the time being. Motamid had but little to

fear from Granada, which had fallen asunder into the divisions of Granada and Malaga, after the death of Badis (1073).

And yet this brilliant edifice rested upon a miserably weak foundation. In fact, it survived only through the forbearance of the Christian princes of Castile, who even then were sharpening the sword that was to cut down all its splendour. Almost all the Mohammedan princes of the peninsula, the rulers of Seville at their head, had already placed themselves under the Castilian protectorate, paid tribute, and accounted themselves fortunate, if by craft and pecuniary sacrifices they could avert the destruction which threatened them. But by degrees their position became intolerable. Alfonso VI. of Castile, who had assumed the proud title of emperor, finally determined to make an end of the petty Mohammedan states. In helpless despair the threatened princes saw the end approach. The kingdom of Toledo had already fallen into the hand of the Christian monarch with scarcely a show of resistance (1084), Valencia was in extreme danger, and a Christian army was before the walls of Saragossa. A part of the Moorish population began to contemplate seriously a retreat to Africa, as salvation seemed impossible. But once again their destruction was to be averted, though at heavy cost.

C. The North and the West 510 – 516

Hitherto the special charm inherent in the history of the development of the Moorish civilisation and political life and the rise of a new people has held our attention; arrived at a decisive turning-point, it is time to turn our glance northward. There, among the wild mountains or on the high tablelands now parched with heat, now lashed by icy storms, the Christian warriors had gathered to resist the advance of a foreign nation and an alien faith. A number of states, whose mutual relations were constantly changing, had sprung up on the north coast and at the foot of the Pyrennees. The differences resulting from situation and nationality became apparent at a very early period — differences which have continued beyond the sixteenth century, and have not been wholly obliterated even now.

(*a*) *Asturias.*—The flower of the Gothic nobility had betaken itself to the central portion of the northern coast land, to Asturias. Here Pelayo, who is known to the Arabian historians, raised the standard of national resistance and drove out the Arab governor, who had established himself at Gijon. Oviedo became the capital of the new state (under Alfonso II., about 800), to which was united Cantabria on the east, which had also been liberated by the Gothic nobles. The retreat of the Berber settlers, who were driven out by dissension and famine, gave King Alfonso I. (751-764) the opportunity of pushing southward into the Castilian plains, seizing the country at the foot of the mountains as far as the Douro, and making a desert barrier of the rest of old Castile. The Christian inhabitants were transported thence to the northern districts, and the Mohammedans were driven southward. Alfonso's successor, Froila I. (died 768), conquered Galicia, which the Arabs had never entirely subdued.

The new kingdom was a feudal state, with all the advantages and weaknesses of feudalism. It was divided into principalities, the rulers of which were equally

ready to take the field against the Saracens with their contingents, to make the king's life a burden to him with their revolts, or to quarrel among themselves. Differences of nationality were also a source of trouble. The Basques in the eastern province of Alava showed no intention of yielding permanent obedience, and the stubborn inhabitants of the Galician valleys, where the last remnants of the Suevi had fled at the time of the Gothic invasion, manifested their desire for independence in their restless behaviour. As the territory of the kingdom of Oviedo spread southward, and the plains of Castile and Leon became gradually populated, the centre of gravity naturally shifted to that part of the kingdom. Perhaps the Christian kings of northern Spain were rather too slow to realise this natural development of affairs: when Ordoño II., in the year 955, at last moved the seat of government to Leon, numerous important counties had already arisen in Castile, the connection of which with the new kingdom of Leon was very loose. Alfonso III. (the Great, 866-910), who did a great deal to assure the existence of the kingdom, and created a strong southern frontier by fortifying the line of the Douro, would have done better to abandon Oviedo with its unfavourable situation. By his division of the kingdom among his sons, this otherwise admirable ruler fostered the seeds of dissension, which must have developed, in any case, and made it possible for the Moors, after they had concluded their internal quarrels, to carry on a vigorous frontier policy under Abd ur Rahman III. and Al Mansur.

The polished inhabitants of Andalusia looked with horror and disgust upon the danger which threatened them from the north, upon this kingdom ringing with the clash of arms, the people of which seemed created only for the purposes of war and conflict, and were as little acquainted with the bounteous gifts of nature as with the enjoyment of a high civilisation. They felt that this enemy was irreconcilable and, in the long run, unconquerable. Though all barriers between the nations were broken down, one insuperable obstacle remained, religion. In the last resort the sword must decide whether the soil of Spain was to belong to the followers of Mohammed or to the Christian believers. The opposition only became the sharper with the lapse of time. During the first centuries the rough and bold warriors of Leon and Castile faithfully paid their contributions to erect those mighty churches and cathedrals which were the tokens of Christian supremacy, but they were not ashamed, upon occasion, to enter the Moorish service, or by their efforts on the side of the unbelievers to remind princes of their own nation that they owed duties to their feudal nobility. With the same carelessness the smaller Arab princes entered the lists against the mighty power of the kalifate, in union with the kings of Leon or the courts of Castile. Afterwards fanaticism became more fervent upon either side, and religious hatred took deeper root. Closer relations with Rome turned the Castilians into distinguished supporters of the Catholic religion, who were eventually to thwart the progress of the Reformation. The Moors of Spain displayed the resolution and constancy of martyrs in their misfortunes.

(*b*) *The Formation of the Pyrenæan States.*—The state which included Galicia, Asturias, Leon, and Castile, quickly formed, and no less quickly divided into separate provinces, was the chief Christian power in North Spain. Scarcely touched by any external influence, shut in between the waves of the Bay of

Biscay and its Moorish enemies, it was from the beginning the most Spanish, the most national and independent, of all states, and was, therefore, destined to leadership and eventually to dominion. But it was not the only power. Near it were the kingdoms which rose in the valleys and at the foot of the Pyrenees. The mountain barrier of the Pyrenees had not prevented the Arabs in their first invasion from passing over into southern France, where they claimed the West Gothic possessions as their inheritance, but were finally defeated by the vigour of the Frankish nation. They did not long hold out upon the north side of the mountains: Narbonne, their strongest fortress, was taken by the Franks in the year 759; and it became speedily apparent that the Pyrenæan valleys, too, had never been entirely in the power of the Arabian. The Iberian races, against which Romans and Goths had in vain directed their arms and the resources of their civilisation, the Basques of Navarre and Biscay, had this time, too, made only a show of submission. Further eastward the Gothic nobles held out here and there, and kept up relations, by the mountain passes, with their people in southern France. These thin seeds of new states began to sprout when Charlemagne made his expedition across the Pyrenees, formed the district held by Arab governors and petty chieftains into the "Spanish Mark," and organised the small beginnings of Christian states into principalities. The later kingdoms of Aragon and Catalonia, the lowly foundations of which were then laid, were thus brought into close relations with the south of France and with central European civilisation, a connection which persists to-day in language and customs, and sharply differentiates northern Spain from Castile and its neighbouring districts.

The Basques, however, did not submit to this influence. They had not resisted the Arabs, merely to be ruled by Frankish counts; they felt no reluctance, for once in a way, to enter into alliance with the Mohammedan governors, and to attack the Frankish army in the mountain passes. The half-legendary destruction of Roland and his army and the more credible overthrow, probably in the year 824, of a division of the Frankish force in the pass of Roncevalles, are sufficient evidence of the Basque policy. Finally, towards the end of the ninth century, the Basque mountaineers extended their conquests to the Ebro, and the kingdom of Navarre arose. It appeared at first as if this new state would gain an important share of the tottering Islam kingdom, for in the tenth century important territories beyond the Ebro were in the possession of Navarre. But that peculiarity of the Basque people which comes to light in the Carlist wars (see the plate facing p. 560) became manifest even then: the Basques are almost invincible in their own mountains, but have no aptitude for colonisation and no inclination to spread beyond their ancient boundaries. In the year 1054 Navarre lost its foreign possessions in war with Castile, and remained henceforward confined to its original territory.

The kingdom of Aragon, starting from poor beginnings, ran a very different course of development. When the kingdom of Navarre was formed, the principality of Aragon included only the upper valley of the river of that name, which runs deep between the Sierra de la Peña and the chain of the Pyrenees. A wild and barren district, it seems for a long time to have formed a part of the Spanish Mark and to have been governed by counts of Gothic origin: during the ascendency of Navarre it formed a part of that kingdom. At the beginning of the

eleventh century Navarre, under Sancho the Great, seemed destined to form the nucleus of a mighty kingdom, and Castile was added to it by marriage; but upon Sancho's death, in the year 1035, the kingdom again collapsed. Thereupon Aragon obtained its independence under Sancho's son, Ramiro I. Ramiro found his kingdom very diminutive. Its extension was stopped by Navarre on the west, and on the east by the little Pyrenæan state, Sobrarbe, which had fallen to one of his brothers. South of it, in the valley of the Ebro and in the surrounding mountain country, were powerful Arab states, the centre of which was Saragossa. An attempt of Ramiro's to get possession of Navarre failed. However, after the death of his brother, Gonzalo, he gained Sobrarbe, which comprised the valleys on the southern slope of the central Pyrenees. He could now venture upon operations against the Arabs, whose empire had begun to fall with the death of Al Mansur.

In the continual wars waged the frontier troops displayed unexampled bravery, especially the Rabites, on the side of the Arabs, and the dreaded Almugavares, on the side of Aragon. In fact, the war of Aragon against Islam comprised, as we might expect from the feeble powers of the little state, no regular campaign of conquest, but a number of frontier quarrels, which were satisfied by a successful *razzia* or the capture of some castle or small town. In the year 1096, however, Huesca was taken, and thereupon the capital of the country was transferred from the mountain valleys to the tableland which falls away to the Ebro. Finally, in the year 1118, the conquest of Saragossa and the valley of the Ebro gave the kingdom of Aragon its natural capital and wider room for expansion.

Meanwhile, the principality of Barcelona, the nucleus of the kingdom of Catalonia, had developed quite independently of Aragon. Frankish influence had been greatest and had continued longest in the northeastern corner of Spain. Socially and politically this district clung tenaciously to its powerful energetic neighbour, and was able to turn to excellent advantage the benefits arising from this connection. The principality of Barcelona may have been made a part of the Spanish Mark when that district was conquered; and though Barcelona itself was more than once captured by the Moors, the region successfully resisted all attacks from the south. In the year 865, the Spanish Mark, which now included little beside the principality of Barcelona, was separated from Septimania (Languedoc), Barcelona thus taking its first step towards complete independence. The next period is marked by the fact that a family, apparently of Gothic origin, becomes the hereditary ruler of Barcelona with the consent of the Frankish king. In the usual feudal manner separate districts, such as the counties of Urgal and Gerona, branched off from this state, or the whole was united in one hand. The port of Barcelona enjoyed great prosperity, owing to its advantageous situation, and was always a most important source of strength to the kingdom of Catalonia. It had, in consequence, from the outset a character of its own, enjoying a special freedom of life and manners, which reminds us of the Provençal or the Italian spirit. Provence, too, was for a long time in political union with the principality of Barcelona.

(c) *Portugal.*—There was one kingdom which came into being far later than all the rest, the only kingdom in the peninsula which refused submission to the

Castilian yoke, and preserved an independent existence and a language of its own, the present-day kingdom of Portugal. All the other states of the peninsula extended their territory in a southerly direction, Asturias being the nucleus of Leon, Old Castile of New Castile, Aragon of Valencia; similarly, the mother province of Portugal was, undoubtedly, Galicia, a wild, mountain district in the northwest corner of the peninsula. In fact, when Portugal appears as a separate state, we find Galicia and Portugal united under the government of Garcias, the son of King Ferdinand of Castile (1065). But even then a revolt of the counts of Portugal against Garcias showed that enduring dissensions were beginning to develop.

The important influence of geographical conditions is here apparent. The original Portugal, which takes its name from the harbour Porto Calle (the modern Oporto), was the district lying between the lower Duero and the Minho, a territory which was certainly extended southward at an early period, and included the town of Coimbra by the year 1064. Portugal thus embraces the western coast of the Iberian peninsula. Its climatic conditions are highly favourable, its long seaboard and its river mouths make it an attractive district to the outside world, and in this respect its only rivals were the Mediterranean states of Catalonia and Valencia. Central Portugal is, moreover, one of the most beautiful portions of the whole peninsula, a land of smiling hills and uplands, which must have produced a population with characteristics of its own, and one widely different from the Castilian of the barren tablelands, or the wild Galician. Even to-day the Portuguese regards the Castilian as his hereditary enemy, and the down-trodden Galicians, who gain their bread as porters and day labourers in Portugal, are the objects of his ridicule.

Geographical conditions, therefore, partly contributed to the fact that Galicia, which was evidently more than a mere tract lying on the northern coast, was unable to retain its grasp on Portugal which sprang from it. On the other hand, Castile's firm hold on Galicia is chiefly due to the fact that in Galicia was found the national centre of worship for Spain, the famous goal of pilgrims throughout Europe, the shrine of St. James of Compostela, whose treasures, too, were an important source of revenue in time of need. The power which deemed itself the champion of Christianity against Islam, and finally attempted to bring the whole of Spain under its sway, could not afford to relinquish the guardianship of the bones of St. James, the patron of all true Spaniards. So the early policy of the independent Portuguese kingdom was war with Galicia, which, indeed, remained apart from the kingdom of Castile-Leon only for a short time. The new state succeeded in gaining its independence at the time when Castile, under Alfonso VI., was vigorously attacking the petty Moorish states, and when the growing Castilian power was shaken by the counter-assaults of the African saviours of Islam, the Almoravides (cf. further below, p. 516).

(*d*) *The Union of Leon and Castile.*—Long and bloody conflicts occurred between the different parts of the northern Spanish kingdom, above all between Leon and the rising Castile (before their united strength could be exerted against their religious enemies in the south). These struggles were prolonged by the interference of the neighbouring states of Aragon and Navarre in their internal dissensions. Abd ur Rahman II. and, above all,

Al Mansur were able to turn the unhappy disunion of Christian Spain to their own advantage; their brilliant campaigns restored the shattered kalifate to its old splendour, and they were aided by Christian troops, who were not ashamed to serve in the ranks of their country's hereditary foes. The kingdom of Leon was threatened with total destruction. Castile was practically independent. When Sancho the Great of Navarre obtained possession of Castile by hereditary right, in the year 1028, after Aragon and Sobrarbe had already done him homage, the centre of Christian power seemed to be gravitating definitely eastward. But the triumph of the little province of Navarre was more apparent than real. Shortly before his death, Sancho partitioned a kingdom which he had never thoroughly united, and his second son, Fernando, obtained Castile. No great provocation was required to plunge Fernando into war with Bermudo III., the King of Leon. Eventually Castile prevailed over the more ancient kingdom of Leon. Bermudo fell in battle, and Fernando took possession of his territory by right of conquest and relationship. In the place of the old Gothic royal house of Reccared, a race of Frankish origin appeared as rulers of the ancient Spanish Mark.

The union of Leon and Castile under a Castilian prince was a fact of decisive importance for the future of Spain, although the new kingdom was destined to undergo many a severe shock. Not long afterwards Navarre lost its conquests on the south of the Ebro to this newly arisen kingdom, and saw itself cut off from all hope of further expansion. The Saracen princes of Toledo and Saragossa hastened to appease their dangerous neighbour as long as possible with payments of tribute. After Ferdinand's death, the kingdom was threatened with disruption; but the civil war ended in the complete victory of Alfonso VI. (1073). Now, at last, could proper use be made of the country's favourable situation for further conquests in Mohammedan Spain.

For a long period the greater part of the border wastes had been populated with Christian settlers. The Castilian frontier sentinels could look down from the summit of the Guadarama mountain range on to the plains of the Tagus, and the district of Toledo was especially chosen by marauding bands for their forays. The opportunity had come to push forward the boundary beyond the Tagus as far as the Guadiana. Unfortunate Toledo could not contemplate resistance when Alfonso interfered in the internal dissensions of the little place, and finally announced his intention of taking possession of the town and its territory. The gates were opened to the conqueror in the year 1085. A portion of the inhabitants migrated southward, the rest accepted the favourable conditions offered, and remained; and to them is due the persistence of the Moorish industries which are pursued in Toledo at the present day. A Christian congregation had continued to exist in Toledo all through the period of Saracen supremacy. Alfonso's calculating and ambitious policy is shown by his speedily making Toledo his capital, a fact which clearly showed that he did not intend it to remain a frontier town. It was then that the growing Portuguese kingdom assumed, to some extent, a permanent form: Count Henry of Burgundy, who had come to Spain as a volunteer and had become Alfonso's son-in-law, obtained, after a victorious campaign, the district on the west coast between the Minho and the Tagus as a fief (1094). About that time Lisbon was conquered, but it was not retained.

D. The East

On the east coast the Arab power also received a severe blow at this time, although Alfonso himself took no share in the fighting. The victory was due to the untamed strength of the Spanish feudal lords, acting under the leadership of a man who has become the hero of popular legend and the type of Spanish chivalry. History has but little that is definite or credible to relate concerning the personality or the life of Rodrigo Diaz, the Cid, or Campeador, of Bivar. He was banished from Castile, owing to his quarrelsome and restless character, and put himself at the head of a troop of adventurers in the east of the peninsula, where he lived now as the ally, now as the enemy of the Saracens, placing his trusty lance at the disposal of his temporary patron. The most brilliant period of his career began when the advance of the Almoravides from Morocco struck terror into the petty Arab princes. The Cid appeared as their ally, and thereby got possession of Valencia (1094). He maintained possession of this province until his death, but it did not become a permanent Christian possession.

The Cid's campaign against Valencia nearly coincides with the date of the first crusade. The enthusiastic spirit of battling for the faith, which then swayed the whole of Europe, was also felt in Spain. But in the case of Spain it was not necessary to go to Jerusalem to find the enemies of Christianity: on the contrary, a papal decree especially directs the Spaniards to overcome the foe within their own country. One of the barriers between Spain and the rest of Europe was removed by this fact: many knights, from France in particular, flocked into the country, as in the case of Henry of Burgundy, to fulfil at so convenient a distance from their homes the crusader's vow they had taken. The Portuguese owed several decisive successes to the help of German and Dutch crusaders, who put into Portuguese harbours on the way to Jerusalem. But the lively hope of further conquest, which had been aroused by the fall of Toledo, remained for the moment unfulfilled: the Spanish Moslems, in the extremity of their danger, had summoned an ally from Africa, which was powerful enough to check the advance of the Christians, though at the same time it made an end of most of the petty Moorish kingdoms.

E. The Almoravides

This ally was Yusuf (Jusef or Jusof), the prince of the Almoravides (Murabites) in Morocco. The Almoravides were sprung from the wildest nomad tribes of western Mauretania; they were a sect of religious warriors, and seemed the incarnation of that fanatical energy which had inspired the early period of Islam. In them the strength and violence of nomad life again triumphed over the peaceful forces of agriculture and trade. In the first half of the eleventh century began that movement which overthrew the Zeirites, who were then the dominant power in Morocco, and finally wrested the ancient kingdom of Carthage from the Fatimites (cf. p. 249). Morocco became the capital of the new kingdom. An acute and determined leader came to the front in the person of Yusuf, and a crisis of momentous importance arrived for Spain: from the north Alfonso's armed troops swept down upon the fruitful fields of Andalusia; on the other

side of the strait was Yusuf's army, ready to lend dubious assistance to the hard-pressed country. The Andalusian princes finally decided to ask Morocco for help: Yusuf was only too glad to grant their request. In the year 1086 he landed in Spain with a powerful army, which was strengthened by the addition of the Andalusian forces: he marched upon Estremadura, which was then extremely hard-pressed by the Castilians. A battle was fought at Zalaca, near Badajoz, and the mailed knights of Castile were defeated by Yusuf's heavily armed infantry and negro guard. Alfonso quickly recovered from this blow, and in the next year made ready to meet any attempt on Toledo; but he was obliged to renounce all plans for the conquest of Andalusia. The claws of the Castilian lion, with which he had threatened the followers of Islam, were cut for a long time to come.

Yusuf was now able to complete his designs on Andalusia undisturbed. The Almoravides had not the least intention of giving up the country for which they had fought so fiercely — a country whose riches and hopeless disunion made it at once an attraction and a prey to any energetic conqueror. They were also not without friends in Andalusia. The orthodox theologians, whose hostility was awakened by the artistic and refined life of pleasure that ruled in the courts of happy Andalusia, found a man after their own hearts in the leader of the wild, fanatical Almoravides. They used all their influence in favour of the Africans, and the weight of that influence, as a whole, was not to be despised. They proceeded to undermine the power of the native princes, whose position was already precarious. They were gracious enough to absolve Yusuf from the oath which he had been obliged to take before crossing over, that he would make no conquests in Spain. Abdallah of Granada was the first who had to make way for one of Yusuf's governors. Mutamid of Seville made a bolder defence: after the fall of Cordova he hoped to be able to maintain himself with the help of Christian soldiers, but in the year 1091 he was defeated, and spent the rest of his life in rigorous imprisonment. The fall of Almeria was followed by that of Murcia. The petty Islam princes of Valencia offered a desperate resistance with the help of the Cid, but could not hold out permanently. Similarly, Badajoz on the west fell into the hands of the Almoravide army. The Emir of Saragossa was alone able to maintain his independence through subtle policy and thanks to the favourable situation of his little kingdom. With the support of the Almoravide troops, he repelled three attacks of the Aragon army, and succeeded cleverly in getting rid of his inconvenient guests. Huesca was then definitely lost to Aragon (1096).

Thus Spanish Islam was saved, and its political unity again restored, but at a heavy price. The idyllic life of the small states was at an end. In all the large towns Almoravide garrisons were quartered, and the union of the sword with the Koran crushed freedom of thought on every side. Poets and philosophers who had been but a short time before the idols of brilliant courts, now wandered about as beggars, if no worse fate befell them. The spirit of religious toleration passed away completely. It is certainly remarkable that just at the time when the onset of the pope and the crusaders had aroused and stimulated Christian fanaticism on the north, persecutions of Christians and Jews began in Andalusia. Those Christians who had remained in the country, the Mozarabians, were forced to emigrate to Castile.

The mass of the Andalusian population, who, naturally, did not trouble itself about the oppression of free thought and heresy, were not dissatisfied with the Almoravide rule as long as the reins of government were in the hands of energetic rulers. Order at home and security abroad, which had so long been wanting, were now restored to the country. The burden of taxation was diminished. Together with the natural industry of the people and the fruitfulness of the country, the good effects of a wise administration would have been speedily apparent in the increase of prosperity. But such fortunate conditions could by no possibility be permanent. The barbarians of the desert, to whose lot had fallen the possession of so rich and fruitful a land, degenerated with extraordinary rapidity. Their attempts to gain a veneer of higher culture failed miserably, and they thereupon plunged into the luxury and pleasure of that life of ease which has always been the curse and the destruction of the inhabitants of Andalusia. The ordinary taxes speedily proved insufficient to satisfy the needs of the numerous Almoravide officials, who lived the dissolute life of petty tyrants in the towns of Spain. The military prowess of this Mauretanian people rapidly decayed, the Christians recommenced their incursions, the high roads were infested by bands of robbers, trade and industry declined, and the hated barbarians continually made fresh demands for money to satisfy their desires.

As long as Yusuf was alive order was maintained throughout the kingdom, and his son Ali, who ascended the throne after him (1106), was no unworthy successor. Great hopes were aroused by his military ability; in the year 1108 he defeated Sancho, the young son of Alfonso VI., at Ucles; and it seemed as if Toledo would soon be again in Moslem hands. But the victory of Ucles marks the culminating point of the Almoravide power. The princes of Saragossa would not unite with the Almoravide troops to repel their common foe, and in the year 1118 this town fell into the power of Aragon. Its loss was a severe blow to the power of Islam; for the most northerly outpost, which had hitherto checked the advance of Catalonia and Aragon, was thereby lost. The war with the Christians, who, fortunately for the Andalusians, were then involved in internal struggles, resolved itself into a frontier warfare, entailing heavy loss on both sides and leading to no permanent result. In the year 1125 Alfonso of Aragon replied to the Almoravide incursions by a punitive expedition, organised on a large scale. He received assistance from the Mozarabic Christians, who were still numerous in Granada, and pushed forward into Granada and the neighbourhood of Malaga. It was, however, only a brilliant feat of chivalry, and nothing more.

F. The Almohads

The pitiful condition of the Almoravides must have finally induced the Andalusians to attempt to realise their hopes of shaking off the tyranny of the African barbarians. They were already preparing with the help of the Christian kings to drive the Almoravides over the sea and to exchange one ruling power for another, when the impending dissolution of the Almoravide kingdom in Africa turned their gaze in another direction. The sect of reformers known as the Almohads, whose founder, Abdallah, gave himself out to be the Mahdi,

had developed, in spite of persecution and occasional defeat, into a formidable political power, in direct opposition to the Almoravides. In the year 1145 the Almoravide monarch, Taschfin, was defeated and slain in battle by the followers of the Mahdi, Abd al Mumen. The previous year a revolt had broken out in eastern Andalusia. It was soon followed by others in different provinces. Spanish Islam was now in a state of indescribable confusion. New kingdoms rose and fell; provinces and cities fought one against the other; and throughout the turmoil the Almoravides, who had, meanwhile, lost the town of Morocco, their last African possession, continued to hold out in individual fortified towns and castles. With the help of Christian troops, they even recovered Cordova, which they had lost (1147). At last an Almohad army landed in Spain. It did not, however, make as rapid progress as might have been expected. The Christian princes, naturally, did not forego the opportunity of attacking the country while it was thus rent with internal dissension. A powerful army, under the leadership of the King of Castile, marched through Andalusia and Granada, and with the help of a fleet, provided by Genoa, Pisa, and Catalonia, took the town of Almeria, the stronghold of the Moorish pirates, and long an object of hatred to all the Christian powers on the Mediterranean (1147). Almost at the same time King Alfonso of Portugal stormed Lisbon: the count of Barcelona seized Tortosa and the mouth of the Ebro.

Fortune gradually declared in favour of the Almohads. Cordova fell into their hands, and Almeria was retaken by them. Finally, they stormed Granada, the last refuge of the Almoravides in Andalusia. The remnants of that nation, once so powerful, fled to the Balearic Islands (1157). Christian Spain had only been temporarily united, and its disruption and the confusion thence resulting gave the Almohads time to establish themselves securely. In general, their rule was milder than that of the Almoravides had been. In fact, it was the better portion of the mixed population of North Africa which had gathered round the white Almohad banner to oppose the cruel tyranny of the inhabitants of the plains, and had trampled the black Almoravide standard in the dust. It was also a piece of good fortune that a great gulf stood fixed between the orthodox theologians and the sectarian Almohads. Philosophy and learning were thereby greatly benefited. However, even under the Almohads the Berber race, which was wholly incapable of culture, continued to be a dominant power: it was, therefore, no advantage to Spanish Islam that a strong body of this race passed across the Straits of Gibraltar. The Berber infantry, armed with long lances, together with Arab cavalry, Christian soldiers, and a picked force of negroes, constituted the main fighting power of the Almohad, as of the Almoravide, army. Protected by this army, the prosperity of Andalusia increased considerably. The kinsmen of the Almohad ruler, Abd al Mumen, who were set as governors over the provinces, were, at least, preferable to the overbearing military chieftains of the Almoravides. Poets and scholars again found a generous reception: architecture, in particular, was intelligently studied, though the African towns gained much greater advantages thereby than the towns of Andalusia.

After the death of Abd al Mumen (1163), his son Yusuf (Jusof) conquered Valencia and Murcia, where a Mohammedan dynasty had hitherto held out with the help of the Christians. War against the Christian states followed with

varying results. In the time of Yusuf's successor, Al Mansur, occurred one of those important conflicts which occasionally break the monotonous list of sieges and incursions. Unfortunately for themselves, the Castilians, who could not at that time expect any help from their coreligionists, had made a devastating expedition into Andalusia, and brought down upon themselves the Almohad princes: Al Mansur crossed the straits with an enormous army, and after a bloody conflict in 1195 at Alarcos, utterly defeated the Castilian forces, which had in vain expected reinforcements from Navarre and Leon. However, Al Mansur's attempt to reconquer Toledo in the next year failed entirely. The most brilliant successes of the Mohammedans were able only to check, but not to avert, impending destruction. The confusion which broke out again in Christian Spain brought no advantage to the Almohads. When, at length, Al Mansur's successor, Mohammed, gathered all his strength for one tremendous blow, union among the Christian princes was restored at the eleventh hour. In the battle of Navas de Tolosa (p. 524) the fortunes and the power of the Almohads were utterly shattered.

When King Alfonso VI. of Castile was carried, badly wounded, from the battle-field of Zalaca, he may have even then been designing new plans of attack: he could hardly have guessed that the advance southward would be checked for more than a century, and that a fresh period of internal confusion was beginning for his kingdom. The death of his only son at Ucles (p. 518), obliged him to leave the kingdom to his daughter, Urraca, with the exception of Galicia, which fell to Urraca's son by her first marriage with Count Raymond of Burgundy. This son afterwards became Alfonso VII. At first it seemed as if this difficulty would end favourably in the unification of the Spanish highlands; for the energetic Alfonso I. of Aragon asked and obtained in marriage the hand of Urraca of Castile. But if the King of Aragon hoped to be able henceforward to use the whole power of northern Spain to further his own ends, he did not take into account the unbounded pride of the Castilians or the character of Urraca, who was a true daughter of her country. Hardly had Alfonso VI. been buried (1109) than Castile took up arms against Aragon. In the wars and confusion which resulted Castile came off much the worst. Social order and public morality disappeared under the mad rule of Urraca, whereas the King of Aragon was able to bide his time, extend his boundaries, and conquer powerful Saragossa (1118). The death of Urraca in the year 1126 dissolved the connection between Aragon and Castile: Alfonso VII. took up the government of his disordered country. The power of the Castilian lion rose again during continual warfare against the Saracens, while Aragon, after the death of Alfonso I., was again divided into its original provinces of Aragon and Navarre, and thereby lost its preponderance. At the same time the principality of Barcelona was united to Provence, and gained considerable power and prestige.

This change of circumstances made Alfonso VII. so pre-eminent that in the year 1135 he had himself proclaimed emperor of Spain at the council of Leon, apparently with the consent of the other princes, who were present in person or were represented by envoys. Ferdinand I. and Alfonso VI. had already made a temporary claim to the title of emperor, which in Spain naturally did not bear the same significance as in Italy and Germany. The confusion which broke out shortly after the coronation made it sufficiently plain to Alfonso VII. that the

conception of the princes concerning their relations to the emperor did not coincide with his own.

Portugal in particular now made a decisive effort for independence, and was supported by Navarre, the mountaineers of which country were as unconquerable as ever. In the year 1139 Count Alfonso of Portugal took the title of king. In 1147 he wrested Lisbon from the Saracens with the help of German and Dutch troops, and thus gained a capital worthy of his country.

Meanwhile, however, important events were taking place in the East. Ramiro II. of Aragon had abdicated, and left the country to his two-year-old daughter, Petronella, who had been betrothed to Count Raymond Berengar IV. of Catalonia with the consent of Alfonso VII. The count at once undertook the duties of regent for Ramiro, who retired to the seclusion of a monastery. Thus the kingdoms of Catalonia, or Barcelona, and Aragon were practically united. The results of these events were of immeasurable importance for the whole of Spain. Catalonia was a maritime power; hitherto its policy had been entirely foreign, and its most important interests lay in the Mediterranean. Its close union with Aragon, the most thoroughly Spanish of all states, gave it the advantage of a strong barrier in the rear, but also connected its future indissolubly with that of the Christian kingdoms of Spain. The development in the Iberian peninsula necessarily tended towards union, and it at once became manifest that Catalonia was destined to be a Spanish, and not a French, province, and that all the conquests made by the Catalonian sea-power were bound to be the inheritance of the rising power of Castile. The great Spanish empire of later times was largely founded upon the possessions of Catalonia and Aragon in the west of the Mediterranean. The Catalonians entered upon these conquests shortly after their union with Aragon; their previous attempts upon the Balearic Islands had led to no permanent result. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the influence of the two united kingdoms was considerably extended, until at last the standard of Aragon waved over the largest islands in the western Mediterranean, including Sicily; even a part of Greece recognised the dominion of Aragon for a short period. At the same time, the domestic interests of the dual kingdom obliged it to press southward, and so to secure a proportionate share of the Moorish spoils. Thus, in the year 1238, Valencia fell into the hands of Aragon. The advantage in this rivalry remained decisively on the side of Castile, which occupied Murcia in the year 1243, and thereby entirely cut off from Aragon any possibility of further advance.

Side by side with this development of Spanish foreign policy important changes within the kingdoms were taking place, which made the eleventh and twelfth centuries extremely important in the history of the country. Hitherto the Spanish kingdoms, especially Leon and Castile, had lived in self-dependent isolation, in conformity with their geographical position. The unceasing warfare which they had carried on by their own efforts had driven their hereditary enemies from one portion of the ancient Gothic kingdom. Such civilisation as had survived these rough times sprang chiefly from the prosperity of the Gothic kingdom, in which the Roman and Gothic elements had been united under the banner of the Athanasian belief. On these old foundations rested both Church and state; the Gothic liturgy, which was preserved unchanged, and the alphabet of Toledo were outward tokens of the isolation of the Spanish people, a state

which was in such harmony with the very spirit of the race that any internal movement which might open up the country to the influence of western European civilisation was inconceivable; while, naturally, religious convictions formed an absolute barrier to any possible approach towards the civilisation of the Moors.

There was, however, a power which could not permit the existence of Christian kingdoms in continued isolation from the universal Church — a power which had been working for centuries to subject the civil to the ecclesiastical influence, and to remodel and revive the ancient Roman empire. This power was the papacy, on which the conviction was at last beginning to dawn that possibly the truest supporters of the papal supremacy might be found among the warriors who were fighting for the faith in Spain. During the Crusades the Roman curia had become aware of its powers, and now that Rome was beginning to carry out great schemes of world policy she could not afford to leave Spain out of consideration. First and foremost, the Spanish Church, which had a national character of its own, had to be closely bound to the Church of Rome; and to that end the Gothic liturgy must be abolished, and fresh blood infused into the Spanish clergy. The struggle to make the influence of the Church preponderant was largely carried on by the French Benedictine monks, who came to Spain in large numbers towards the end of the eleventh century, and proved themselves the best advocates of the papacy. Their headquarters was the monastery of Sahagun (half-way between Leon and Palencia), to which extraordinary privileges were granted. Sagahun produced the archbishop Bernhard of Toledo (1086), in whose fanatical attack upon the Mohammedans in his see we trace the beginnings of that unholy spirit of intolerance which was at that time wholly foreign to the rough, but magnanimous, Spaniards. It was Roman influence that first inspired this temper into a people naturally noble and kindly, until it eventually broke out, like a loathsome ulcer, in the horrors of the Inquisition. At the same time, the French monks were the involuntary means of introducing European civilisation. If Spain now became more open to the influences of the outside world, it is to the activity of these men, in great degree, that this result must be ascribed.

At the same time, the stirring period of the Crusades brought the chivalry of Spain into closer connection with that of neighbouring countries. The Templars entered Aragon and undertook with brilliant success a frontier war against the Saracens. In Castile, during the twelfth century, there was formed, upon the model of the Templars, the knightly orders of St. James, Alcantara, and Calatrava; in Portugal was formed the order of Aviz (see the plate opposite, "The Chief Military Orders of Spain and Portugal"). These orders proved a splendid weapon against the Moorish power; but the stimulus to the movement of political and religious ideas which they provided largely contributed to the formation of that spirit of militant fanaticism which became a source of temporary strength to Spain, but eventually a cause of permanent weakness.

Knights and clergy, acting with or against the royal houses, were at that time the powers that guided the destinies of the country. But gradually by the side of these the nucleus of a middle class fortunately began to arise in those towns, which had grown up under the protection of strong fortresses, or could trace their origin to Roman times. In many towns, particularly in Toledo, the old

THE CHIEF KNIGHTLY ORDERS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

A KNIGHT of St. Benedict of Aviz in Portugal.

1147. "The new chivalry."
1162. Ecclesiastical orders of knights: the first master of the order, Peter, prince and peer of France.
Insignia of the order: short black scapulary, black cape, no gold except on sword and spurs. Rule of the order, that of St. Benedict, the Cistercian.
1166. "Knight of Evora."
1187. "Knight of Aviz."
1213. Endowment of the Portuguese property of the Spanish order of Calatrava, which retained its jurisdiction over the property.
1214. Constituted by Pope Innocent III.
1385. Separation from the order of Calatrava.
1550. Grand mastership united with the crown of Portugal.
1789. Order for military service: three classes.

A Knight of the Order of Calatrava in Spain.

1158. Gift of the town of Calatrava by King Sancho III., of Castile, to the Cistercian abbot, Dom Raimund of the abbey U. L. F. of Fitero in Navarre, and foundation of the order.
Insignia and rule: Cistercian.
1163. Don Garcias, the first grand master; separation of the knights from the monks of Fitero.
1164. Constituted by Pope Alexander III.
1197. Calatrava taken by Moors; "Order of Salvatierra."
1212. Re-conquest of Calatrava.
1397. White tabard, white scapulary, black cape, and palmer collar.
1498. Government by Ferdinand the Catholic.
1523. Grand mastership united with the crown of Spain.
1872. Dissolution.
1874. Restoration, one class.

A Knight of St. Jacob of the Sword in Spain.

Time of foundation unknown; in existence 1030.
1170. Union of thirteen nobles with the regular prebendaries of St. Eligius at Compostela.
1175. Constituted by Pope Alexander III.
Insignia: white coat, white cap, hair shorn at crown of head, red sword on breast. Rule of order, that of St. Augustine.
1290. Offshoot to Portugal (new statutes there 1789 and 1862; now guilds for art and science, five classes).
1493. Government of Spanish branch by kings of Spain.
1522. Grand mastership united with crown of Spain. Introduction of royal councillors' order (in place of the Thirteen) by Charles I.
1524. }
1525. } Papal confirmations (Spain).
1542. }
1653. Stricter proof of nobility required (Spain), five classes.

A Knight of the Order of Our Lady of Montesa in Spain.

1316. Foundation by Jacob II. of Aragon and endowment with the Valencian property of the Templar order, then dissolved: under the jurisdiction of the Calatrava order.
Insignia: Calatrava; Rule: Benedictine.
1572. Confirmation by Pope Paul III.
1587. The last grand master dies, Don Pedro Louis Galceran de Borga. Government by crown of Spain.
1872. Dissolution.
1874. Restoration: courtly order, with ecclesiastical form, one class.

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THE CHIEF KNIGHTLY ORDERS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

(After Christian Frederic Schwan, Designs of those knightly orders which possess special insignia. Mannheim 1791.)

burgher spirit had not been wholly quenched. The heroic struggles of the people of Toledo to secure the independence of their corporate life during the period of Moorish dominion remind us of the deeds of the great Italian municipalities of the Middle Ages. With some assistance from the princes who looked upon the towns as a useful counterpoise to the refractory feudal nobility, the towns of Castile and Leon gained strength and influence by slow degrees. Municipal regulations, of which the *fuero* of Leon of the year 1020 seems to be the first, made the young communities united and independent in spirit. The constant military expeditions, to which the towns were obliged to send their contingents, increased the military skill and training of the citizens. In the year 1132 the citizens of Salamanca were able to undertake on their own account a punitive expedition into the district of Badajoz. They were, it is true, utterly defeated; but, none the less, the attempt is evidence of the self-reliance of this town of Leon. By degrees the towns succeeded in obtaining representation in the Diets, the Cortes, but it is impossible to say exactly when this important advance began. The influence of the municipalities was naturally increased when Andalusia was conquered and the towns in that province had to be recolonised, a process which could only be carried out by the concession of special privileges. An additional number of townships then came into existence, which were specially favoured by their situation, and soon attained considerable wealth and importance.

The most important feature of the thirteenth century in Spain was the rapid and destructive overthrow of the Almohad power in Andalusia, where the kingdom of Granada was the only surviving remnant of the Moorish states. Castile came definitely to the head of the Iberian kingdoms as soon as it had collected its forces and secured for itself the united aid of the other kingdoms of the peninsula; but the journey to this goal had been long and toilsome. The emperor Alfonso VII. of Castile, during his restless life, had taken up arms now as the friend of the petty Islam states, now as the ally of the hard-pressed Almoravides, always keeping one object before himself, the weakening of Spanish Islam and its final overthrow by a vigorous onslaught. The interference of the Almohads in Andalusian affairs entirely thwarted his plans. The last campaign, in the year 1157, miscarried, and the emperor died in the Muradal pass during his retreat. Unfortunately for Christian Spain, Alfonso had divided his kingdom between his two sons; the one, Sancho III., obtained Castile, while the other, Ferdinand II., received Leon with the adjoining territory. The consequence was a series of wars between the Christian states, which allowed Portugal to secure its complete independence (cf. below, p. 539).

Sancho III. was preparing to assume the title of emperor, and would, perhaps, have succeeded in maintaining the supremacy of Castile, had not his untimely death left his three-year-old son, Alfonso VIII. (or IX.; by Castilian reckoning he was the third of this name), upon the throne; a period of the wildest confusion began. The most distinguished of the noble families of Castile, those of Castro and Lara, attempted to secure the guardianship of the child for themselves. As they looked everywhere for allies, the other Christian rulers and even the Saracens became involved in the struggle. The pernicious power which the feudal nobles had gained now became apparent for the first time in all its fatal force. It was only when the young king became strong enough to seize the reins of

empire that the disorganised kingdom was brought into some kind of order; hitherto it had been protected against the attacks of the Almohads rather by the efforts of the knightly orders than by its own power. But the dissension between the Christian states did not cease then; even the intervention of the pope, with threats of interdict, did not accelerate the union of the Christian states in the face of the ever-increasing peril of the Almohads.

Alfonso the Noble of Castile vigorously prosecuted the war against the Almohads as far as his struggles with his Christian neighbours permitted him; but the confusion rose to its highest point when the flower of the Castilian army fell in the battle of Alarcos (1195, cf. above, p. 520), and when the Almohad army appeared before Toledo in the next year. Necessity, at length, became a spur to greater unity. The Roman Church, which had hitherto chiefly displayed and increased its power by its favourite method of forbidding marriages, now took in hand the difficult task of uniting the Christian states for common action against the Almohads. It seemed, for example, an almost impossible undertaking to bring the sister kingdoms of Castile and Leon to reason, so deep had the venom of blind hatred permeated both. The plan formed by Sancho VII. of Navarre, of getting possession of the north of Spain with the help of the Almohads, and as their vassal, shows what was to be expected of the Christian princes. However, in the ensuing turmoil Sancho lost his Basque provinces to Castile.

Alfonso the Noble had no sooner succeeded in restoring better relations among the princes than he began a policy that was desperate in appearance, but promised the most brilliant results in the event of success. It was apparently undertaken with the knowledge and concurrence of Pope Innocent III. By making repeated incursions into Andalusia, Alfonso so enraged the Almohad ruler, Mohammed, that the latter at length proclaimed a holy war against the Christians, and brought over an innumerable host from North Africa. Now was the time to see whether Alfonso's calculations had been correct. If he succeeded in uniting the whole power of Spain for the moment under himself, he might reckon on victory, and Andalusia would fall into the hands of Castile. If his attempt failed, he would lose, at least, the southern portion of his kingdom, and the leadership of the Christian states would fall definitely to Aragon. Fortune declared on this occasion for Alfonso. The envoys of Rome succeeded in rousing in Spain a fiery crusading fever, which ultimately no prince could venture to oppose. Warriors anxious to fight for the faith streamed in from France as well. At Navas de Tolosa, near the upper Guadalquivir, the confederate Christian army met the Almohads and overthrew them with dreadful slaughter (1212).

6. CASTILE AS DOMINANT POWER

A. The Kingdom of Castile

The fate of Andalusia was now decided, although the conquest of this extensive district occupied ten years, and a remnant of the Moorish power continued to maintain its position in Granada. Immediately upon the death of Alfonso

the Noble (1214) further progress was stopped by quarrels about the succession. However, Alfonso's immediate successors died, and the throne finally went to Ferdinand the Holy, son of the King of Leon. Upon the death of his father this ruler reunited the kingdoms of Leon and Castile (1230). The gloomy period of war between the two kingdoms was thereby concluded, and the Castilian kingdom securely founded.

At last it was possible to reap the fruits of the victory of Navas de Tolosa. The Almohads could not recover from their defeat. Their power grew weaker every year, owing to revolts in Andalusia and quarrels concerning the succession. Thus no permanent resistance to the Castilian arms could be even contemplated; in the year 1236 the old kalif capital, Cordova, fell into Ferdinand's hands, though a vigorous attempt to raise the siege was made by the leader of the Andalusian Moors, Motawakkel, a descendant of the Beni Hud of Saragossa (cf. above, p. 509). After the death of Motawakkel, the best of the Moors gathered round Mohammed ben Alahmar, the son of a noble Andalusian family. He established himself in the mountains of Granada, and succeeded in founding a kingdom, which was destined to endure for some time. Mohammed recognised Ferdinand's suzerainty, and even joined with him in the conquest of Seville; he thus contrived to avert the storm that threatened his embryo state. Murcia also became tributary to Ferdinand in the year 1243, but was unable to maintain this semi-independent position for any length of time. Populous Seville offered the most stubborn resistance, and was not conquered till the year 1248. Valencia had been taken by Aragon ten years previously (p. 521), and the Portuguese had possessed themselves of Algarve, so that of the Mohammedan empire, which fifty years before had been such a menace to Spain, there remained only Granada (which still, however, displayed surprising vitality), Murcia, and the unimportant state of Niebla.

A large part of the Andalusian Moors, especially the inhabitants of Seville and other towns, emigrated, while the country population remained for the time being. The growing Spanish nation speedily repopulated the towns. As early as the year 1263 the Andalusian towns, at the desire of the emperor Alfonso, formed a confederacy, a "hermandad," for mutual protection against Granada, the prince of which state had called in auxiliaries from Morocco, and was attempting to secure his complete independence with the further support of Murcia and Niebla. The Moorish revolt failed; the crafty ruler of Granada succeeded, by timely negotiation, in preserving his relations with Castile; but Murcia and Niebla were now incorporated into the Castilian kingdom. This state of affairs was to continue for two centuries.

At first it seemed as if the victorious career of the Castilian monarchs would carry them even beyond the Straits of Gibraltar: Alfonso X., who succeeded his father, Ferdinand, in the year 1252, made upon several occasions large preparations for an attack upon Morocco. But the unfavourable financial condition of Castile, resulting from the many wars of conquest (Alfonso had tried in vain to improve affairs by depreciating the coinage), barred these ambitious projects. Finally, Alfonso's visionary ideas of making good his claim to the duchy of Suabia, and of gaining the crown of the holy Roman emperor, diverted Castilian policy from its natural course. Alfonso attained no real success, and shortly before his death (1284) had the mortification of seeing King Pedro III. of Aragon

take advantage of the revolt of Sicily against Charles of Anjou to seize that rich island (cf. below, p. 528). Aragon had already opened the road to Italy by its conquest of the Balearic Islands in the year 1229.

But even without these great political projects of Alfonso the period of conquest was bound to come to a temporary close. The time was drawing on for a definite partition of power between the feudal nobles and the king, a crisis through which every rising state in the Middle Ages had to pass. It was evident that this struggle would not be easy nor capable of any speedy termination. The attempt of Alfonso X. to unify the internal administration of his kingdom by issuing a common legal code had met with such determined opposition that he was obliged to abandon the idea. The king at length found a number of his nobles, under the leadership of the Lara (cf. p. 523), united with the rulers of Granada in open revolt against him.

Fortunately, Alfonso found an earnest friend in King Jaime of Aragon. This ruler knew the nobility; the conflict which was breaking out for the first time in Castile had already been fought out before his time in Aragon. Peter II. of Aragon (1196-1213), in order to secure his heritage, and to break down the influence which the nobles exercised over the choice of a king, had formally received his kingdom as a fief from Pope Innocent III., and by this desperate measure had attained to his end (1204). The nobles of Aragon had, naturally, not been pacified by this means. King Jaime's opinion of them is shown by his words to Alfonso X.: "Two orders in the state you must especially cherish and promote: the clergy and the inhabitants of the cities and towns; for these love God more than do the knights, who are more inclined than any other order to revolt against their lord." At length, even Alfonso's son, Sancho, raised the banner of revolt, so that, upon the death of the king, the Castilian kingdom was in the greatest confusion.

Sancho IV. (1284-95) made an unfortunate attempt to play off the Haro family, to which he showed special favour, against the rest of the nobility; the insatiable greed and the ingratitude of his *protégés* soon placed him in a most embarrassing position. This difficulty seemed to be further increased upon Sancho's death, when his son, Ferdinand IV., who was still a minor, came to the throne, and his mother, Maria de Molina, undertook the regency. However, Maria de Molina showed greater insight than Sancho: instead of depending on the feudal nobles, who were invariably false, she turned to the towns of Castile for support. Confederations of towns (hermandades), the first of which had been founded by Alfonso X. among the towns of Andalusia, now came into being in all the provinces. With their help Maria de Molina obtained the recognition of her son's supremacy and of that of her grandson, Alfonso XI., after her son's death (1312). It was only the influence of this extraordinary woman which averted a state of absolute anarchy, as is shown by the fact that after her death, in the year 1321, the kingdom fell into hopeless dissension. Only when Alfonso XI., in 1325, at the age of fourteen, seized the reins of government with a strong hand, did the grievous state of affairs begin to improve. An immense army from Morocco crossed the straits in the year 1340, only to be confronted by the united power of the Castilian people at Salado, and to be utterly defeated. After a long siege Algeçiras fell into the power of Alfonso, a town which had been one of the main gates for African invasion into Spain. During a vain

attempt to wrest Gibraltar from the power of Granada, the king died in camp of the plague (1350).

In Pedro I., the young son of Alfonso XI., there came to the throne of Castile one of those personalities which destiny raised up in different countries as the special champions of the royal power. Pedro, who speedily justified his nickname of the Cruel, was not one of those natures which make their way openly by force of arms. He employed the weapons of craft and, when needful, of treachery, in his struggle to assert the power of the throne, both against the nobles and also against the towns, which had shown increasing independence since the time of Maria de Molina. Pedro did not succeed in finally attaining to his object, as did Louis XI. of France, a man of very similar character, a century later. The sole reason was that Pedro was not a man of stern and cold determination; all his cunning plans were hampered or ruined by his irritability and his wild explosions of anger. This flaw in his character was all the more fatal to him, because no less a personage than his half-brother, Henry of Trastamare, appeared at the head of the opposition. Henry was a man who had displayed great tenacity and acuteness in the course of his chequered career, and his strong character assured him the unswerving adherence of his followers. Pedro's unhappy marriage with Blanche of Bourbon, his relations with Donna Maria Padilla, whose children he finally legitimised, his malicious and ruthless behaviour towards all whom he mistrusted, gradually alienated every class of the people, and nullified any good effects that absolute government had produced. After repeated failures Henry of Trastamare defeated his brother on March 14, 1369, at Montiel, and during the subsequent negotiations he treacherously slew with his own hand this master in the art of treachery (March 23, 1369).

As Enrique II. the victor could only maintain his position (1369-79) by abolishing a large number of innovations of Pedro that had greatly benefited the country, and by liberally dividing the country among his followers. His successor, Juan I. (1379-90), had to recover the lands which had been distributed, in order to avoid the obvious results of such a policy. He found the task difficult. As the next king, Enrique III. (1390-1406), continued this policy, the royal power gradually attained to great eminence and passed triumphantly through a severe crisis on the death of Enrique (1406). Although his successor, Juan II., was but two years old, the struggles and confusion which had hitherto been inevitable were now avoided. Unfortunately, the feebleness of Juan's rule (1406-54) brought this progressive movement to a standstill. Enrique IV. (1454-74) was wholly in the hands of his favourites, and well deserved his nickname of Helpless: under his rule all the ground which the crown had gained in its struggles against feudalism seemed lost. In the year 1465 civil war broke out: when the young Infant Alfonso, who had been set up in opposition to Enrique, died in 1468, the eyes of all the discontented turned towards Isabella, the high-spirited sister of the king and heiress of the throne. This princess, against her brother's will, gave her hand in marriage to the heir of Aragon, Ferdinand, in the year 1469, and thereby made the first step towards the union of the two most powerful kingdoms of the Pyrenæan peninsula, a step of incalculable importance for the future of Spain. When Enrique died, on December 11, 1474, this union had come within the bounds of possibility.

B. Aragon

The history of Aragon from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century offers, in general, a more cheerful picture than that of Castile. The rulers of the country proved able to pursue with great success a far-reaching policy, to which they were impelled by the fortunate position of their country. It is a characteristic fact that in all their more important undertakings the kings could rely upon the Catalonian portion of their dominions, while the nobles and towns of inland Aragon conducted themselves quite in the manner of the Castilian feudal nobles. We have already related (p. 526) how Peter II. attempted to put a stop to the interference of the different orders in settling the succession, by accepting his kingdom as a fief from the pope. His feudal obligations did not prevent him from appearing as an opponent of the papacy which had helped him in the war against the Albigenses, in which he lost his life. His successor, Jaime I., concluded the subjugation of Valencia during his long rule. The native population remained, for the most part, in the country, and continued to till the fruitful Huerta of Valencia as the vassals of the Catalonian nobles, who had taken the chief part in the conquest. Then arose those friendly relations between the great nobles and the industrious Moors which came to be so important later on. All early attempts to expel the Mohammedans entirely, were frustrated by the decisive attitude of the feudal lords who held fiefs in Valencia.

Under Pedro III. (1276-85), the successor of Jaime, the transmarine policy of the kingdom assumed great importance, for there remained nothing more to conquer in the Spanish peninsula. The people of Sicily had shaken off the rule of Charles of Anjou, the creature of Rome, in the bloody vespers of the year 1282; they offered the crown to Pedro III. as King Manfred's son-in-law, and on his arrival with a strong Aragonese army received him with joy as their liberator and saviour. Upon this occasion also Catalonia alone bore the cost of the war; and we may estimate the strength of its sea-power from the triumphant resistance which Pedro III. and his bold admiral, Roger de Lauria, offered to the overpowering numbers of his allied enemies, among whom were the pope and the King of France.

Aragon, as we have said, took but little share in the trouble or the glory of this war, but continued its regular development as an inland state: the ostensible object of this internal policy was to weaken the evil effects of the feudal system by the union of all peace-loving classes, without having recourse to the dubious means of an absolute monarchy. It is a process well worthy of observation, though at times it came into conflict with the foreign policy of the kings. The towns stood at the head of the movement: their representatives met in *juntas*, which were especially concerned with the maintenance of the public safety, and sent their delegates once every year to Saragossa. At the head of this organisation, which was found to work admirably, stood the justiciar of Aragon, to whose sovereign power even the king had to bow upon occasion. As a matter of fact, this republican state had no real need of a royal chief: Pedro III. learned of how small account the king was there, in the year 1283, at Tarragona, when he appealed to the classes of the Aragon people for help against the formidable preparations of France, and instead of receiving money and troops, met nothing

but hostility, threats, and demands for fresh privileges (the general charter of Saragossa).

The evolution of Catalonia into a great maritime power proceeded also for some time without any help from the kings and even against their desires. When Jaime II. gave up Sicily, as the price of a final and lasting peace with the pope and with France, his brother Frederic kept possession of the island with the help of the Sicilians and the Aragonese forces on the spot, although Jaime supported his enemy with troops and ships. In return for Sicily Jaime had received Sardinia and Corsica as a fief from the pope. Although Frederic continued to retain Sicily, Jaime had no scruples about seizing these islands in the year 1322. The real struggle, in this case, was carried on by Barcelona, which provided most of the munitions of war, against the powerful commercial town of Pisa, which then lost its possessions in Sardinia. The place of this decayed trading town, at the mouth of the Arno, was taken by its old rival, Genoa, which energetically took up the war with Catalonia for the mastery of the western Mediterranean and for the possession of Sardinia, which that mastery carried with it. The war, in which both sides suffered heavily, was at length closed by a peace of exhaustion, and Catalonia succeeded with the utmost exertions in retaining possession of Sardinia.

Up to this time the affairs of Aragon had run parallel to those of Castile. The Catalonians carried out a far-reaching maritime and commercial policy in close connection with the monarchy; but in Aragon the same struggle between feudalism and absolutism which had ravaged Castile went on, with this difference, that the development of Aragon had been sounder and healthier, as is shown by the fact that the nobles and the towns were generally united against the king. At the time when Peter the Cruel was fighting against feudalism in Castile, the ruler of Aragon, Pedro IV., found himself involved in a struggle with the people of Aragon, who were joined by the people of Valencia, while the Catalonians stood aloof from the turmoil. Just as in Castile, the leadership of the nobles against the king was taken by an Infant of the royal house. Pedro IV. was more fortunate than his Castilian namesake; he defeated the barons of Aragon and Valencia in open battle at Epila, and by cleverly utilising this success, he established the predominance of the royal power in Aragon (1348). Peace, however, was not definitely assured, as was seen under Pedro's successors; the continual wars for the possession of Sardinia and of Sicily, which was reunited to Aragon, afforded many an opportunity to the feudal nobility for creating the usual disturbances and defying the power of the throne. The dominion of Aragon over Sardinia had no sooner been firmly established than the ancient family of the counts of Barcelona became extinct upon the death of King Martin (1440), and quarrels concerning the succession introduced fresh confusion. Fortunately, the different orders in the state soon agreed to raise to the throne the Infant Ferdinand of Castile, a grandson of Pedro IV.

Ferdinand I. made it clear during his short rule (1412-16) that he proposed to increase the power of the crown by every possible means. His successor, Alfonso V. (1416-58), gave, on the contrary, his most assiduous attention to the foreign policy of the country, and after a struggle lasting twenty-two years, obtained possession of the kingdom of Naples. The defence of his new acquisitions and the continual wars with Genoa kept the king on active service until his

death. The close connection with Italy was not without favourable results for the countries of the Spanish peninsula: a breath of that spirit which was bringing forth the Renaissance in Italy came over to the Iberian coasts, and was welcomed at the king's court and among the rich citizens of Barcelona. Even under King Martin the effeminancy of the court gave great vexation to the rude nobility.

The citizens of Barcelona had almost the entire maritime traffic of Catalonia in their hands; they really sustained the ambitious foreign policy of the country, and it is, therefore, a remarkable fact that they should have lived for centuries on such excellent terms with the royal power. This fact is not only good evidence for the statesmanlike conduct of the rulers, but also shows that the successors of the old counts of Barcelona considered their interests as involved in the good or ill fortune of the city. It was only under Juan II. (1458-79), the successor of Alfonso V., that Barcelona became hostile to the crown, and the immediate cause of this change of attitude was a series of unhappy events in the royal family. After the old dynasty had become extinct, the little kingdom of Navarre had fallen to Carlos, Juan's eldest son by his first marriage, and heir apparent to the throne of Aragon. But Juan's second wife, the Castilian Juana Enriquez, worked with unscrupulous energy to win the kingdoms of Aragon and Navarre for her own son, Ferdinand. The consequence was civil war, which did not terminate even with the sudden death of Carlos, who was most probably poisoned in the year 1461. Shortly afterwards the same fate overtook his sisters, to whom his claims had descended. Barcelona especially prosecuted the war with the energy of despair, called in foreign princes to its aid, and could not be brought back to its allegiance until the year 1472. It is difficult to say whether the town would have developed into an independent state or not; but the union of Aragon and Castile, which Queen Juana brought about by the marriage of her son, Ferdinand, to Isabella of Castile, naturally gave a new turn to Spanish politics, unfavourable to the aims of Barcelona.

C. Navarre

Juana's project of uniting Navarre and Aragon was not immediately successful. The fortunes of the little Pyrenæan state up to the fifteenth century can be sketched in a few words, inasmuch as there is no extensive foreign policy to be traced, and the internal development of the country ran a course parallel to that of the rest of Spain. The advance southward of the Castilians excluded Navarre from any share in the spoils of the Moors: its princes had to satisfy their ambition in little frontier wars or marriage alliances. After the dynasty of Champagne became extinct, Navarre was for some time (1285-1328) united to France, but recovered its independence when the house of Valois came to the throne of France.

A remarkable parallel to Peter the Cruel of Castile, or rather a caricature of that unscrupulous and autocratic monarch, is seen in Charles II., the Bad (1349-87). His successor, Charles the Noble, was fully occupied in undoing the mischief which his predecessor had caused. Charles the Noble was succeeded in 1441 by his daughter, Blanche, who had married Juan of Aragon; it was their son who came to so unhappy an end in the quarrel about the succession in

Aragon. However, Blanche's mother undertook the government of the kingdom, and left the country to her nephew, from whom it finally passed to the count of Perigord, Jean d'Albret. Thereupon the ruler of Castile and Aragon, Ferdinand the Catholic, made a vigorous attack, and united upper Navarre to his own kingdom (1512). The portion of lower Navarre situated north of the Pyrenees remained in the possession of Jean d'Albret. After the county of Roussillon had passed out of the hands of the kings of Aragon into the power of France, the best and most natural frontier for Spain was established (see the map at pp. 480, 481); the growing monarchy began steadily to remove the feudal dissensions that divided the country.

D. The Union of Aragon and Castile

The foundations for the union of Aragon and Castile had been laid by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in the year 1469, but there were difficulties in the way of its completion: complete incorporation was wholly to Ferdinand's interest, but was not desired by the people, either of Aragon or of Castile. Isabella was a true Castilian, and well able to maintain the rights of her position against her husband. Herein she found herself vigorously supported by her subjects, who looked with burning jealousy upon any encroachment of Aragon. Gradually, however, better relations came about between the parties, and the union was cemented by common inclination. To this fact, above all others, is due the permanent union of all the Spanish-speaking states.

7. THE FALL OF THE LAST MOORISH KINGDOM

After the conquest of Andalusia by the Castilians, the existence of the kingdom of Granada depended solely upon the disunion of Spain. As long as several Christian powers existed side by side in the peninsula, and continued to wear one another out by their continual quarrels, so long was there room for the little Islam state in the mountains of Andalusia, and its alliance was as welcome as its hostility was dreaded. The admirable geographical situation of the last Moorish kingdom favoured the far-sighted course of policy which its rulers successfully pursued for a long time. The flourishing tract of Granada formed the heart of the kingdom. It is surrounded by precipitous mountain-walls, above it tower the snow-crowned battlements of the Sierra Nevada, and it is well watered by the brooks and streams which flow down from the mountain ranges. On this frontier, dominated by the eminences which bear the castles of the Alhambra and Generalife, rises the fortified city of Granada (see the plate facing p. 497), before whose proud walls many a hostile army has recoiled. From the southern harbours of the country a glimpse can be caught of the coast of Morocco, the warlike inhabitants of which were always ready to cross the straits as allies of the kings of Granada, and even manifested a desire at times to conquer the little Spanish kingdom for themselves. In such cases the regular policy of Granada was to buy the help of one of the Christian states by paying tribute, and to play it off against their inconvenient fellow-believers from Africa.

Around the fortresses of Gibraltar, Algeçiras, and Tarifa, where invaders from Morocco entered the peninsula, the forces of Castile-Granada and North Africa fought many times in different combinations, while the kingdom of Granada, which nearly corresponds in extent to the modern Spanish province of that name, maintained to the end its natural boundaries (see the map at pp. 480, 481). The state was not, however, a closely organised unity. Feudal tendencies prevailed here, as in Christian Spain, and the governors of individual districts often held independent power. In particular, Malaga, which was divided from the vega of Granada by precipitous mountains, and Guadix, on the east of the capital, constantly and successfully defied their suzerain during the early history of the kingdom.

Not, however, through its favourable position alone was Granada able to maintain its independence for so long a time. The kingdom was the most thickly populated and the most highly civilised of all the states of the peninsula. The further south the Christian conquerors forced their way, the more did the flower of the Moorish people retreat into the mountain fastnesses on the southeast, the only refuge that remained open to their religion and their social institutions. The most skilful representatives of the arts, the sciences, and the trades from the different towns of Andalusia, Valencia, and Saragossa, pressed into Granada, and raised town and kingdom to such a height of civilisation and prosperity as it had never attained in times when the Moors had freedom and territory enough and to spare. The husbandmen of Andalusia, who also flocked in a body to the mountains, put forth all their experience and skill to wrest the utmost measure from the land. Thanks to their industry, the over-populated district was never forced to depend upon foreign supplies for its food. The capital was a brilliant and busy manufacturing town, containing probably half a million inhabitants at the height of its prosperity; riches of immense value were collected there. The king's revenue was correspondingly great. Thus Granada, rich and populous, was a dangerous opponent of the Christian states. The concentration of large numbers in so small a district enabled the rulers to take the field with a considerable army in a short space of time. The overflowing treasury enabled them to equip their troops in the best possible manner, or, if policy so dictated, to buy peace from the needy Christian princes by the payment of large sums. In Castile especially, every rebel and man with a grievance turned by preference to the King of Granada, who was always ready to devote troops and money towards increasing the confusion of the enemy's kingdom. Still more naturally, the Moors who had remained in Christian districts looked upon the last Islam ruler as their natural protector. And on their side the people of Granada could count, in times of danger, upon embarrassing their enemies and obliging them to retreat by causing an insurrection of the Moors in their rear.

The Nafrid dynasty, which, under Mohammed I., had gained possession of Granada upon the fall of the Almohads, maintained itself upon the throne to the disappearance of the kingdom. Mohammed succeeded, during his long reign (1232-72), in protecting his little kingdom from the danger which immediately threatened it. Owing to the dissensions prevailing in Christian Spain, it was easy for his successors not only to preserve their independence, but also to come forward frequently as the trusted allies of contending parties and states, and thereby to advance the standing of their country. However, as we have already

observed, Granada itself was not free from disputes about the succession. At the outset of the fourteenth century, for instance, the general, Osmin, was the real ruler. The country was largely indebted to Yusuf I. (1333-54) for advancement in civilisation. During the fourteenth century the prosperity of Granada was at its zenith. It seemed as if the decaying Moorish people were determined to show the world what splendid possibilities lay within it, and how honourably it had filled its place in the history of mankind. But even at this eleventh hour there is no trace of any tendency to fusion of the Christian and Moorish civilisations. In the East the horizon was rosy with the dawn of the Renaissance, while in the Far West the noblest star of the Oriental world of thought sank into the darkness, leaving not a trace behind. It is true, to use another metaphor, that the inheritance of Islam civilisation in Spain was scattered far and wide, and that here and there a gleam of the old brilliancy reappears. But no one was found to take up that heritage, as a whole, and to bring it to greater perfection.

At the end of the fourteenth century Granada begins to decline from its high political position. Whether the material prosperity of the kingdom also declined is a question that cannot be settled, owing to the lack of information on the subject. Complete destruction threatened when disturbances broke out under the government of Abu Nasr. The king attempted to put a stop to these by crushing the Beni Serradsch (Abencerragen), the most powerful family of the feudal nobility. Legend has made use of these occurrences, a fact which shows how deep an impression they must have made upon the people, which ascribed to them most of the blame for the approaching ruin. However, the king by no means destroyed the Beni Serradsch, for they again appear as playing a part in the disputes which followed with the royal power.

Under Abul Hasan (1462-82) the kingdom was shaken by dissension within the royal family. At the same time the rulers of united Christian Spain were making their preparations for striking a decisive blow at this remnant of the Moorish power. In the beginning of the year 1462 a band of Christians succeeded in taking the important Alhama, which was situated on the southern boundary of the vega of Granada, and commanded the granary of the country. The king made a desperate attempt to reconquer the fortress, but at that moment a palace revolution broke out in the capital, and one of the sons of Abul Hasan, the prince Abu Abd Allah (Boabdil) seized the throne. A civil war thereupon broke out, which Ferdinand I. cleverly turned to his own advantage. Thanks to his activity, the resistance of Granada, though very vigorous in certain quarters, became disorganised and futile, and the Christian arms made great progress. The confusion continued after Abul Hasan's death until, in the year 1487, the whole of the western half of the kingdom, including Malaga, was in the hands of the Spaniards. At length only the capital held out against the attacks of the Christians, where Abu Abd Allah prepared to resist to the last. Granada did not fall till the beginning of the year 1492. With it collapsed the last remnant of the power of Islam in Spain. Some small portion of the Moors emigrated. The majority remained on the spot, to drain the cup of tribulation to the dregs in after years (cf. pp. 542, 546, and 548).

8. UNITED SPAIN

A. The Beginnings of an Imperial Policy

The overthrow of Granada was but the culmination of the admirable domestic policy of the Spanish rulers, who had succeeded in using the advantages of their position for the establishment of the unity of Spain and the absolute monarchy. The union of Castile and Aragon had given irresistible power to the kings, while those parties that were hostile to the throne, the feudal nobles in particular, were unable to combine for common action while the struggle of races continued.

In Castile, which was now the leading power in Spain, there was a complete and decisive revolution. Queen Isabella, in her struggle against feudalism, availed herself of two allies, the burgher classes and the Church. The last was strengthened by the spirit of fanaticism which the Moorish wars had aroused, and finally succeeded in pushing so far to the front that in Spain, Church and state were fused into one indivisible whole, a result which eventually caused incalculable harm to the welfare of the Spanish people.

For the moment, the towns rendered indispensable aid in the struggle against the nobles, whose pride had known no bounds since the time of that feeble king, Enrique IV. The natural interests of the citizens brought them, on this occasion, into close union with the crown. According to the ancient Spanish custom, the towns of Castile formed a great confederation, the "sacred hermandad," which provided two thousand men for police and militia duty, cleared the land of robbers and criminals in a short time, and so intimidated the rapacious nobility that many of the grandees themselves joined the Holy Brotherhood. The government at once profited by this success to introduce a general code of laws, doing away with numerous discordancies of the "fueros." The queen, whose efforts were directed to the establishment of an absolute monarchy, did not propose to set the hermandad on a permanent footing. In the year 1498 the confederacy was dissolved, although a part of the police troops provided by the towns continued under arms.

A dangerous instrument in the hands of the feudal nobles were the three knightly orders of Santiago, Alcantara, and Calatrava. Their extraordinary wealth made their members, who were recruited from the nobility of the country, men of considerable power. The crown took this weapon from the nobles by permanently vesting the grand mastership of this order in the king. Membership in the order could, consequently, be conferred only by the king, so that the vigorous life of the military organisations faded into an empty show of court ceremonial. But it was not only by these circuitous ways that the crown, which now began to reap the fruit of its alliance with the Church, gained advantages for itself. It felt itself strong enough to undertake the revision of the proprietary rights of the nobles, and to demand the return of the alienated possessions of the crown. In lieu of their property, titles and honours were freely bestowed upon all thus deprived of their land; and the nobility were incited thereby to leave their lonely castles, and enter the service of the king and live at the court, where these titles had, at least, some value.

The aims of Isabella and her successors brought them into close connection

with the clergy, whose help they bought by concessions of a most important kind, so that Spain eventually became the centre and stronghold of all the reactionary tendencies of ecclesiasticism. But the cause of this is hardly to be found in the nature or inclination of the Spanish rulers. If the unity of Spain and of its people — a unity that had been so hardly won, after many failures, was to be preserved; if the discordant elements in the state were to be harmonised and the irreconcilable elements expelled, it was necessary to unite all Spaniards by some spiritual bond. This bond it was necessary to preserve intact by every possible means. And the only possible unifying force was to be found in the orthodox Church.

Spain contained many powerful elements of disruption in the numerous Jews and Moors resident in the country. Hence the monarchy, struggling to make itself absolute, could not permit the Reformation to drive a wedge into the nation which should cleave its religious beliefs asunder, as happened later in the case of Germany. Religious innovations would have inspired the opponents of the monarchy with fresh and irresistible vitality, and the Pyrenæan peninsula would have been threatened with a period of tumult and confusion, such as resulted in the Thirty Years' War in Germany. On the other hand, if success crowned the efforts to maintain unity of religious belief, it was to be expected that the Spanish nationality would evolve into an organic whole, which would expel from Iberian ground all members of an alien faith — that is to say, every one of foreign race. Then it would be possible, with the help of the nation, to carry out those ambitious schemes of foreign policy which Ferdinand I. was already beginning to contemplate. What importance, in comparison with these considerations, had the cry for light and for intellectual freedom which rose in Spain where a growing humanitarianism began to dispel the mists of stolid ignorance that had so long shrouded the peninsula? The Inquisition, that weapon forged by the papacy against its enemies, was nowhere so gladly received as in Spain; for the Spanish rulers, in advancing the Inquisition, were fighting for their own influence and for the preservation of the purity of the Spanish race. In vain did the feudal republicans of Aragon protest against the introduction of the courts of the Inquisition. Church and state were now united in invincible force against them. In Castile the grand inquisitor, Thomas de Torquemada, had encouraged the spiritual courts since the year 1483, and during the period that he held office had remorsely consigned countless numbers to the stake: but it was not till later that the Inquisition attained to the widest scope of its pitiless activity (cf. p. 545).

It cannot be doubted that so cold and calculating a man as Ferdinand favoured the Inquisition, because its aims were in harmony with his own foreign policy. This policy now becomes of momentous and fatal import in the history of Spain. This policy it was that brought the kingdom, after a rapid and brilliant rise, to the extreme of degradation and weakness.

For centuries the Spanish people had kept one object before their eyes — an object that had guided them through all the devious windings of their history — the expulsion of Islam and its adherents from Spanish soil. Other European nations had turned their attention to new intellectual and economic problems, but no new ideal was possible or desirable for Spain so long as a Moorish banner floated over the battlements of an Iberian fortress. During centuries of warfare

the states of the peninsula had worked towards this end. Body and mind had been constantly in action, the whole country had been turned into an armed camp, and thus a spirit of confidence in their cause had been aroused in the people, and the readiness to fight for the faith, a spirit which broke out with irresistible power in internecine quarrels whenever the war against the hereditary foe was interrupted by treaty of peace or armistice.

Now their old enemies were utterly cast down. The Spanish nation stood in gleaming array upon the shore of the straits which divide Africa from Europe with nervous arm, uplifted in menace. The decisive moment in the national life was at hand. If the nation declared the time of war to be past and gone, if they turned their united strength and energy to improve their country, which was far behind all others, if they took their part in those great intellectual movements which were passing over Europe, then they might look forward confidently to a prosperous future. But how paltry did this ideal seem compared with the past object of the Spanish national life! The people would not lay aside their shining arms, and enter into industrial and commercial rivalry with the rest of the world. The rulers could not renounce those great and ambitious designs which must, indeed, have forced themselves unbidden upon their notice. Feudalism, which had been repressed with such difficulty, now had its revenge. It gave a special colouring to the policy of the nation. While the other nations of Europe were entering upon the modern age of industry, of powder and cannon, Spain, like the last of the knights errants, went out in search of adventures. The journey had a glorious beginning; but, like that of the immortal Don Quixote, it came to a piteous end.

If Spain had desired to continue its previous policy, the next move would naturally have been to pursue the enemy across the straits, and to win back North Africa to Christendom. Attempts of this kind were actually made. Among them was the conquest of the town of Oran in the year 1509. Special mention should also be made of Charles V.'s expedition against Tunis and Algiers. (See the plate facing p. 251.) But North Africa was too difficult and uninviting a prey. Easier and more splendid tasks soon diverted the attention of Spain from a definite African policy. And yet Spain's position in the world would have been entirely altered if she had succeeded in bringing the Straits of Gibraltar within her dominions, and thus obtaining secure possession of the entrance to the Mediterranean.

Two other ideals drew the Spanish rulers to a far-reaching foreign policy. First, there was the dowry which Aragon's maritime power had brought to the united empire, the claims to Sicily and Naples. If these were acquired, Spain's position as a European power was assured. King Ferdinand's policy here gained its most brilliant success. Thanks to the military genius of the "gran capitan," Gonsalvo de Cordova, he succeeded in overthrowing the power of France, and in the year 1503 added the kingdom of the two Sicilies to the Spanish crown. After Ferdinand's death efforts in this direction passed the bounds of discretion when the Spanish monarchy became united to the Hapsburg empire.

The acquisition of Naples was due to Aragon; but, as fate would have it, Isabella of Castile now took a step fraught with consequences of immeasurable importance to the realisation of a Spanish foreign policy in the widest sense of the term. When the royal pair were holding their court in the Alhambra,

shortly after the fall of Granada, one Christopher Columbus kneeled before Isabella's throne, as a bronze statue on the banks of the Genil represents, and implored ships and men to explore the route across the Atlantic Ocean to the far Indies (cf. Vol. I., p. 357). In granting this request, Isabella gained a boundless acquisition for her realm, and laid the foundations of a world-wide power. This was the special work of the queen.

Ferdinand's attention was fixed upon the Mediterranean; and he was, therefore, indifferent to an undertaking which must have seemed to him shadowy and chimerical, compared with his own European designs. His behaviour towards Columbus after Isabella's death (Vol. I., p. 362) shows that he clung to his prejudices, in spite of the discoverer's success. Possibly Ferdinand's cool and calculating mind formed a more accurate estimate of the real and permanent significance of the discovery and conquest of America than did most of his contemporaries, who were blinded by the dazzling riches of the new country. It must have been a source of anxiety to him to see the stream of immigration that soon began to pour into the New World at a time when the whole might of Spain was required to carry out the policy imposed upon the country by her position as a European power. At that moment, too, the emigration of a large number of Moors had left room enough for new settlements on the Pyrenæan peninsula, and necessitated the utmost exertions to maintain the civilisation of the regions that had belonged to Islam at a fairly high level. The treasures of America, which came over the Atlantic in abundance, were but a poor compensation for the strength that had left the country. Those treasures continued to attract fresh emigrants. Those who remained were excited by dreams of sudden wealth, and lost their capacity for hard and monotonous labour. Like an idle spendthrift who feeds upon the vain hope of some rich inheritance, the Spanish people gradually allowed the real sources of their prosperity to dry up, until they were forced to resign their proud position as leaders of Europe, in impotence and beggary. This course of development did not immediately take place, and it needed the disastrous policy of Philip II. to bring it to full completion; but even in Ferdinand's time the first symptoms of the disease became apparent. For the moment, however, it certainly was a relief to find that the lawless and adventurous elements of the nation, which the feudal wars had plentifully nourished, could now enjoy scope for the exercise of their energies, and ceased to be a source of anxiety to the monarchy, which grew daily stronger through its alliance with the Church.

B. The Heroic Age in Portugal

There was a special reason for the support Isabella gave to the undertaking of Columbus. While Castile was pursuing its domestic policy, the little kingdom of Portugal, with persistent energy, had sought new fields for its activity. Its brilliant discoveries on the African coast had attracted universal attention; and, finally, the splendid voyage of Vasco da Gama had opened the sea route to East India. Jealousy and a desire of imitation was thereby aroused in Castile. Afterwards the Netherlands and England followed the example set. Thus far, Portugal was the pioneer of a maritime policy in Europe. How she became

capable of these efforts may be shown by a short glance at her development up to this point; for, after her final separation (cf. above, pp. 514 and 521), Portugal struck out a path for herself.

The usual dissensions and quarrels of crown against feudal nobles and clergy went on in Portugal, as they did everywhere else. But the tumult of these internal struggles was ever dominated by the roar of the sea, inviting the dwellers on the coast to plough its waves, and awaking a buoyant spirit of daring in their hearts. The sea is not only the natural frontier of Portugal; it is also the mainstay of the country: by the sea Portugal justified its independent existence, and from it gained strength to maintain its independence against the power of the interior states. How closely this little West Iberian kingdom is connected with the sea may be seen by a glance at the map (facing p. 472); its inland boundary-line is at an almost equal distance from the seaboard throughout its length. As far as the moist breezes of the sea can pass inland, so far extend the territory, the language, and the nationality of Portugal.

Though in the south of Spain the kingdom of Granada held out for a century against all attacks, Portugal subdued that portion of Moorish territory, which fell to its share immediately upon the collapse of the Almohad dynasty, at the battle of Navas de Tolosa. By the year 1250 the Portuguese kingdom had reached its present limits. Thus, while Castile was being wasted by internal feuds and wars with the Moors, Portugal was in a position which Spain did not reach till after the fall of Granada. The energy of this bold people then sought opportunities for fresh undertakings beyond the seas. Portugal had been a naval power since 1180, when she won the first brilliant naval victory over the Moors; a royal navy was in existence under Sancho II. (1223-45). The rich fisheries of the Portuguese coast and, above all, the whaling industry created a race of hardy seamen. King Diniz (Dionysius, 1279-1325) took care that there should be no lack of wood for ship-building; with foresight marvellous for his time he strengthened the dunes along the coast by planting trees, and made the beginning of those extensive pine forests which still distinguish the heights and plains of the coast of Portugal from the bare plains of the Spanish seaboard. Above all, Portugal was inestimably fortunate at the critical period after the Moorish wars, in possessing a succession of admirable rulers, who did not attempt to inaugurate any dangerous foreign policy, as did afterwards the rulers of Spain, but turned the national energies to the task of increasing the economic welfare of the country.

In Portugal, to a much greater extent than in Spain, circumstances pointed the nation to the true sources of prosperity with unmistakable clearness. The Portuguese had already entered into commercial relations with the countries of northern Europe, where they found excellent markets for the fish, wine, wax, and oil of their country, receiving woollen and cotton stuffs in exchange. In the fourteenth century the merchant ships of Portugal and Genoa met in the Straits of Gibraltar. The enterprising merchants of Genoa and Pisa soon began to send their vessels to the mouth of the Tagus, where the advantages resulting from the commercial relations which had been established with the Mediterranean were fully recognised. The kings did not hesitate to take Genoese into their service as admirals and teachers of the art of navigation in all its branches. The royal squadron of warships, which unceasingly patrolled the coast, served much more

to protect commerce than to carry out warlike operations. In every way the Portuguese early showed an insight into economic principles. A system of mutual insurance for ships and cargoes, certainly the oldest in the world, was in existence in the year 1370. The formulation of laws concerning flotsam and jetsam, which elsewhere is of only recent origin, was accomplished in Portugal at an early date. The fertility of the soil and the activity of the kings prevented the agricultural interest from being overshadowed by the industrial and commercial expansion.

Portugal was thus a happy, self-sufficing country, inhabited by a numerous population, which, in spite of its commercial occupations, was exceedingly warlike and well able to repel the occasional attacks of its Castilian neighbours. More than once the kings of Castile, when they had accomplished nothing by force of arms, approached their Portuguese cousins with requests for a loan out of that wealth which their flourishing trade brought home in inexhaustible abundance. It was only when the kings of Portugal abandoned their usual policy, and attempted to extend their influence in the Pyrenæan peninsula, that the country experienced some of those evils which distracted the feudal states of the highlands. Such was the course pursued by Fernando I. (Ferdinand the Fair, 1367-83), who laid claim to the throne of Castile. The siege of Lisbon by the Castilians shook the prosperity of the country, though victory remained with the Portuguese after a hard-fought struggle.

Ten years later the man was born who was to turn the eager spirit of the people into a new channel of activity — Prince Henrique (Henry), who afterwards received the honourable title of "the Navigator," a son of João (John) I. of Portugal.

In order to afford the young princes of the royal house an opportunity for the performance of knightly deeds in time of peace, an expedition was made in the year 1415 against the town of Ceuta, which then enjoyed a high measure of prosperity, thanks to its excellent situation, and was also the base of all expeditions from Morocco against the Pyrenæan peninsula. It is highly probable that this was something more than a mere romantic adventure; the object was rather to protect trade passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, and to bring about the removal of the heavy toll which Ceuta levied on every passing ship. The preparations made for striking this blow ensured its entire success. When the people of Morocco attempted to retake the town, the chivalry of Portugal obtained an opportunity, as the king had desired, for the display of their prowess in arms to the benefit of their nation.

But among the warriors there was one upon whom the mysterious face of the African sphinx, that enigmatic look, which gave promise of new wonders, had made a deep impression, in spite of the uproar of battle. This was Prince Henry. From the day he first set foot on African soil he formed a firm resolution to solve the riddle of this sphinx, and to send forth ship after ship southward towards those legendary countries of which nought but vague rumours had come down from antiquity, and the treasures of which could not but fall to the man who was bold enough first to tread their shores. In the year 1420 the first expedition which "the Infant" fitted out left the harbour of Lagos. Driven by storms, the navigators discovered far away in the ocean the little island of Porto Santo. Thence they reached Madeira in the same year. The discovery of this

lovely island, where flourished the vine and sugar-cane and timber admirably adapted for ship-building, spurred them on to greater efforts. The Canary Islands, which had been discovered by the Portuguese in 1335, had fallen, meanwhile, into other hands; it was now necessary to sail further southward along the African coast, and especially to round the formidable Cape Bojador, which threatened the seafarer both with real and imaginary terrors. It was twelve years before the adventure succeeded (1434). The dissensions which broke out concerning the regency, after the death of his brother Duarte (Edward, died 1438), hindered the prince for a long time from energetically prosecuting his aims. However, Henry lived to see the Gambia reached by Portuguese mariners, and a vigorous trade spring up, which, unfortunately, continually degenerated into robbery and plunder, much against the will of the wise prince.

Henry's death, in the year 1460, checked the adventurous spirit of the Portuguese discoverers for some time. A new impulse was given to discovery under João II. (1481-95). After rounding the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1486, Vasco da Gama sailed round the south of Africa and came to anchor on May 20, 1498, in the harbour of Calicut, on the coast of India. An enormous region was thus opened to Portuguese activity, a region further increased by the discovery of Brazil in the year 1500 (Vol. I., p. 364). A great impulse to commerce and an extraordinary increase of wealth were the immediate results of the discoveries.

In the long run, however, these enormous possessions proved a doubtful blessing. The pernicious desire to get rich rapidly and without labour seized on the whole people, who were not numerous enough, indeed, to colonise or to defend their new possessions. While the colonies were swarming with adventurers, the fertile fields of the mother-country sank into desolation. The expulsion of the Moorish population, in the time of Manuel the Fortunate, or the Great (1495-1521), completed the decay of agricultural life which had already begun. Soon afterwards the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal arrested all further intellectual growth. Thus Portugal exhausted itself in the hour of its abundance even more quickly than Spain, which was larger and more capable of endurance. Both kingdoms passed through a common period of pitiful decay.

C. The Imperial Policy of Spain: Charles I. (V.)

Of the great tasks Spain set itself after the fall of Granada, the colonisation of America was but one, and, for the moment, not the most important. Ferdinand the Catholic devoted his chief energies to making Spain the dominant power in Europe, and he looked upon the riches of America only as means to this end. He had given the heiress presumptive to the throne, Johanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, in marriage to Philip the Fair of Austria, and thereby made quite possible a Spanish-Hapsburg empire. After Philip's premature death there opened up before his eldest son, Charles, the prospect of a world-embracing, irresistible empire.

However, when Isabella of Castile died, Aragon and Castile, which had been united with such difficulty, seemed only too likely to separate. But the fact that Philip the Fair survived his mother-in-law only for a short time, and that Johanna was mentally incapacitated from governing, made it possible for Ferdi-

nand to act as regent of Castile until his death (1516). Cardinal Ximenes was able to preserve quiet for a short time after Ferdinand's death, and the peaceful and prosperous development of Spain at that time is largely due to him. He was a typical exponent of Spanish policy, which made for absolutism in close alliance with the Church.

Never was a prince, in entering upon his government, confronted with such a number of momentous questions and problems as was Charles I. of Spain, afterwards Charles V., Emperor of Germany. A tremendous movement was shaking the nations of Europe. The movements of the Renaissance and the revival of learning, originating in Italy, had reached the Germanic peoples in the North, and had there prepared the ground for the rise of a national civilisation, which was also under the influence of Christianity. At the same time, the movements broke down some barriers between the nations of Europe. It was before the eyes of all civilised Europe that the great events of the time were brought to completion, and the convulsive struggles of the waking spiritual life were felt, like the heave of an earthquake, in the remotest corners of the continent. Thus it was a peculiarly unfortunate circumstance that Charles V. should have united under his rule two nations whose aims and ideals were entirely opposed. On the one hand was Spain, a country roused to the height of religious fanaticism by its conflict with the Moors, and in closest connection with the papacy; on the other hand was Germany, struggling for intellectual and religious freedom. No middle course was possible: the ruler was bound to rely on one or other of the two nations. It is not surprising that Spain gained the preference. A people united under an absolute monarchy, well versed in the arts of war, promised to be a much more valuable instrument in the hands of an ambitious ruler than Germany, divided into a number of petty states, struggling for intellectual independence. The future of each nation was then definitely decided. Spain threw in its lot with the Roman Church once and for all, and by its opposition to the Reformation gained a short period of splendour at the price of permanent intellectual and spiritual stagnation. Germany preserved its independence of thought after a desperate and costly struggle, suffered for centuries under the wounds which it received, and never succeeded in wholly driving out the influence of Rome.

However, for the moment, other questions demanded instant solution. Upon the death of Ferdinand I. absolutism was by no means firmly rooted in Spanish soil. Its lack of popularity with the industrial portion of the population was sufficiently obvious. The towns had readily come forward to help in crushing the nobility, but they were by no means disposed to sacrifice their own rights to the Moloch of absolute monarchy: and the shortsighted policy of the youthful king, who brought his Flemish friends to Spain, and bestowed upon them the highest dignities in the land, gave the towns the opportunity for resistance which they desired. In reality, a far larger question had to be settled than the question of the privileges of the towns, many of which were antiquated and void. The point in dispute was whether a wide-reaching foreign policy, which could only be carried out by an absolute monarchy, was henceforward to take precedence, or whether this should give way to a sound domestic policy for the purpose of advancing material prosperity, which the industrial and manufacturing classes could carry out in conjunction with the crown.

At the Cortes of Valladolid (1518) the representatives of the towns assumed a bold position, while the nobility, who had not yet recovered from their crushing overthrow by the previous king, remained in the background. In Aragon also and Catalonia, as in Castile, Charles had to listen to many bitter truths before the usual oaths of allegiance were taken and money-grants made. Charles had, meanwhile, been elected emperor of Germany, and before starting for that country he made an attempt to procure the necessary supplies in an irregular way. Thereupon disturbances began to break out, and after the emperor's departure, there came a formidable revolt of the *comuneros* (the Castilian towns). Toledo, the ancient capital, headed the movement; the inhabitants of Segovia manifested no less zeal for freedom. Juan de Padilla undertook the leadership of the revolt, and succeeded in driving out the regency which Charles had established in Valladolid, and in winning over most of the Castilian towns to the confederacy. Among the demands of the towns were several which show that the revolt was occasioned not merely by economic causes, but that the citizens raised their voices as the representatives of a broader enlightenment. They asked, for instance, that the nobles be taxed as the citizens were; that the natives of America should not be treated as slaves, should not be transported to the mines as labourers. To give an appearance of loyalty to their movement, the towns opposed the emperor in the name of his mother, Johanna the Mad.

Unfortunately, there was no unity among the rebels. The nobles, as a whole, stood aloof from the movement, or supported the crown, which had more in common with them than the citizens had. The regents therefore found time to oppose a small, but well-trained, force to the army of the people. On April 21, 1521, a battle was fought at Villalar, which resulted in the complete defeat of the citizens and the capture of their chief leaders. In a short time the revolt was at an end; the leaders paid for their presumption with their lives, and the towns with the loss of their rights. Spain was henceforward a ready instrument in the hand of an absolute monarch; and the foreign policy of the emperor, with all the glory it was to bring, could now break forth in full splendour.

A rising of the lower classes and labour guilds in Valencia, socialistic in nature and having nothing to do with the revolt of the Castilian towns, was also suppressed in the course of a few years. The guilds had availed themselves of the universal right to bear arms, which had been instituted as a protection against the attacks of the Algerian pirates, to form *germanias* (brotherhoods) of their own; they then turned upon the powerful feudal nobles, who found a support in the Moriscos, the Moors who had remained in the country. The situation enabled the government to take measures of great importance. It crushed the *germanias* with cruel violence, and thereby shattered the growing presumption of the citizens. At the same time, the intervention of the Moriscos in the quarrel gave it an excuse for grinding down this industrious class in the nation by restrictive measures, and for obliging a part of them to emigrate, to the great loss of the country and especially of the land-holding nobility. Christianity was then made obligatory upon all inhabitants, and the Inquisition was set to watch the zeal of the new converts with argus eyes.

The old popular assembly of the Spanish kingdom, the Cortes, was naturally out of place in the new absolute government. The Cortes of Castile were convoked for the last time in full session at Toledo in the year 1538. Once again

the nobles ventured to oppose the financial policy of the crown, and were successful. Henceforward only particular orders, chiefly the procurators of the towns, were summoned to the assembly to vote supplies: there were no further protests of any importance against the burden of taxation, which increased rapidly under Charles V.

Charles I.'s dreams of a universal monarchy were shattered by the hostility of France and the religious movement in Germany, notwithstanding the great sacrifices which Spain had made in money and men. For the moment, the country succeeded in bearing up under the heavy burdens which Charles had laid upon it. Here and there were traces of the decay of economic prosperity; but, thanks to the Moors who had remained in the country, industry, on the whole, thrived. Where the old Christian population was still in existence, Isabella, more than all others, had succeeded in planting new industries and ensuring their success, occasionally by artificial means. Under Charles V., Spain was still progressing, and those best foundations of national prosperity, agriculture and cattle-breeding, were still actively carried on.

The districts inhabited by the Moriscos, such as Valencia, Murcia, and Granada, were similarly in a most flourishing condition, whereas in the old Christian provinces the lust for adventure and the drain of men in the continual wars had made deep gaps in the peasant population. In the Moorish provinces the nobles, to whom most of the land belonged, had a particular interest in furthering the development of agriculture. Upon the high plateaus of the interior a grave change was going on, similar to the experiences of other countries, especially England, a change which worked most disastrously for the labouring portion of the population. Sheep-raising made great strides (Spanish wool had a wide reputation for excellence), and was taken up by the nobles and extended as far as possible. The price of corn was kept down by law; the peasants found themselves unable to live by agriculture, and were bought out of, or expelled from, their holdings. Where thousands of peasants had once tilled their fields, boundless pastures extended, trodden by millions of sheep and by the few herdsmen who attended them. But when the peasants were once driven from their land, when the elaborate system of irrigation had fallen into ruin and the villages were deserted, it was impossible for a long period to bring the land again under cultivation. Thus Spanish prosperity was largely dependent upon the Moorish population; but the national instinct, which made for purity of race, was irresistible when strengthened by the fanaticism of the Church. It forced the crown and the nobles to choke up the sources of the nation's wealth. Such suicidal action was not complete under Charles V., or else its disastrous effects were counteracted by good fortune on other sides; but under his successor, Philip II., Spain shot up to a dazzling height of apparent strength and power and plunged with unutterable rapidity into ruin.

Charles V. found himself, in his later years, obliged to give up his dreams of a universal Hapsburg monarchy. He may well have thought the realisation of his ideal possible when his great adversary, Francis I., fell into his hands at the decisive battle of Pavia (1525). But the resistance of France, which formed a sundering barrier between the German and the Spanish possessions of Charles, was not broken down, and the emperor never succeeded in spanning the division by any intellectual or spiritual bond of union. As the ruler of Spain,

he was in close alliance with the Church, and dared not countenance the Protestant movement in Germany, though he was not strong enough to suppress it.

9. THE DOWNFALL

A. THE AGE OF PHILIP II

(*a*) *Spain.*—The result was the disruption of the Spanish-Hapsburg empire. The German princes declined, and with good reason, to elect Philip, the future King of Spain, to be Emperor of Germany. They conferred that dignity upon Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, who thus obtained the German possessions of the Hapsburgs, while Charles' son inherited Spain with its possessions in the Low Countries and Italy, and the American colonial empire. His marriage with Mary of England also gave him the reversion of the English crown. In the year 1555 Charles determined to cede a portion of his empire to his son, and a year later he abdicated entirely, so that Philip II. found himself somewhat earlier than he had expected in possession of the Spanish empire and its vast dominions.

The character of Charles V. was a compound of German and Romance-Iberian traits. In Philip II. the Spaniard was predominant. In Spain the Castilians of the highlands had already asserted their pre-eminence over all other branches of the Iberian stock. The peculiarities of the Castilian character, influenced partly by a harsh and unfavourable climate and partly by constant warfare against enemies at home and abroad, appear in Philip II. in their most emphatic form. His obstinacy, his unbounded pride, his cold reserve, and, above all, his religious fanaticism, were a legacy from his Castilian ancestors. In Philip II., Spain's evil genius ascended the throne. His stubborn pride was deaf to the demands of the age. The adversaries of Charles V. had been, at any rate, tangible; but Philip entered upon a Titanic struggle, with no chance of successful issue, against the intellectual and religious movements of his century, which were as resistless as they were invisible. The stubborn resistance of the small offshoot of the Germanic race, living under Philip's rule in the Netherlands, broke the power of him who seemed the greatest monarch in the world. His irresistible fleet was shattered upon the chalk cliffs of England. The only victim of this gigantic struggle was Spain, which poured forth its blood and treasure in the war against spiritual freedom until it was utterly exhausted.

The complete overthrow of Spain was the special and particular work of Philip II. Charles V. carried on a foreign policy of immense scope; but, at the same time he recognised the real foundations of his power, and when he increased the burdens which the people had to bear, he also did his best to increase their productive powers. But Philip's system of taxation was merely a wide system of extortion, which necessarily resulted in eating up both capital and interest. The treasures of the New World could not satisfy his ever-increasing needs. The worst of all feudal institutions, immunity from taxation, was enjoyed by the nobility of Spain till a late period. Consequently, the enormous burden of taxation fell in all its weight upon the productive classes, the peasants and the

artisans of the town. If we recollect that these classes had been already demoralised by the craze for emigration to America, that, as a result of the spirit of feudalism prevalent in the country, honest toil was despised and industry correspondingly hampered, we can understand the disastrous results of Philip's financial policy. Manufactures, trade, and agriculture, swept downhill with appalling rapidity.

At first, Philip certainly wielded a power which was at that time unequalled. Besides Spain itself, he held the Netherlands, the kingdom of Naples, and, in a certain sense, England also, as he had married Mary, the English queen. Besides his American possessions, he had also gained a part of the East Indies. The first undertakings of the young prince were crowned with success. As the irony of fate would have it, the most bigoted of all the monarchs of that age came into collision with the pope, and sent his armies against Rome, to cure Paul IV. of his fondness for France and to bring him to reason. The French interfered and war broke out. The Flemish and Spanish, under Egmont, won a victory at Gravelines on July 13, 1558, and the war was ended by a peace, equally welcome to both sides, that of Cateau Cambresis (1559).

There were more urgent reasons for Philip's readiness to make peace than the lack of money, which he never allowed to mar his plans. He entered into a mutual alliance with the French monarch for the purpose of stamping out heresy, and attempted to strengthen the union by establishing ties of relationship. These facts show that he had at last perfected the idea which was to guide his future policy. War against Protestantism was henceforward the one thought of his cold and narrow mind, a thought which utterly blinded him to the evils which he was bringing upon himself and his people. Hereafter we see Philip feverishly active, wherever there were heretics to be crushed. He had lost his influence in England after the death of his wife, "Bloody Queen Mary"; but he supported the claims of the orthodox Mary Stuart against the Protestant Elizabeth after the latter had declined his politic proposal of marriage. In France he stirred up Catholic hatred against the Huguenots, and was the chief cause of the horrors of St. Bartholomew. Everywhere Philip's agents and spies were actively doing their master's service, watching and checking the growth of Protestantism.

It was in his own dominions that Philip carried on the most cruel warfare against the heretics; and, above all, in Spain, where Protestantism was just beginning to take root among the most independent minds. The king's chief weapon was the Inquisition, which had been originally instituted to deal with backsliding Moors and Jews, but now found a prey more worthy of persecution. A large number of the noblest men of Spain, among them high religious and civil dignitaries, who had been in favour with Charles V., met death at the stake or in the dungeons of the Inquisition. Such unnatural selection necessarily degraded the spiritual and intellectual character of the Spanish people. At the moment when all over Europe there began the pursuit of knowledge and the unchecked striving after truth, the intellectual movement in Spain was choked up and poisoned at its source.

Philip's success in Spain could not be repeated in the Netherlands. The irony of fate had united this province to Spain, with which it was in the strongest imaginable contrast. The courtly and feudal character of the Spaniard could never harmonise with the blunt, democratic character of the Flemish and Dutch

traders. They had lived in amity with the cheerful Charles V., but they deeply distrusted and disliked the cold and gloomy Philip. Perhaps the worst might have been avoided if Protestantism had not rapidly passed over the German frontier into the Netherlands, and stirred up Philip to most vigorous opposition. Upon the despatch of that inflexible fanatic, the Duke of Alva, to the Netherlands, in the year 1567, began that revolt which only ended decades after Philip's death (1648) in the complete loss of the northern provinces, and irretrievably weakened the body politic of Spain, like an incurable wound. In vain did the king recall the hated Alva after seven years of bloodshed; in vain did he endeavour to adopt a new policy: the evil system of repression bore its bitter fruit.

While Philip II. thus weakened the Spanish power abroad, he brought ruin on the internal prosperity of the country by his persecution of the Moriscos of Granada. It seemed as if the Spanish people could never rest until they had driven out the last remnants of the foreign race. That the Moors had so long maintained their position in the different provinces, and in some places even survived Philip's reign, was not due to the good will of princes, clergy, or people, but chiefly to the circumstance that the great nobles drew a large portion of their income from the lands cultivated by the Moors. Even in Granada the nobles did their best to prevent extreme measures. But the royal edicts ruthlessly broke all compacts made with the Moors, and the grinding conditions which they imposed concerning both their social and their economic life drove the wretched people to despair, and finally brought on the outbreak of that revolt which, in spite of all their bravery, could only result in the destruction of the Moors. The war which began in the year 1568 did not end until 1570, after Prince Juan d'Austria, the natural son of Charles V., had assumed the supreme command. The Inquisition completed the task with its usual zeal and thoroughness.

Don Juan d'Austria is the most brilliant and heroic figure of the reign of Philip II.; he is the incarnation of those bold and warlike traits of the Spanish character which Philip totally lacked. But the emptiness and indecision of Spanish policy appears perhaps nowhere so terribly clear as in the career of this prince, who was so highly endowed by nature. The mournful laurels which he gained in the Moorish War were no real distinction. The greatest achievement of his life, the glorious victory he gained over the Turkish fleet at Lepanto on October 7, 1571, remained without decisive result. At length, in the year 1576, he was appointed governor of the Netherlands, and wasted his best powers in a useless struggle against the Protestants of the northern provinces.

The collapse of Philip II.'s policy is marked by the destruction of the Armada. The fanatic on the Spanish throne proposed to make a final and mighty attempt to overthrow Protestant England, to deprive the Netherlands of their best ally, and thus to put an end to Protestantism, at any rate, in western Europe. The execution of Mary Stuart (1587) declared that England had definitely broken with the Catholic Church, and a bold challenge to the power of Spain. Philip's reply to this act of defiance was what seemed an irresistible attack on the English kingdom.* Actually the attempt resulted in the destruction of the Spanish sea power. The Armada, that giant fleet, was shattered by the storm and the onset of the English and the Dutch ships. With it sank the numberless millions which had been extorted from miserable Spain (1588).

* He claimed the kingdom as descendant of John of Gaunt. The claim, though not without legal colour, was a mere pretext.

Philip's resources were exhausted, and for the last ten years of his life he was reduced to act only on the defensive.

(*b*) *Portugal.*—Spain was not the only country that had to bear the consequences of Philip's political failures: fate had also brought Portugal, the last independent state in the peninsula, in an evil hour, under the sceptre of the ruler who had shattered the prosperity of Spain. It would, indeed, be false and unjust to make Philip alone responsible for the ruin of Portuguese prosperity, since that had been determined long before his interference by Portugal's erroneous colonial policy. Neither in Spain nor in Portugal had the great truth been realised that colonies can only prove a benefit to the mother-country when they give a stimulus to home industry, and when colonial commodities can be exchanged for the produce of home manufactures; and that there can be no benefit when mountains of gold, extorted by the ruthless oppression of the new possessions, were squandered at home. Unfortunately for Portugal, circumstances had become so unfavourable that even a far-sighted government could hardly have checked the internal corruption of a state which seemed so prosperous on the surface. If the boundless colonies were to be retained, it was necessary to send out unstinted reinforcements of troops and sailors from the little kingdom until the centres of manufacture and agriculture were made desolate, and prosperity declined on every hand. The luxuries demanded by the increasing wealth of the great towns had to be imported from the other industrial countries of the time. The prudent merchants and manufacturers of the Netherlands were able to divert to the enrichment of their own industries the stream of gold which Spain and Portugal poured forth like a devastating torrent.

The ancient hatred for the Moors, which had led Spain into various undertakings on the north coast of Africa, also roused the Portuguese to action. Petty wars were continually raging on the coast of Mauretania, where several fortresses were conquered and held by the Portuguese until their great successes in India withdrew their attention from Africa. Under King João III. (1521-57), and during the regency of Queen Catherine, who ruled in behalf of her young grandson, Sebastian, affairs in North Africa fell into the background. Meanwhile, that spirit of fanatical intolerance which had risen to such portentous power in Spain had also become manifest in Portugal. The Inquisition and the Jesuits had made good their entrance. As fate would have it, side by side with Philip, the gloomy and fanatical King of Spain, ruled Sebastian of Portugal, a fiery, romantic, and visionary devotee, who was even more successful than Philip in destroying the political existence of his country. Sebastian's views became utterly distorted under the influence of his Jesuit advisers. In the year 1577 the king, who, in a spirit of asceticism, declined to marry, began a crusade against Morocco. The deficiency in men and money became painfully apparent in the course of his preparations. The adventure was made without foresight and came to a miserable end. At Alcazar, not far from Tangier, the army of Sebastian was overthrown by the onset of the Moors (August 4, 1578). The king himself disappeared in the confusion and was never seen again.

The last male descendant of the Portuguese dynasty, the old Cardinal-Infant, Henrique, now took the reins of government. Philip II. could have pleaded a hereditary right to Portugal, but missed this excellent opportunity. When

Henrique died, in the year 1580, a Spanish army crossed the frontier, succeeded in establishing itself by treachery, bribery, and force of arms, and Portugal had to bow to the yoke of Spain whether it would or no. Portugal's immense colonial empire also fell into the hands of the Spanish king, whose power then reached its zenith, but only to fall in utter ruin and to drag down the Portuguese nation into the abyss with itself.

B. The Last of the Hapsburgs

(a) *Philip III. and Philip IV.*—As long as Philip II.'s reign continued, the great and unsuccessful efforts that marked his foreign policy did not seem to have affected materially the position of Spain; but, under the feeble rule of his successor, the evil seed he had sown quickly brought forth fruit. Philip's eldest son, Charles, had come into conflict with his father's iron and autocratic nature, and had been crushed. He died in the year 1568, and his real fate was hidden by tradition in a web of romance. Consequently, the throne fell to Philip III., who had been brought up in complete ignorance, and was quite unequal to his responsibilities. For the next twenty years the government was carried on by his former chamberlain, who now became prime minister, Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Rojas, Duke of Lerma. There is this much to be said for Lerma's government, that the foreign policy of aggression was kept under a restraint only too well justified by the miserable condition of the kingdom; but domestic mismanagement increased to an unheard-of extent. Philip II.'s ruinous system of taxation, which had, at any rate, enabled him to maintain the power of Spain at its height (cf. above, pp. 544, 545), was in no way improved; the revenue which it produced went into the pockets of court favourites or of the clergy.

The few remnants of the old industries that still survived were completely destroyed by the final expulsion of the Moors, which took place in the years 1609-11. First from Valencia, then from Aragon and the other provinces, these unfortunates went in numbers to the coast, and took ship for Africa. Behind them the fields, which they alone had worked with patient industry, became barren and desolate. The Moors were not only expelled, they were annihilated. Their nationality was a compound of many different elements, fused together in the course of centuries, and was now wholly foreign to the rude peoples of North Africa. The Moors belonged to Europe. Racial ties with their mother-country really no longer existed. In some towns of Morocco, such as Fez and Tetuan, large Moorish colonies were able to settle; but hundreds of thousands of fugitives from Spain found no place where they might begin life anew, were driven from land to land, and perished miserably. Spain was now an ethnical, as well as a religious, whole; for this object it had striven since the Arab conquest with untiring energy, but it had to pay a terribly heavy price for its attainment. The tremendous fall in the royal revenue soon made it plain to the government that they had shattered one of the pillars which upheld the power of Spain. Even under Philip II. the state had been bankrupt, and hereafter want of money was a crying evil, which the government vainly strove to heal by the usual methods of bad statesmanship, the depreciation of the coinage, the retention of official salaries, and the confiscation of property.

Lerma's fall in the year 1618, and the death of Philip III. three years later, brought no change. On the contrary, the reign of Philip IV. (1621-65) brought further disaster. Another attempt was made to revive Philip II.'s foreign policy by new military undertakings. The result was another great fiasco, and a further impulse was given to the rapid decay of the whole body politic. The leading spirit in Philip IV.'s ambitious policy was the Count Olivarez. There were, unfortunately, many opportunities at hand for plunging into foreign wars. The truce with the Netherlands expired at the moment that Philip IV. ascended the throne. A short time previously the religious war had broken out in Germany, and Spain allowed herself to be drawn into this only too easily. Moreover, disputes concerning the possessions in Upper Italy led to a war with France, which dragged on for many years, and in the end cost Spain a large part of its foreign possessions.

France obtained an extraordinary advantage from the fact that the old autonomous spirit broke out again in the Pyrenæan peninsula itself, on this occasion in Catalonia, which lay on the French frontier. The Catalans had hitherto clung to their privileges with the greatest tenacity, and had been treated most prudently and mildly even by Philip II. himself. The attempt of Count Olivarez to break down, after the Castilian fashion, their resistance to the growing weight of the taxes and imposts led to a revolt, in the year 1640, which it took twelve years to suppress. The Catalans succeeded in retaining all their ancient rights. Thanks to this fortunate circumstance, Catalonia was afterwards the only Spanish province where trade and industry continued to flourish to any extent. By the peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, France acquired possession of the county of Rousillon; and as the French operations against the Spanish province of Navarre failed entirely, the line of the Pyrenees became the boundary between the two countries.

(*b*) *The Separation of Portugal from Spain.*—While Catalonia was in revolt in the East, Portugal, the western shore of the peninsula, which Philip II. had annexed, broke away again from Spain and became permanently independent. John of Braganza, whose family had laid claims to the throne upon Henry's death, became the leader of a national movement, which awoke the enthusiasm of the people (1640). Spain's power was declining steadily, and she was not in a position to deal a decisive blow at her rebellious vassals. The battle of Villa Viçosa, on June 17, 1665, was a decisive victory for the Portuguese arms. Three years later Spain was obliged to recognise the independence of her neighbour in the treaty of Lisbon.

(*c*) *The Last Intellectual Revival.*—Philip IV. learned the sad news of the battle of Villa Viçosa before ending a life which had brought but small advantage to his people. Economically and politically Spain was prostrate. No foreign army had ravaged the country, and yet it was no less desolate than unfortunate Germany at the end of its thirty years' war for spiritual freedom. But Germany had discovered new sources of strength after paying so high a price for its spiritual blessings, whereas Spain, which had rigidly remained in old beliefs and tolerated no inquiry or doubt, suffers even to-day from wounds incurable. Soul and body cannot be separated in the life of nations. And yet, side by side with

the downward course of Spain, appeared an intellectual revival strong enough to give hopes of a brilliant future, and maintaining its power at a time when political and commercial prosperity was utterly shattered. But this revival was necessarily one-sided. It was, therefore, all the more hopelessly involved in the general decay after it had exhausted the narrow limits of its activity.

The genius of the Spanish people showed marvellous power and individuality in the only direction in which it could further develop — in the novel, the drama, and religious art. Spanish art is distinguished by a yearning idealism, combined with the soundest realism, and leads us to regret the more that the free development of this wonderfully gifted people should have been so hampered by sacerdotalism and thriftlessness. When we find in the Spanish drama the expression of a sublime sense of honour, often exaggerated to the point of the ridiculous, side by side with low comedy, when we stand undecided whether to award the palm to Murillo's Madonnas or to his realistic beggar-boys, we recognise the two-sidedness of Spanish art, as we see it in the comic tragedy tales of Cervantes, where superrefined idealism and the commonest commonplace go hand in hand. National art is the reflection of national character. It has been for centuries the curse of Spain that neither the Spanish monarchy nor the Spanish Church knew how to make use of the full force of this character: its idealism was transformed into narrow extravagance and stern fanaticism; its aptitude for realism was left to starve.

(*d*) *Charles II.*—The reign of Charles II., the last of the Hapsburgs, from 1665 to 1700, is a mere blank in Spanish history. Court intrigues and unfortunate wars occupied the entire attention of Charles after he had attained his majority (1675): Spain was, meanwhile, relapsing into utter barbarism. It was fortunate for the country that Charles' marriage remained childless, and that Louis XIV. of France finally determined to gain the crown of Spain for his own house. France was once again appointed to the task of bringing European civilisation to the Spanish nation, which was far behind the times, and lived under the influence of ideals of life long obsolete: France had to raise Spain to better ideas of intellectual and economic life, and to rescue the nation from utter ruin. It is indisputable that the Bourbons did a great deal in this direction during the hundred years of their rule, and that they prepared the ground for the spread of more liberal ideas in every direction.

This is not the place to trace the political intrigues which led to the victory of the French party in Spain. The War of the Spanish Succession, which ended in the acquisition of the throne by the Bourbons, though closer bonds between France and Spain were made impossible, belongs rather to general European history (cf. for this subject Vol. VII.). The Spanish empire was dead; decomposition had set in, and Spain was left to itself after it had experienced all the horrors of war. The influences in Spain which were united against France made a bid for victory with the help of Catalonia and Portugal. Twice did the Hapsburg claimant to the throne, Archduke Charles, afterwards Charles VI. of Germany, appear in Madrid at the head of a victorious army. But the Castilians had declared for the French candidate, Philip V., and showed once more that they held the balance of power in Spain. England came out of the struggle best of all, for she availed herself of the opportunity to seize Gibraltar.

C. The Age of the Bourbons

(*a*) *From Philip V. to Charles III.*—The Bourbon government would have conferred greater blessings upon Spain if the kings had devoted themselves exclusively to advancing the material and intellectual welfare of the backward country; but the Hapsburgs left some remnants of their foreign policy as a disastrous heritage to the Bourbon kings. The wars in which Spain was involved by this policy prevented any efforts at placing financial affairs on a sound footing. The debts already incurred increased rather than diminished, and under Ferdinand VI. the state was again declared bankrupt. However, the feeble Ferdinand VI. (1746-59) was the most pacific of all the Bourbon kings, and for that reason the greatest benefactor of his country.

The spirit of the age was not without its influence upon Spain; an enlightened absolutism was the ideal of the Bourbon kings, especially of Charles III., who had been King of Naples, and succeeded Ferdinand, who left no children. Enlightenment, as far as Spain was concerned, had to come from the crown, for all capacity for liberal thought among the people had been utterly blunted and deadened by the repressive measures of the Inquisition. Consequently, the connection of the reigning dynasty with France and Italy was of the greatest importance for the future development. The people did not support the kings and the liberal statesmen for any length of time in their efforts for progress: such harmless improvements as the introduction of street paving and lighting in Madrid actually produced a dangerous rising.

The clergy were the unfailing supporters of all reactionary and conservative movements. Therefore, when absolutism had overthrown the nobility and broken down the old rights of the people, it had one last struggle to fight out with the Roman priesthood before it could clear the ground in Spain, as it had done in the rest of Europe, for the introduction of modern political life. Under Charles III. the Count of Aranda was prime minister. He vigorously espoused the progressive cause, and with the favour of those among the educated who were freemasons, he succeeded in introducing liberalism into the country. War broke out. The evils of the Inquisition were checked as much as possible, and on April 1, 1767, the Jesuit order was banished from Spain. Aranda's successor, Florida Blanca, carried out this policy in Spain with even greater success. Foreign settlers, especially Germans, were brought into the country to stimulate agricultural operations. New roads were made, and industry was fostered with care and forethought. The American colonies, which were capable of becoming a source of strength to the nation, under careful treatment, were also benefited by these new political principles; but everlasting financial troubles obliged them to cling to their antiquated system of government (cf. Vol. I., p. 425 ff.). The war, which Charles III. prosecuted with great vigour, affected Spain but little, though it most materially checked her economic progress. The attempt made in the year 1779 to recover Gibraltar from England, with the help of the French, failed utterly.

(*b*) *Portugal.*—As regards the war against the Jesuits, the little state of Portugal had, on this occasion, outstripped its neighbour. The impossible came to

pass: one of the states of the strictly orthodox Pyrenæan peninsula headed a movement which was to drive the pioneers of Roman ecclesiasticism for a long period from the stage of the world's history. The origin of the movement was, to some extent, a purely personal affair. The energetic Dom Sebastian José Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal, had directed the government since the accession of King José (Joseph Emmanuel, 1750); he had become acquainted with modern ideas in France, and found himself obliged to settle accounts with the Jesuits if he wished to keep his position. But he would scarcely have triumphed if the disgraceful conduct of the Jesuits, under José's predecessor, João V., had not infuriated the people, and if the order had not made enemies on every side by its constant interference in every possible public affair. Pombal was a man who did not hesitate to employ all the horrors of mediæval justice against these champions of the reactionary party. He was able to meet intrigue with intrigue, and the Jesuits found him an opponent capable of inflicting irreparable damage on their organisation. By destroying the Jesuit settlement in Paraguay (cf. Vol. I., p. 409), he cut off the main source of Jesuit reinforcements. He appealed to European opinion, in a series of pamphlets, which were widely circulated, and by this measure stirred up the general movement for the suppression of the Jesuit order. Pombal also appears elsewhere as a reformer. Although he understood questions of political economy no better than the other statesmen of his time, yet, in a true progressive spirit, he worked for improvements in education, and so prepared the way for further progress. At the same time the condition of the finances and of the army was improved. Generally speaking, Pombal was a typical example of those "benevolent despots" who prefer to reform from without, instead of from within, and can only carry out their purposes by the force of a strong character and an iron will. Pombal's fall followed close upon the death of José, in the year 1777, and a reaction set in, as was to be expected, which undid most of the good which he had brought about.

(*c*) *Charles IV.*—While Spain was following the tendencies of the age slowly and with hesitation, in France, that liberal spirit which a progressive despotism had been using against the nobles and the Church was now turned against the despotism itself with destructive violence. That the people should immediately catch the contagion of the French Revolution was hardly to be feared in Spain, where Charles III. had been succeeded, in the year 1778, by his weak and short-sighted son, Charles IV.; but the new ruler could not avoid becoming involved in the extraordinary events then passing in France, as a close relation of the royal house, which was threatened with destruction. The pitiful weakness which he showed in that crisis must have precipitated the disaster, while at the same time the disgraceful intrigues at the Spanish court undermined the royal prestige.

The real ruler of the country was Don Manuel Godoy, the queen's favourite and lover, an utterly low and shallow person, known by the title of "Prince of the Peace" (*Principe de la Paz*), which was given him after the conclusion of the peace with France at Basle, in the year 1795. This vain and brainless fellow was a convenient tool in the hands of Napoleon Bonaparte, who used Spain as a weapon against England and her ally, Portugal. Napoleon made all his preparations for overthrowing the Spanish dynasty at the first favourable opportunity, and bringing over the country entirely to the French interests.

The miserable weakness of the Spanish government, which recoiled from no humiliation, made it difficult for Napoleon to find an excuse for invasion until, at length, a dispute within the royal family gave him the desired opportunity. A rising of the populace in Madrid, which was directed against Godoy, gave Charles IV. an opportunity of abdicating the crown in favour of his son Ferdinand; but the French army, under Murat, had already invaded Spain. Napoleon declined to recognise the new king, and so manipulated the mutual distrust prevailing among the members of the royal family that he was able to realise his long-cherished plan. The Spanish dynasty resigned without effort at resistance, and Napoleon appointed his brother Joseph as nominal ruler of the Spanish kingdom.

(*d*) *The Spanish War of Liberation.*—Though the dynasty had ingloriously collapsed, the Spanish nation was not disposed to yield. The old Iberian love of independence, the fanatical hatred of all foreigners, blazed out; and for once it was to the advantage of Spain that the enlightening and civilising influences of the eighteenth century had made little impression upon the national spirit, and that the bigotry and enthusiasm of mediæval times were still potent in the minds of the nation. Spain was not even then a unity in the modern sense of the term; the machine did not stop, though the enemy's hand grasped the main lever. Separate districts maintained their individuality; and if it was difficult to unite them for any common purpose, it was equally difficult to overthrow them with one blow. The very poverty and bareness of the country, the fact that its defenders were without necessaries, was now to the advantage of the Spanish course: Napoleon had now to deal with an opponent who made no account of the threats or the force which he usually employed. He had to attack a country whose barren wastes were even more dangerous to the French armies than were the hastily gathered bands of the enemy.

On May 2, 1808, while Napoleon was still negotiating with Ferdinand VII., a violent revolt broke out in Madrid against the French troops there stationed, which Murat suppressed with barbaric severity. This "Dos de Mayo" has never been forgotten by the Spanish people. No one is a better hater than the Spaniard, and now his hate had found an object. In a short time the whole country was in arms against the French. King Joseph could count, at most, upon the sympathy of a few liberals and peace-mongers, and that only because the clergy had decisively declared for the popular movement and had placed themselves at the head of it. The fact is not without importance that these liberals combined under Joseph as a loyalist party, and put their confidence in the French policy. These "Josefinos" afterwards became the nucleus of the constitutional party.

The untrained bands of the rebels were, as a rule, unable to cope with the French troops; but, unfortunately for the French, the Andalusian forces under Castaños succeeded in surrounding an army under Count Dupont de l'Etang in the Sierra Morena, and forcing it to surrender (capitulation of Baylen, July 23, 1808). The thought of this exploit inspired the Spaniards to further resistance when Napoleon himself covered Spain with his troops, and the cause of the revolt seemed lost. The guerilla war, which was now raging in all directions was carried on with a fanatical ferocity and an unrelenting cruelty, which

forms a black spot in the history of mankind. But though Spain was still bound in the chains of mediæval thought, its stubborn resistance gave a new direction to European history and dealt the first serious blow at Napoleon's triumphant military ascendancy. The atrocities committed in the conduct of this war make it clear that there was no definite object in the desperate resistance of the Spanish people. Fanaticism, blind self-worship, were busily at work, spreading their sails to catch the violent blasts of enthusiasm, and driving onward the ship of state in the old and perilous track which Philip II. had erstwhile traversed, to the misfortune of the future of Spain. The fact that the liberal elements gathered round the French king engendered a germ of hatred in the future development of the Spanish state which was to bring forth bitter and deadly fruit.

When Napoleon took the field in person with fresh troops, Spanish successes were quickly followed by defeats in every quarter. The junta, which had undertaken to direct the national resistance, fled to the south, first to Seville and then to Cadiz. On January 22, 1809, King Joseph made his second entry into Madrid; on February 21, 1809, Saragossa fell after a heroic resistance. Though a guerilla war might be carried on for years, it was plain that the country could never recover the lost ground through its own strength. Hence England's determination to make the Spanish peninsula a battle-ground against Napoleon, and to lend vigorous support to the Spanish rebels was of the greatest importance. On August 20, 1808, the English forces under Dalrymple had forced the French under Junot to evacuate Portugal (the Convention of Cintra); in January, 1809, a definite compact was concluded with the men directing the Spanish guerilla war. In Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, the English forces had a brilliant general, with whom none of the French marshals could cope.

The liberals of the higher class had partly gathered round King Joseph, who seemed to offer an opportunity for the carrying out of certain seasonable reforms. A division also occurred in the governing body directing the war, the junta. The progressive party succeeded, against the wishes of the reactionary element, in passing a resolution for the convocation of the Cortes as a constitutional assembly, though the resolution did not immediately take effect, in view of the dangers of the situation. It was not until September 24, 1810, that the Cortes met in Cadiz, which the French were then besieging. The liberals were in the majority, and came forward with proposals for a constitution to be formed on liberal lines. This measure was adopted in January, 1812, and the oaths were taken on March 18. This constitution became afterwards the standard of the liberal party when the inevitable reaction had given the conservative element the victory. As a matter of fact, so ultra liberal a constitution did not correspond to the real desires of the Spanish nation, which was fighting with fanatical enthusiasm for its old ideals, and cared nothing for the achievements of the French Revolution; was, if anything, rather inclined to group liberals and French under one head, and fight against them as a common foe.

The decisive point of the Spanish War was reached when Wellington repulsed the attacks of Marshal Massena from within the lines of Torres Vedras, near Lisbon, and forced him to retreat (during the winter of 1810-11). On August 12, 1812, Madrid fell into the hands of Wellington, who was also largely helped by the fate of Napoleon's campaign against Russia. In the next year the defeat

of the French at Vittoria, on June 21, 1813, ended the war of independence happily for Spain. Napoleon, who was struggling to maintain his power in Germany, was obliged to restrict himself to defensive operations, and was even defeated in the south of France. After the fall of Napoleon, the English evacuated the Pyrenæan peninsula, and were recompensed for their aid by the conclusion of favourable commercial treaties. Ferdinand VII. was now universally recognised King of Spain, and returned to his country. There he found the Cortes awaiting him at Madrid for the express purpose of receiving his oath of consent to the constitution of 1812.

(e) *The Struggle Between the Absolute Monarchy and Liberalism.*—Once again Spain seemed to be standing at a turning-point in its development. Would the king openly and honourably declare for the liberals, who included the best minds of the country, but were not strong enough for the moment to bear up against the weight of popular fanaticism? Would the king grasp the reins firmly, and prevent the disease of catch-words and corruption, which invariably accompanies a liberalism rising without counterpoise, from taking hold of the country? If he did so, the intellectual progress and achievements of the previous century might be preserved intact; the germs of free and healthy development, which were parching for want of nourishment, might be tended and preserved until Spain could take its share in the task of advancing European civilisation with powers refreshed and strengthened. But to expect all this of Ferdinand VII. was to expect the impossible. Even if Ferdinand had not been the narrow-minded bigot that he was, he would have succumbed to the enticements of the reactionary party, which greeted him with unrestrained delight, and which rose triumphantly throughout Europe after the fall of Napoleon. Nothing was easier for him than to despise the liberals as the friends of Spain and enemies of the faith; their radical constitution of 1812 had been fashioned after famous models, but was, in fact, for Spain entirely unsuited. The reaction in Germany, after the war of liberation, produced sad scenes; but these sink into nothingness beside the dreadful spectacles in Spain, where ecclesiastical intolerance and cruelty held their vengeful orgies as soon as the king had crushed the growth of liberalism. The palpably thin veneer of education and of free thought upon the surface of the ignorant and uncultured mass peeled away entirely.

But though the Inquisition could be restored, and the despotism of Philip II. brought back in all its glory, those ideas which were born of the time were indestructible. On the one side was absolutism and clericalism, on the other, liberalism and progress; and between these two began war which was to occupy almost the whole of the nineteenth century, and to bring Spain into the extremity of need and desperation. By degrees the people also were drawn into the quarrel. The nation had at first shown complete indifference to the constitutional questions under discussion; it felt, and rightly, that a period of peaceful development was far more necessary to its welfare than a liberal programme of world-wide extent, which could do little or nothing to help its economic necessities. But the liberals were hard pressed, and staked everything on winning the nation over to their views. Consequently, the masses, who were utterly incapable of taking part in politics, found themselves involved in the

political turmoil. Henceforward intrigue and corruption found room to spread even on the liberal side. Unfortunately for Spain, her best and noblest characteristic, her disinterested purity, disappeared entirely from liberalism. If at first the most capable representatives of the Spanish race were to be found among the opponents of reaction, by degrees their ranks were flooded with venal politicians and office-seekers.

While absolutism was triumphant in Spain, the larger part of the American colonial possessions were lost to the country. Spain's unending financial difficulties had prevented even the thoughtful statesmen of the eighteenth century from introducing reforms into the obsolete system of colonial administration: the inevitable result was that the colonies revolted when they found themselves strong enough to do so. Sparks from the theatre of the revolt in North America and from the burning crater of the French Revolution caused a conflagration in South America also. The Spanish officials were unable to maintain their power without support from home. The reinforcements which were sent later could effect no permanent result. Hence, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Spain had to bemoan the loss of all her possessions in the American continent (cf. Vol. I., p. 500 ff.).

Meanwhile, liberalism grew apace in particular provinces of Spain, on which the government, which was ill-disposed, but lacking in energy, did not keep a close watch. Several petty military revolts took place, owing to the fact that the colonial war was extremely unpopular among the troops, and this example was followed by the outbreak of an insurrection in several provinces, which resulted in a complete victory for liberalism and its champion, Riego (1820). The king yielded, and swore fidelity on March 9 to the constitution of 1812.

The triumph of liberal opinions in Spain was followed immediately by a similar development in Portugal. The royal family had fled before Napoleon to Brazil on November 27, 1807, and hesitated to return, in view of the great crisis through which all the American colonies were passing. Brazil could only be retained if the king continued to reside in that fruitful country. The government in Portugal was carried on by Marshal Beresford and the English in fact, if not in name. It was chiefly against him that the liberal rising was directed which began in Oporto on August 24, 1820. King João VI. was, therefore, obliged to come to Portugal in the summer of 1821 after establishing his son Pedro as regent of Brazil.

It was one of the misfortunes of Spain that the temper of her people could never harmonise with the general spirit of Europe as a whole. At the time of the Reformation, Spain was the stronghold of reactionism; but now, when a reactionary movement was passing over the whole of Europe, the country appeared anxious to rush into the arms of liberalism. The liberal party was divided into the moderates (*moderados*) and the radicals (*exaltados*); the latter kept the ascendancy, and by their excesses dug the grave of liberalism with their own hands. The European powers, conformably to the policy which they were then pursuing, could not bear with the state of things in Spain for any length of time. Indeed, the condition of affairs was as hateful to the king of the country as it was to the other rulers during the period of reaction. France, which had now become ultra royalist, determined once again to act on behalf of Europe. In April, 1823, a strong French force, under the Duke of Angoulême, crossed

the frontier, and occupied Madrid on May 24 without meeting any serious resistance. It now became plain that it was the stubbornness of the old reactionary Spaniards on which Napoleon had made shipwreck; for now, when they were in sympathy with the French, Spain lay open to the invading army. The liberal majority of the Cortes fled, taking the king with them, to Seville and then to Cadiz. But after a three months' siege, the last refuge fell. The king recovered his freedom, and the forces that had remained quiet hitherto now joined the powers of absolutism and plunged into a hideous orgy of revenge. The French, who remained for two years in the country to protect the king, were obliged to look on as passive spectators of these horrors.

Fortunately for the country, a permanent coalition of the absolute monarchy and its selfish supporters, the fanatical clergy and their following, proved to be impossible. By the bitter irony of fate, Ferdinand VII. found the hated liberals to be an indispensable counterpoise to the growing power of ecclesiasticism. The reactionary party seemed to have the future in their hands, for the heir apparent, Don Carlos, the brother of Ferdinand, who had no children, was entirely devoted to them. However, their calculations were entirely upset by the king's marriage, celebrated on December 10, 1829, with the Neapolitan princess, Maria Christine. On October 10, 1830, a daughter was born, Isabella, to whom the throne would fall by an old Castilian law of succession, which had been hastily revived and sanctioned on March 29. Thereupon a division took place among the leading men. The clericals gathered round Don Carlos, and Maria Christine was obliged to look to the liberals for help and to King Ferdinand, who was under their influence. In October, 1832, while the king was suffering from an illness which seemed likely to have a fatal termination, the reactionary party made him sign a decree making Don Carlos his successor; but the king discovered the deception, and victory was assured to the queen and the liberals. Maria Christine was established as regent, and when the king died on September 29, 1833, she took up the reins of government with a firm and bold grasp.

Don Carlos, under pressure from the reactionary party, raised the standard of a revolt which for long years has ravaged the country. It was a piece of good and of evil fortune for Don Carlos that the Basques of the Pyrenæan districts became his first and his most faithful adherents. (See the plate facing p. 560.) As so often in the course of earlier Spanish history, these bold mountaineers, who were fighting rather to defend their rights against the levelling policy of the liberals than on behalf of the priesthood, proved almost invincible among their own mountains, but were not capable of bringing Spain proper into line with themselves. Don Carlos, however, was forced to recognise that the direction of European opinion had changed since the revolution of July. The "Cristinos," as the liberals called themselves, from the name of their queen, received a considerable amount of foreign support; but the Carlists were forced to rely chiefly upon their own resources. However, under leaders like Zumala-Carregui in Navarre, and Cabrera, in the mountains between Valencia and Castile, their triumph appeared indisputable. And if the worth of the respective combatants be taken into account, there were probably more honourable warriors convinced of the justice of their cause on the side of the Pretender than there were with the queen, whose doubtful morality harmonised admirably with the temper of the liberal supporters, who flocked into Madrid. Still, Carlists were not fighting

against individuals, but against ideas, which increased in strength the more they strove against them; and against this solid barrier they were eventually shattered. On September 15, 1839, this bloody civil war came to an end with the flight of the Pretender across the frontier into France.

Before, absolutism in Portugal had not proved entirely successful. Thanks to the settlement of the royal family in Brazil, the separation of this colony from the mother-country had been peacefully concluded. After the declaration of the independence of Brazil and its organisation as an empire (September to October, 1822: cf. Vol. I.), a compact was concluded declaring that a descendant of the royal house should always rule, both in Portugal and in Brazil, but that there should never again be a union of the two countries. After King João's death, on March 10, 1826, his successor, Pedro I., chose the throne of Brazil for himself on May 2, and handed over the European territory to his daughter, Dona Maria II. da Gloria. However, Pedro's brother Dom Miguel, rose against her and against the liberals, on whose help she relied, got possession of Portugal with the assistance of the absolute and reactionary parties, and began a reign of terror. Dom Pedro resigned the Brazilian crown in 1831 in favour of his son, Pedro II.; but it was not until May 15, 1834, that he succeeded in reconquering Portugal for his daughter by the victory of Thomar. He had gained the requisite power to overthrow Dom Miguel by an alliance with France, England, and Spain. Thus the constitutional party came into power in Portugal earlier than in Spain. In both countries liberalism owed its triumph to the revolution of July, which had defeated the reactionary forces in France.

Though the victory of the Pretender would have brought great disaster on Spain as a whole, there was one right principle which underlay the Carlist revolt, and sustained the bravest and noblest adherents of the Carlist cause — the firm conviction that of all the countries of western Europe, Spain was the least ready for the reception of liberal ideas, and that Spain, more than any other country, required to develop upon its own lines. The failing of Carlism was that it could offer the educated classes no substitute for liberalism, which had become utterly corrupt, young though it was. Carlism preached retrogression rather than reform. Its collapse opened the way for the underhand intrigues of every ambitious schemer, which are never favoured by any form of government as they are by that empty show of constitutionalism, under which the rights and freedom of the people are replaced by the empty catch-words of conflicting parties. None the less, the economic progress of Spain made a marked advance. In this case, the separatist spirit of the nation was all in its favour. As opposed to the unsettled state of the central government, the provinces preserved their own individuality with entire success, and the self-government of the several communities bore good fruit. The wise acts of the liberal government, especially the reduction of the enormous possessions of the Church, largely helped the economic revival, while the accompanying evils of liberalism, among which the corruption of military and official life was most conspicuous, did not undermine the health of the nation, thanks to that system of self-government. Progress was slow, but for this there were many reasons.

It was only for a short time that Maria Christine enjoyed the fruits of her victory. The real conqueror in the Carlist War, Don Baldomero Espartero, Duke of la Vittoria, seized the reins of government with the help of the advanced

liberals, and obliged the widowed queen to leave the country on October 12, 1840. Two years later (July, 1843) he was overthrown by the Moderates under Don Ramon Maria Narvaez, but Christine was not restored to power. Queen Isabella, who was but thirteen years old, was declared to be of age on November 8, 1843. The government was carried on in the name of this spoiled and incapable child by the three ambitious generals, Don Juan Prim, the Count of Reus, and Francisco Serrano y Dominguez. Isabella's marriage to her cousin, Francis d'Assisi, on October 10, 1846, was an event of no political importance. Physically and mentally, the young man was a nonentity, and any hopes which the French king might have founded upon this ill-assorted union were shattered by his own fall. The Revolution of 1848 did not, however, exercise any great influence upon Spain, which pursued its own course. On July 14, 1855, the Progressives, under the leadership of General Leopold O'Donnell, overthrew the Moderate government, but they were unable to assure their own position.

Meanwhile, however, a strange and threatening note began to dominate the symphony of liberalism. The people, who were generally poor and oppressed, commenced to put their own interpretations upon the liberal catch-words, and to project half seriously a social revolution. These tentative advances soon became grimly earnest. In the year 1857 the first socialist rising broke out in Andalusia. Since that time many others have followed, but have never been of more than local importance, owing to the separatist spirit prevailing throughout the country.

A greater change seemed likely to take place in Spanish policy when the constant petty warfare with Morocco, on the coast of which country Spain possessed several fortresses, broke out into open war in the year 1859. It soon became apparent that Spain was not capable of making herself mistress of the entrance to the Mediterranean by the conquest even of the northern part of Morocco. The Moors certainly suffered two serious defeats; but the Spanish army was unable to advance beyond Tetuan. This costly undertaking was ended by a peace which practically left matters as before.

Domestic policy comprised the machinations of intriguers, which brought the Progressives at one time to the front, and at another the *Moderados*, whom the reactionary party had gradually joined. But Isabella, in the meantime, had thrown herself into the arms of the Moderates, and had, in consequence, not only entered upon a retrogressive policy, but had also closed the path to all ambitious members of the Progressive party. This act proved fatal to her. In September, 1868, the admiral Topete y Carballo raised the standard of revolt in Cadiz, and a fortnight later Isabella issued her first protest against his action from her refuge in France. The leader of the revolt had no idea of abolishing the monarchy, but the prime minister, Prim, found it no easy matter to discover any European prince who would take over the government. The King of Portugal was given the opportunity of uniting the Pyrenæan peninsula under Portuguese rule: he declined with thanks, being of his own people's opinion, that the less they had to do with Spain, the better. The candidacy of the Hohenzollern prince, which materially contributed to bring about the Franco-Prussian War, led to no useful result. The second son of the King of Italy, Ferdinand Amadeus, was at last persuaded to assume the Spanish crown (December 4,

1870); but on February 11, 1873, the new monarch resigned his unbearable post. The only remaining alternative was to proclaim a republic. Spanish republicanism has characteristics peculiarly its own. Its special feature, federalism, is one that is due to the Iberian soil, which brought it forth. Even to the present time the idea of a republic has drawn its strength from the hope of transforming into a republic those separate provinces of Spain which only the loosest of bonds could unite into one kingdom. A federal republic was now to be founded; though, for the moment, the founders had to content themselves, whether they would or no, with giving a republican form to the administrative and executive powers already in existence.

The new republic was in a critical position. The forces of reaction had been aroused by the triumph of the radicals, and were gathering round the man who had inherited the Carlist claims, Don Carlos the Younger, who summoned the Basque provinces to his support. Once again batallions of these mountaineers, distinguished by that classic headgear, the round cap of the Basques (see the plate facing this page, "Attack of the Basque Carlists"), flocked to the standard of the reactionary party. But once again it became manifest that their strength was in defensive tactics. An attack upon the capital was even more out of the question than during the First Carlist War. The socialist agitators in the south, excited by the example of the Parisian Commune, thought that their time had also come, and seized several towns, in particular the arsenal of Cartagena, from which they were not easily dislodged. The army at the disposal of the republic had been utterly demoralised by the continual *pronunciamentos*, and had to be reorganised in part.

Fortunately, neither Carlism nor communism, thanks to incompetent leadership, was able to attract many recruits; and the feeling that, at any rate, the highest positions in the state must be placed beyond the reach of ambitious intriguers grew stronger every day. Isabella had been driven out, and no one was inclined to give her another chance; but great hopes were held of the queen's son, the young Alfonso. The republic was set aside without difficulty on December 29-30, 1874; and on January 14, 1875, Alfonso was proclaimed king. Many might have considered this to be merely another act in the political farce; but such pessimists were wrong. The early death of Alfonso XII. (November 25, 1885) did not shake in any way the position of the monarchy. The queen-widow, Maria Christine, acted as regent, at first for her daughter Mercedes, and then for her son Alfonso XIII., who was born on May 17, 1886, and met with no opposition worthy of mention.

The period of peace, which could not be broken even by the irrepressible revolt of the remnants of the Spanish colonial empire, is a standing testimony to the fact that the economic conditions of the country are slowly, but undeniably, improving, and that it is beginning more and more to develop and to make use of its natural wealth. It may be that foreigners have given the impulse and are appropriating a portion of the profit; but, none the less, the advantage to the country itself is unmistakable. At this time, it is true, the social problem is a menacing danger, and its most deadly fruit, anarchism, is brought to fullest maturity in Spain; but this is partly due to the general lack of education, and is, moreover, a heritage from the sad course of Spain's earlier development. That there is an improvement is undeniable. And in this respect the fact that

ATTACK OF BASQUE CARLISTS, DURING THE REVOLT OF 1872–76

(From the painting by R. Balaca.)

parliamentary government in Spain is a more disgusting farce than anywhere else need not be considered.

(*f*) *The Fall of Spain's Colonial Empire.*—The events of the year 1898 — the war with the United States of America and the loss of all her more important colonies — have plainly demonstrated how small is the power of resistance that Spain can offer to a determined opponent, in spite of all her recent progress; and how greatly inferior she is to those wealthy Powers which have acquired a great reserve of strength by establishing themselves upon a sound economic basis, and by taking a due share in the progressive movements of modern times. Calamity had long been in the air. When the American colonies were lost at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico were retained, partly perhaps on account of a revolt of the negro slaves in Cuba in the year 1812, which was vigorously opposed by all the white inhabitants of the island. Until the middle of the century it was only the negro population which showed any tendency to revolt. However, later on, the creole element in Cuba found that its natural course of development was impeded by the Spanish government, and became unruly. It was supported, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly, by the United States. Even before that period England had attempted to acquire the island from "humanitarian" motives, and looked with suspicious favour on the negro revolt. Every conspiracy and filibustering expedition — the first began in 1849 — found ready support in North America. The American government had even declared with praiseworthy frankness that it proposed to seize Cuba at the first favourable opportunity, but Spain was saved by the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States (cf. Vol. I). The victory of the North in this war brought about a temporary coolness between Americans and Cubans. The great revolt of 1868-78, when creoles and negroes fought together against Spain, was not supported by any attack from America. But the rich island gradually became an object of interest to American speculators, and Spain could not make up its mind to the generous concessions which would have satisfied the self-assertive creoles. The abolition of slavery in 1880 led to an economic crisis, but did not inspire the liberated slaves with any friendly feelings for Spain. So at last, in the year 1895-96, a revolt began, systematically supported by the United States: Spain gradually spent her strength in the remarkable efforts she made to meet the danger.

At the same time (1896), a revolt broke out in the Philippines, where Spanish mismanagement, without the stimulus of any foreign influence, had driven the most enlightened and preponderant class among the natives, the Tagals, to open resistance.

Notwithstanding the many tokens that foreboded ruin, the characteristic Spanish indifference to consequences was as apparent as ever. The fleet, which was the only means of salvation, continued in such utter neglect that a large number of the best ships could not be used at all. A chance occurrence or, according to the American theory, an act of treachery, the blowing up of the United States battle-ship *Maine* in Havana Harbour, led to the outbreak of hostilities on April 21, 1898. With curiously clear foresight the United States had sent a considerable fleet, under Commodore Dewey, towards the Philippines.

He destroyed the little Spanish squadron of Montojo at Cavite on May 1, and, with the help of the revolted natives, obliged Manila to surrender. In Cuba the Spaniards, under Martinez Campos, Weyler, and, finally, Marshal Blanco, had tried to avert calamity by the employment both of mildness and of severity. Their power in the island collapsed no less ingloriously when their little fleet, under Cervera, which had been equipped with great difficulty, had been destroyed off Santiago on July 3. Of Spain's immense empire, only two little colonies on the west coast of Africa now remain. The remainder of her possessions in the Pacific Ocean, the Caroline, Pellew, and Marianne islands, were sold to Germany for 17,000,000 marks on June 19, 1899.

The loss of her colonies, which was formally declared in the peace of Paris, December 10, 1898, is, in truth, a fortunate event for Spain. It never understood how to make a proper use of its possessions. What it has lost is the happy hunting-ground of office-seekers and political parasites, passing their time discussing public affairs in the cafés of Madrid, and waiting for a revolution to further their designs. Possibly the number of these political parasites will decrease. Possibly there will be a general return to honest endeavour. The fact that the government of a woman and of a child has not yet been seriously threatened, in spite of all disasters abroad, is the best testimony to the excellent spirit now prevailing in Spain. With her eyes fixed upon her own resources, Spain may now—and all signs seem to indicate that she will—give an attention, too long deferred, to the training of the national mind and the development of national industry commensurate with the great natural wealth of the country and the high qualities and potency of the people.

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